

1585.

THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boetius in Latine, and afterward translated into the Scottish speech by John Bellenden Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finally into English by R.H.

Wherevpon is inferred the historie of Scotland, conteining the beginning, increase, proceeding, continuance, acts, and gouernement of the Scottish nation, from the originall thereof unto the yeare 1571, gathered and written in English by Raphael Holindhead: and continued from 1571, to 1585, by others.

Cum priuilegio Regie
Maestatis.



To the Right worshipfull Maister
Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the
Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge
*of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this
present, and in the world to come
life everlasting.*



Having by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges already finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindneses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, because I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherefore I haue chosen rather, on-

A.ij.

lie

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expence of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitable and compendiouslie *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpretor hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in
his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife
with such increafe of his benefits, as may
most redound to his glorie,
& your own ad-
uantage.





The contents of the chapters contained
in this booke.

- 1 **O**F the bounds of Albion, with the sundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie : and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddefdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Stranaüerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.
- 6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fisse & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be scene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels and flouds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of sundrie Scotish dogs, and of the nature of salmön.
- 9 Of sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be scene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Claike geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other sundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.

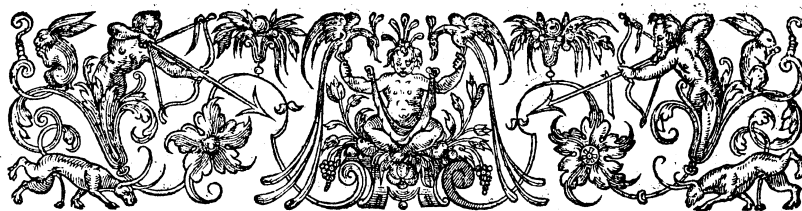




The authors out of whome this historie of
Scotland hath beene gathered.

Hector Boetius.	}	Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.		Albertus Crantz.
Iohannes Maior.		Aeneas Syluius.
Iohannes Fourdon.		Edward Hall.
Rogerus Houeden.		Richard Grafton.
Richardus Southwell.		John Stow: and others.





The description of Scotland, writ-

ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after-

ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by

John Bellenden archdeacon of Mur-

rey, and now finallie into

English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with
the sundrie commodities thereof,
and of the great infirmities that
fall vnto the people there for
their intemperancie, and final-
lie of the religion vsed
there in old time.

The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-
bion containeth
in the whole cir-
cumference, 2
90. miles, ha-
ving in length
700. & in bredth
300. as appea-
reth well by the
coast therof that
doth lie ouer a
gainst France
where it is broa-
dest, and from

thence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it
come to the utter marches & last bounds of England
and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Galloway
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,
and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane
ocean toward the east, are scarce 130 miles, and
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-
tie miles, as I noted before in the description of
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and
all other kind of cattell and corne in most abundant
manner, except it be in such places where as God of
his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,
and quicksilver, which for the most part are so plenti-
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessities of
the whole Island, but also of sundrie regions that are
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-
full and painefull to deale withall accordingly. But
the abundance of all other things requisite for the
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Island,
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-
ties, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, corne and cattell, foules of
sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people
of the Island, if there were none other commodities
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which
lie nere vnto the coast) do saile hither with great
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton provision of
such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they
sell the same at their owne wills, with very spacie
utterance. Many other rich and pretious commodi-
ties are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the a-
foresaid nations do make no small account, be-
side these common things. What shall I saie of our
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,
because of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manye other grained
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet
made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the
kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them
from aboue, as that they might once liue in unitie,
or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of
one prince, they should per long seele such a fauour in
this amitie, that they would not onelie liue frantlike
of their owne, without any foren purchase of things,
but also resist all outward inuasion, with small tra-
uell and lesse damage. For as touching their per-
sons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for
the attaining of learning and knowledge of handi-
crafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. There-
vnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, of-
fering themselves often vnto the uttermost perils
with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce
nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to per-
forme, if they would giue themselves to liue tempe-
rately, and follow their predecessors in moderation
of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in
his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined
their grounds (otherwise plentifully indued with all
kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of
wine; as foresaying that the said liquor, which bring-
eth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would
grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to
them.

Dionysius A-
lexandrinus
saith that the
wool of Bri-
taine is often
spun so fine
that it is in
manner com-
parable to
the spiders
draught.

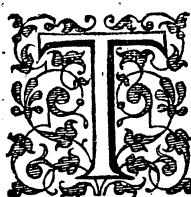
them. For they are giuen to such vnaturall rauen-
ning and greedie desire of forreine things (whilke
they condemne or not regard their owne) that they
cannot refraine the immoderate vse of wine, and
excesse vsed in drinke of the same: insomuch that
we may see diuerse to be ouertaken and haunted, not
onlie with sundrie kinds of grieuous maladies
common to vs and them of the maine, but also ma-
nie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing
at all acquainted with, as experience daile tea-
cheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing græfes
do grow into such deformitie onlie through exces-
siue feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you
knew them when they were children & yong men,
you shall hardlie remember them when they be old
and aged: and that which more is, in comparison of o-
ther that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke
them to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them
to be changelings and monsters, brought out of o-
ther countries to gaze and loke vpon: diuerse of
them through the continuall vse of wine are mole-
sted in their age, with phreneticall pangs and passi-
ons. Seldome also shall you see those that are giuen
much vnto wine and such welfare, to become pa-
rents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture
and generatiue force is much abated, if not altoge-
ther extinguished by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or
Britains, as Caesar in his commentaries, and Ta-
citus in his annales doe report, were very religious,
after the maner of religion vsed in old time. For in
those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides,
were expert both in naturall and morall philosophie,
and from thence came the first professors of that
sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of
their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was re-
puted at that season for the wellspring and fountaine
of all learning and knowledge, and after that their
priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith,
they persecuted in the same with great constancie,
without anie note of heresie.

The description of the east, west, and
middle borders of Scotland, with the
most notable townes and flouds
thereof.

The second Chapter.



The Picts had sometimes
the principall and most fer-
tile part of that countrie,
which now is vnder the regi-
ment of the Scots, and after
they had continued in the
same by the space of 1171
yeares, ioined in maner in
perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining
mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains
and Romans, and sometimes also iarring with their
Scottish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme
hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe
by the diuine prouidence, that the said Picts were
ouerthrowne, their name extinguished, and the king-
dome vniited vnto that other of the Scots for euer-
more. After this time furthermore, although the
Scots haue bene verie oftentimes assailed with
most dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes
inuaied by enemies from diuers regions, yet such
hath bene the fauour of almighty God towards
them, that still they flourish and retaine their estate
inviolate.

Whatsoeuer we haue generallie spoken of Al-
bion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots,
and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as
they call them in the high land, as people that haue
lesse to doe with forreine merchants, and therefore
are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with
strange blood and aliance. Whereby in like sort it
commeth to passe, that they are more hard of con-
stitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blaisses, to
watch better, and absteine long, wherunto also it ap-
peareth that they are bold, nimble, and the more
skillfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise,
they hold it with greatest constancie, as Hector hath
set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that
Scotland hath the Pers, sometime the most plenti-
ous region of the Picts for their march, which so long
as the said people did inhabit it, was called Dicers,
or Dere; but after their expulsion, it was named
Pers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their
countrie. In proceesse of time also the Scots exten-
ded their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now
diuideth Northumberland from the Pers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the
west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cher-
iot hills, and other mounteines lieng thereabout in-
to the Solue, diuiding Cumberlond from Annan-
dale, and so being brought into one chanell, they fall
together into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds
of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The
Cheriot hills are in like sort taken for the middle
marches of the region, which with certeine small
brookes that fall from the same, do separate both the
countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The
Pers hath vnder marches at severall places (whi-
ther it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea,
sometime east Louthian, sometime the Tweed,
and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong
holds and castles, that stand vpon the borders, is the
towne and castell of Barwicke in time past called
Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci
(if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Tweed springeth out from a meane head, and
after his augmentation with other small waters
that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large
course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Tweed, to
the middle march vnder the Cheriot hills lieth Te-
usdale, that is to say, the vale of Tisse: beyond it
is Eskdale, or the vale of Eske, of a riuer so called
that runneth through the same: ouer against Eske-
dale on the other side lieth Cusdale, so named of the
riuer Cus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the
water of Annand: but Tis and Eske do run into
the Tweed: furthermore, on the west side ouer a-
gainst the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, where vnto the
Annand water giueth denomination, which mar-
cheth sometimes without the bounds of Northdale,
where all the three riuers aforesaid, that is to say,
Cus, Annand and Sulway descend together in one
bottom into the Irish seas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochma-
ben, five miles in length and foure in bredth, not
onlie verie full of fish, but of such kind as few men
are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a
castell of the same name, builded of purpose to re-
streine the furious dealing of thæues which doe great
hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale,
but in all the dales or vales aforesaid, are ma-
nie strong thæues, which often spoile the countrie,
and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as in-
habit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers
(because the English doe border vpon their drie mar-
ches, and are their perpetuall enemies) doe often
make forceable roides into the English bounds, for
their better maintenance and sustentation, or else
they

they suffer pynlike from the n, as men leading in the meane season a poze beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so intyred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praise-worthie to molest their aduersaris, as they call the truer sort, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sullwaie (a water where great plenty of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices; whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such aduerture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Piddesdale, so called of the water of Piddede. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing border in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restreyneth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers do report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought by and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cuninghame, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

The third Chapter.



ABoue Piddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nearest to Piddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubright, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whithorne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbey dedicated to saint Pinian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and erroure. Aboue Whithorne is Wigtown towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Dorn, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and places do; but the other is neuer sene to beare any ice at all, which vnto me doth seme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreover are two other lakes, the Sallat and the Pentramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochminton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Keen and Lois, except I be deceiued,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herrings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Pan the Island lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the brates or bates are now wayne wider & further distant each from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elcuation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Man lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanishe (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a newe companye of people into Ireland called Spantards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth seme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spantards, which in his time dwelled in the uttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Piddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine wools and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into thre parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuninghame. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie; and in this countrie are manie strong castles, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreover of their wombs is so moist and sappie that it neuer wareth hard, but relenteth of the oluie accord, and becometh like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and thre elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth seme impossible, neuertheless the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoener the noise be. Pert to Kile is Cuninghame the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Dolone, from whence the riuert Dolone doth runne through the middelt of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuninghame likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Dolone, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is daillie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largie, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Read in the
Latine
Hector.
12 foot in hith
30 foot in
length, and
thre elns
thicke.

The

The description of Scotland.

of cattell, they yeld mozeouer excellent coyne, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. There also vnto the Douerine water, which is a riuer maruellouslie storied with fish, standeth a towne named Samse, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchgubane, a verie bataile soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wooll excēdeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and finenesse. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattranellie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene seene: herein also standeth the castell of Slantis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere vnto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that dropeth into the same, in a short procelle of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had bene off remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled by with the same manie yeres agone.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: so nallie it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked fēds do captivate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentiful of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Badzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the Dae, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Pernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dumnother the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Forodon, in which the bones of Palladius doe rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation. The water of Eske is bound vnto this region, which is otherwile called Fortheske, a verie dangerous chanell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a bidge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernis, it was sometime part of Forresfia, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Fortheske already mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finally the Tait, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tan.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie, called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Tait also riseth farre beyond the mountains of Granzben out of loch Tait, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Ilands, with castels in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most

fine and subtile) is notable replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commobious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dundee, a towne called in old time Alecum, wherein I was borne; and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weauting and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Bredgin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed oier with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines doe yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wooll, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Tait, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Ditoline. In this region groweth all manner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resoluē and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other metalls; neither are they found anie where else (that I doe knowe of) but betwene the Tait and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andrews is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are mozeouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Lenin, and in this later are diuerse Isles, and in one of them also the church of S. Whillane, a Scottis saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lothian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad chanell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifullie indued with cockles, oysters, mussels, scales, pellocks, muretwine, whales, and great foison of white fish; and among manie other Isles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Paie is of greatest fame, because Adam and his fellows were killed in the same. In the midst of this Ile springeth by a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be marvelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, whereto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fisher bote, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Basses castell) is inuincible, and therein are manie causes verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great store of soland geese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsa and this rocke. At their first comming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same doe satisfie the keeper of the castell, for the perrelie maintenance of his fetwell, without anie other provision. These foules doe feed their young with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and haue

it fast

it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea; and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, untill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished by their pong with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their preie, and stealing awaie of their pong, they bring perelie no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these geese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and stealing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elswhere, it either groweth not at all, or utterlie giueth ouer the vertues therewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this roche much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had bene potored thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fast castell, whether it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the trial of this matter. In this firth also is the Ile Aimon, wherein is an abbete. There are likewise diuers other Islands, and those are verie full of cories; and in the said firth are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth breed great terror vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncomly signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bouge-wall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels, and fionds thereof.

The seuenth Chapter.



So the south of the firth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & therefore for boundtie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and townes, as Padinton, Dunbar, Forthberwic and Leith; but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisdom, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Spalders, remembred by the most renowned authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which tri-

pleth the renowne of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oylie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is restored: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of fforth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometimes the principall house appertaining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbete or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Pert vnto Louthian lieth Pers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go by higher into the land. Pert vnto Pers therefore lieth Tweidale, and aboue it is Twedale: next vnto Twedale is Druisdale; Walscopdale, Douglassdale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops see, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Mongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie zealouslie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either utterly neglected, or not very much regarded. North of Glasco lieth Spenteth, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Spenteth and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white buls with shackt heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doe) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselves to death. Asone as any did invade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beate him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these buls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which vantage he escaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand therewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse othe came running vnto him, who ouetheue the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his lineage is to this daie called of the Turnebuls, because he ouertumed the beast, and saued the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate

hicate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinetous and griffles, whereat some belicat faders do often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Cornerland.

On the east side of Pentecith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also upon Fife. Thzongh the ballies like-
wise of this region runneth the water of Crn, that
falleth into Tay. This is moreover worthe to be no-
ted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Crn
and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet
of great wonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid,
it will not be remoued from thence by manuell prac-
tise, art, or engine, & yet one man may so some moue
it as an hunyzed. On the other side of Tay beyond
Angus and Gowy, ap lieth Stermond, a region plen-
tifullie indued both with grasse and cozne. Not farre
from Stermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble
ballies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns,
ec. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth
cozne in maner without any tillage. There is like-
wise therein a towne called Lub, whose felos are so
plentious, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they
will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing
of seed. Holobett, as this is in that part of the regi-
on often verified, so in other there is a contrarious
disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth
wheat some into god and perfect rie, the like wherof
I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries
thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Boene lieth Bosge-
well and Careoth, very plentifull soiles both for
grasse and cozne. In Careoth also is an hill called
Doundoze, that is to saie, the golden mounteine:
for the shepe that fed thereon are yellow, and their
teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold.
Their flesh moreover is red as it were tinged with
saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same ma-
ner. There is furthermore in the same region, an
heape of stones lieng together in maner of a crown
which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as
if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one
dall temple or other stood heretofore in that place,
whyle the Scottish nation was addicted to the wor-
shipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scot-
land, as Bzadalbane, Strabzoun, and Bdzzenoth,
with diuers small territories and fouds, holobett
they are not so notable as those which we haue alrea-
die touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to
deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer,
and other wilde beasts in Scotland,
of the strange properties of sun-
drie Scottish dogs, and of
the nature of
samon.

The eight Chapter.

Having made this speciall
description of the realme of
Scotland, now will I touch
such things as concerne the
same in generall. First of all
therfore in the fields and wild
places of the countrie there is
a great plentie of hares, red
deere, fallow deere, roes, wild hazzles, woodues and
fores. These hazzles are not gotten but by great
sight and pollicie: for in the winter season the inha-

bitants turne certeine tame hazzles & mares among
them, wherewith they grow in the end to be fami-
liar, that afterward they go with them to and fro,
and finally home into their maisters pards, where
they be taken and some broken to their hands. The
woodues are most fierce and noisome to the heards
and flocks in all parts of Scotland, saving in one
parcell of Angus, called Glennozs dale, where these
beasts do no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall
cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild.

Fores do much mischefe generallie in all scads,
but cheslie in the mounteines, where they be verie
hardlie hunted, holobett art hath deuised a meane to
pzeuent their malice, and to pzeferue their pultric.
Certes there is almost no house that doth not for
certeine daies cherish by a yong for, which the Scots
do call a Lodde, and then killing the same, they
mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they
giue vnto their foules and other little bestials, and by
this meanes so many foules and cattell as eate hier
of are pzeferued from danger of the for, almost by
two moneths after, so that they may wander whi-
ther they will, for the fores as it were winding or
smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops
will in no wise meddle with them, but elsyelo, and
know such a one, although it were among an hun-
dred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous conditi-
on; for beside the common nature and vniuersall pro-
perties of dogs of all other countries, there are thre
sorts with vs, which are not scene else-where in anie
quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great
swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cru-
ell vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against theues
that offer their maisters any violence. The second is
a racy or hound verie exquisite in following the sot,
(which we call drawwing) whether it be of man or
beast, yea he will pursue any maner of foule, and
find out what soeuer fish is cast by, or lurketh among
the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wher-
with he is indued. The third sort is no greater than
that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with
blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks.
These are so skilfull that they will pursue a theefe, or
thefe stolen goods in most pzeise maner, and fin-
ding the trespasser, with great assurance they will
make a raile vpon him. If it be so that he haue ta-
ken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to
follow him, and entring and issuing at the same pla-
ces where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceas-
eth to range till he haue nosed his footing, & be come
to the place wherein the theefe is shrowded. The dogs
of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this re-
port would seme mere incredible, except it were
dailie had in experience vpon the borders of Eng-
land and Scotland, where pillage is god purchase in
differentlie on both sides. There is a law also among
the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth
entrance or sute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made
after fellows and stolen goods, shall be holden as ac-
cessarie vnto the theff, or taken for the selfe theefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as liue by pzeie, there
are sundrie sorts in Scotl and, as eagles, falcons,
gothaukes, sparrotobaukes, marlions, and such
like: but of water foules there is so great store, that
the report thereof may seme to exced all credit.
There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie,
the like of which is nowhere else to be scene, as the
capercailze or wild hazzle greater in bodie than the
rauen, and liuing onelie by the rinds and barks of
the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie
more cocks and hens, the which absteining from
cozne, do fed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cy-
stus, which the Scots do commonlie call spadder.
These

These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and sauor at the table, our countrie men call them *wild cocks*, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another foule in *Spere* more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a *gullard*, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be seene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. *Samon* is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and bicause the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doe knowe hereof at this present time as followeth.

The *Samon* in harvest time cometh vp into the small rivers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore *woorthillie* saith to be growne out of vse and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellows, during the time of this their leanness, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it cometh to passe, that a *Samon* is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the afore said spawne and milke being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring doth yeld great number of little frye, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yfe laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a marvellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vntoorthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie limes or poles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow above, are yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the *Samon* not able to pearlye through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as cometh against him, he goeth so nere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaineth his desire, if not, he assaeth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little hob, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do bryse themselves and become meafelled: others that happen to fall vpon drye land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallow & drye plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do offnest leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any *Samon* from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of November. Finallye there is no man that

knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humoz.

Of the sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe *Citilus*, commonly called *Hadder*.

The ninth Chapter.

Here it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not vnlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vnterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called *Hoyle muskles*, to be had in *Dre* and *Done*, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vntoorthie called of old time, *twidowes lusses*. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the berie tops, and thereto full of spots, wherein (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aere, lift vp their vpper shelles and mouethes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finallye prouide the pearle.

Cardane denieth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braye or banke aboue them, doe speake neuer so softly, or shew neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will descrie you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen doe catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or fve persons go into the river together, vp vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, fith they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon the mither casting their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clerenesse, and with their toes take them vp (for the depth of the water will not suffer them to scape for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The pearls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naille of ones little finger, as I haue had and seene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels wherof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to *saint James*, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite: but Cardane also denyeth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and mussels of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many uncouth and strange shapen of fish likewise are seen there, whereof some are armed with thels, some with hard scales, and divers round as a ball skinned like an pcheon or hedghog, having but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine travell, with the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plenty of fish upon our severall coasts, that although millions and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one date, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefites unto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed upon vs by the singular providence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and coyne is seen in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken upon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an herbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicate, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed upon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bees especiallie. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple floure, sweet as honie, whereof the Brits in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the bodie: but for so much as the maner of making hereof is perished in the haucke made of the Brits, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they ever the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no part of Scotland so barren and unprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proved easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed to the same.

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

BEing fallen at the last to mention of our Isles, I will adressed my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are foure and thre Isles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar in his commentaries, and other Romane writers doe testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, or therwise named Botha after S. Bzandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Mothesay, which later is named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland graie as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their se-

uerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & summe other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Spoutancliffe (in Scotish the towne of Loche) within sight of Lochquahabze. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of coyne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbza, and Spula, fullie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In Spula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Pære unto this is Jona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbey, wherein the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, unto Malcolme Cammo, who erected the monasterie of Dunfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Kofle is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yeare, there shall no samon be seen there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plenty. Beyond Lewis lie the Skye and the Mona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be seen, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and uttermost Ile is named Hirta, where the elevation of the pole is 63 degrees, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirta the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degree, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirta, which in Irish soundeth so much as a shepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailes that reach unto the earth. It is environed on euerie part with rochie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, doe watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest cometh unto them out of Lewis, and ministrereth the sacrament of baptism to all the children that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yeare pcedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiveth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that so some as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there laiceth a wispe of straw, which being done they fall all to prayer, in the midst whereof fire cometh downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but bold of people and all other living creatures, saving a certeine kind of beasts like unto shepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for half and breuittie sake. Betwixt these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, with the sea by working of opposite streames hath engendred a gulf, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes caldeth it forth againe, by means whereof many ships that

Galen. lib. 7. de Antidotis saith that Citharus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompanieth it among trees.

that by rage of wind and weather are enforced to come that waie, are either swallowed by by the waues, or throtone against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this conuulgence is at a place called Cozebrecke, where it will either sinke, or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same,

Of the nature of the Claik geese,
and sundrie maners of their pro-
creation, and of the Ile
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Now it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet fish their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence inducoured to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in procelle of time become woymeaten, and in the holes thereof ate the said woymes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceiued at the first. In the beginning, these woymes doe shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they flie in the aire as other fowles do.

This was notable proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Pellego, whether the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was cartied to the lord of the soile, who sone after caused it to be sit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude at woymes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but new shapen, diners had head, foot and wings, but no feathers, the rest were foumed into perfect fowles. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andzews church beside Etre, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yeeres after there hapned such another tree to come into the firth of Tay beside Dundee, woymeaten and full of yong geese after the same maner: the third was seene in the haue of Leith beside Edenburgh: and also within a few yeeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien thre yeeres at ancho: in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with woymes, or bozed with a wormbe, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Where if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Isles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption doe turne into these fowles, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eyes. After A-

lexander Galloway parson of Kirkcubright, was with vs in these Isles, & giuing his mind with attentue diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took vp a branch of Alga, called in Scotish, Seat-angle, which hanged full of muske shels from the root even to the berie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was verie inquisitive of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastily with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacles as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which sode neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit doe by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reiected. For so sone as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be woymeaten, and in procelle of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknotune vnto the Romans, as may appeare by Tacitus, who telleth howe the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Island of Britaine, and at their returne reported howe they had seene the Thule, with other Islands lieng about the same. Ptolome writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere vnto Norway, and beyond the Orkades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other wispe that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Artike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no cozne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mixe it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,
and of the maners and conditions of the
people dwelling in the same.

The twelfe Chapter.

Byond the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north west, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Bomonia, wherein is a bishops see, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheate, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue anie while.

while, more than in Ireland, which suffeineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind.ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for eeles they are selome found and to be seene in the Orkades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteyne not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in booke.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or pole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a skae be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element retaining hir former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, three distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orkades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be reherfed, for sith there is great abundance of barley whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie sole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extream age in sound and perfect health, whose bodie also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or three lambs a yere at euery eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their houses are litle greater than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one far greater than anie horse, of a marvellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when they prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espeng, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conuete themselves to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted yer long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who feeling hirselfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd hir in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and endeavouring in vaine to breake the cable, she labourerth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and some after also turneth vpon hir bellie, yelding hirselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orkades are the

Shetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of sheepes felles, ore hides, gotes skinnes, and cases of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zealand and Germanie, fetch them yerele by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orkanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orkanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without coyne and all maner of flesh to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through drie, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vpon with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such maner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are both of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or foren warres, as men that dema firme peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole endeavour. This finalitie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischief, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yere there cometh a priest vnto them from Dheney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrerth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certeine time (having taken vpon in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie trulie paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renowne, they are not without these also: for the people of these Iles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and grieuous infirmities. For here among these men, you shall verie selome heare of sicknesse to attach anie, vntill extream age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appoynted vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vntchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Ilanders: Finally, if those be the true honors, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and void of all flatterie, doth shew vnto his god parents, and wherewithall the best sort do marvellously

lie reioſſe and deliſe themſelues : and that theſe are alſo not wanting in theſe regions, can we iuſtly ſay that theſe men doe lacke anie thing, or ſhall we not rather aſſume with great aſſurance, that they rather ſtand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can ſuffice with or deſire?

But if there be anie man that will accuſe me of vntruth in the recitall of theſe things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for ſo much as I my ſelfe was neuer in thoſe Iſlands, he ſhall vnderſtand that I learned all theſe things of the reuerend father Edward biſhop of the Orchades, with whome one of theſe Iſlanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearſall of theſe things with his owne mouth, but alſo verified the ſame in his owne perſon, for his height far paſſed the common ſtature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his limis, ſo white of ſkin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anteladie of the land, and finallie ſo white and ſtrong of bodie, that no man in all thoſe quarters durſt run or worreſſe with him. Hereby alſo we may ſee, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miſerable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than thoſe that dwell in theſe quarters, as I haue proued already.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of theſe Iſles groweth the delectable amber, called *Electrum*, *Chryſoletrum*, or (as Diſcorides ſaith) *Prerygophonon*, indued with ſo belement an attractive force, that being chaſed it draweth ſtraw, ſtor, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendered of the ſea froth, which is thowen vp by continuall re-percuſſion of crags and rocks againſt the ſea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the laſt from the rocke againe into the ſea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whileſt it hangeth on the rocke, affirme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all maſſe ſadneſſe, becauſe that as yet it is not ſufficiently hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the ſeatangle is found inuironed alſo withall, becauſe it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and ſo long as it ſwaies to and fro in this manner, ſo long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie ſo big as anie houſe, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught vp, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire : finallie, perceiuing a ſweet and delectable ſauour to proceed from the ſame, they ran by & by to the prieſt of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of ſtuffe which would ſerue verie well in ſtead of frankincenſe, wherewith to perfume his ſaints or rather ſhools in the church. Theſe men ſuppoſed that ſir John had bene more cunning than themſelues, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no leſſe unſkilfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore reſuſing the whole lumpe, he tooke but a ſmall portion thereof, and returned the reſt vnto them, whereby it came to little proſe and leſſe gaine among the common ſort, who ſuffered it to periſh by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſſe. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it reſembled in color vnto the pureſt gold, & ſhined as if it had bene the late or flame of a candle. Wherein alſo the proverbe was proued true, that the ſow recks not of baline. But ſo ſone as I vnderſtood of the matter, I vſed ſuch diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orchades*, and *Shetland* Iſles ſubiect vnto the Scottiſh regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehearſall of diuers other ſtrange things touching the noting in this beſhalfe : but I haue made choiſe onelie of the moſt rare and excellent, and ſo would finiſh this deſcription, were it not that one thing hath ſtaied me right pleaſant to be remembred, as an vncouth & ſtrange incident, whercof maſter James Ogilvie ambalaſadour from James our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and whercof he had experience of late, at ſuch time as he was conſtrained by tempeſt of weather to get to land in *ſwede*. Thus ſtandeth the caſe, being driuen (as I ſaid) vpon the ſhore of *ſwede*, he and his companie ſaw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto thoſe which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, heartie and vglie to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were ſauage and wild beaſts; yet neuertheleſſe deadly enemies to mankind: they vnderſtood therevnto, that althoough in the day time they abhorred and feared the ſight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the ſmall villages & countrie townes, killing and ſeizing ſo manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes ſuch is their nature, that they ſtand in great feare of dogs, at whoſe barking and ſight they ſie and run away with no ſmall haſt and terror, wherefore the inhabitants are enforced to cheriſh great numbers of the ſaid beaſts, thereby to keepe off thoſe wild men that otherwiſe would annoy them. They are moreover of ſuch ſtrength, that ſometimes they pull vp yong trees by the roots to fight withall among themſelues. The ambalaſadours ſeizing theſe vncouth creatures, were not a little aſtoniſhed, and therefore to be ſure from all inuaſion, procured a ſtrong gard to watch all night about them, with great fires to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they tooke the ſea, and ſo departed thence. Finallie, the *ſwede* ſhewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the ſummer time in the ſea like fiſh, & fed of ſuch as they did catch, but in the winter half (becauſe the water is cold) they preyed vpon ſuch wild beaſts as fed on the mounteins, which coming downe from the ſnowie hills to graſe in the ballies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exerciſe alſo they tie little boards to their ſea, which beate them vp from ſinking into the ſnow, and ſo with a ſtaffe in their hands they make the better ſhift to cline vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, where of in that region there is verie great plenty and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in theſe daies, and their compariſon with the behaiour of the old, and ſuch as liued long ſince within this land.

The xiiij. Chapter.

As much as diuers noble men haue deſired me to ſhew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my hiſtorie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in theſe preſent daies are different in their maners and behaiour.

Matthi-
lus upon the
firſt booke of
Diſcorides
capite de po-
pulo alba &
nigra.

figa.

The description of Scotland.

behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe already that the reuealing of these things will procure vnto me the hatred of sundrie worthy or renowned personages (of which few will yeeld to heare their doings touched or their errors repproued) yet because I owe such duetie and seruice vnto those that haue made this request vnto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken vnto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable vnto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor so wholly drowned in their owne sensuality and pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoever offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices haue bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so manie mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe both so much beautie as I can, both the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne prouidence, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerwhelmed and byapped by in all auarice and excellence, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prouidence doth maruellously impell vs.

Certes I beleue that by this meanes such as are of the more courageous sort (& yet reteining a fauour of the temperance of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great prouidence commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in seruile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle exercise and riot) seeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather addeesse themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their prouidence, than proue a reproch vnto their successors, through their lewd behaviours neuer to be forgotten. This I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the euill manners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-love, couetousnes, intemperance, excellence and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Wherefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmities, by seeking reuenge on other men, but rather endeavour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdeemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuersation & behaviour verie temperate, which is the founteine & originall of all vertues. In sleepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground, without all manner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked by as it came from the mill without anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof vnto

our daile nourishment. The first whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they took great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred by at home, whereof beefe was accounted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The sturges or pong beets vngelded, whether kill pong for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterward for tillage in earing by of the ground, but the colwalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands laie often wast and vntilled, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet vntill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer overcharged, nor their bodies desirous of rest through the fullnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquauite bold of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwile their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were forced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as rediest for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made by in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperour Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so used to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their usuall prices, or could not attaine by to them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessel of butter, cheefe, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shot-armor against extreme hunger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatly esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles vnto the vallies, or from the vallies vnto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastimes whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their foreparts, and neuer covered, except when they were troubled with sicknesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was lame to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shoes, they dipped them first in the water per they did put them on, especially in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labor and daile travel.

Their apparrell was not made for beautie and pompe, but as should seme best to couer their bodies, and

and serue their appointed vles, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or wollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clothes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floze or pallets of straw, teaching their children even from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers 10 fidelitie toward hir husband, to take a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered, except they were so well nourished after their birth with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but travelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their carriages and victuals trussed behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusal of any labour intained vnto them by their captaines.

If it hapened them at any time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horse might ouertake them, and vertie oft escaped. The violence that was done to any one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly sube conceived in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most courageous gentleman would sonest desire to be placed in the foreward, where his valourage or seruice & manhood should readiest be sene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilist they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their captaine was beset with extreme perill, or peradventure some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenly rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerlue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie for mante obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before time in the field. If any souldier had bene found in the field without his flint and tinder box, or had walked or gone by and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vled they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an exile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his captaine, was slaine wheresoever he was met afterward, without any iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heavier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forward, they sene the first living creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had already bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the sight, they waied neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egerneesse they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought any victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by mere manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldior) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were seclinded to some odd place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious denouers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countrymen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesses should hardlie be restrained but by extreme seueritie: such also was their nature, that so sone as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peeres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yeeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome enen in these our daies, that except there be some surpluse above the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forward with the bargain.

They vled at the first the rites and maners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vled not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with ciphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certaine letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as retein the ancient speach, they haue their aspirations, diphthongs, and pronounciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are

The description of Scotland.

are turned into the said language, are giuen by tradition from their elders, they chæstie excell in physike, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualittes of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & fruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all manner of necessities for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Neuer thelesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saron tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie left among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient speeche and letters, and almost all their old rites, wher vnto in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrockes, for being made of osiers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them.

But we will now leaue the manners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countriemen. In procelle of time therefore, and chæstie about the daies of Malcolme Canmore, our manners began greatly to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to war idle and slothfull, and there vpon dyuen out of their countrie into Wales by their enemies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by proximity of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Brits, and through our daileie trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their manners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthy of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certaine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane hono: and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out per long, that whereas he in times past was accompanied onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went loaden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lordes, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swarued from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such bitterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to doinghtinesse, we applie our selues to drowkenesse: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excellie with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no pære if he can once find the beine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowened in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & polye in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed met that we should now content our selues with breakfast and supper onlie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and teare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night doo scarcelie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forrests for benefon, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doo now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Græce: nay Affrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countriemen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie bereft of his image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and overladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe vpright, but must needs yeld as ouercome, and to be toyne in peeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it cometh to passe, that our countriemen traouelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vantage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doo burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recouer for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these unhappie steps of their parents, giue themselves wholie to lust and licentiousnesse, haniing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherunto they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in beaute armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse,

Certes none of them regarded to weare anye apparel, because they esteemed it a great glorie to haue these paintings seene. In warres they were bold, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves (instead of other armour) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacks, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a piny, when they should be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, sheweth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Speats, saying that the said countrie is verie savage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue mozeouer (saith he) by hunting and pzeie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shoes on their feet, their wines are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue mozeouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to scale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horses, which run also verie swifflie, & stand at their feet with like steadfastnes. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little peece or two of iron, which ratteth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where many of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but chiefe they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise soze labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marishes by to the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they feed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Speats (which were the neerest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

40 in their province called Maxima Cefariensis, where
of let this suffice.

The number of bishops in
Scotland.

The description of an ancient Pi&t.

The Dict (saith Herodian) bath generallicke no vse in apparell, howbeit the nobler sort of them doe wyap their heads and wombs in hopes of iron, whiche they take for great vaerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any costlie iewels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the galethman that had his skin most disguised in this manner.

50	T he arch bischoppik of S. An.	Albanie. Earledomes. Cathnes Sotherland Koffe Morauie Buchquhan Carriach Carmozan Mar Mernis Angus Golow Fiffe Marche Athole Stratherne Spenteh Leuenor Wlilton Duglasse Carrike Crawford Annandale Durmonth Huntley.	Vilcounties. Berwike ali- as north Ber- wikie Korbozoto Selstirke Tweedale Dunfife Piddisdale Wlilton Are Lanarke Dunbritten Sterueling Loughan Clakmanan Himos Berth Angus Mernis Aberden Bamph Fozes Innernes. FINIS.
60	diwes Glasco Dunfalden Dunblanen Aberden Brechen Morauie Kos Whitherne Cathnes Argabie Mkenie Dmoz one of the Isles whitch are exempt and pertaine vnto the pope. Vniuersities. S. Andrews Aberden Glasco. Dukedomes, Kothsop		

1585

THE
Historie of Scotland,
containing the beginning, in-
crease, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scotish
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in English by Raphaell
Hollinhead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
contained.

M. Pal. in Ari.

*Historiæ placeant nostrates ac
peregrinæ.*

*Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Majestatis.*



To the Right Honorable the Lord
Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron
of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order
of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes
Maiesties horffe, and one of
hir Highnesse priuie
Councell.



I may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I undertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue seene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowne, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilst any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humbly beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting

C.ij.

ting you with so meane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scottish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I

addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be
commanded *Raphaell Hollinsbed.*





THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



The Scottish men, according to the maner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their begining of great anciencie, say that their originall descent cam frō the Grækes and Aegyptians: for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Grækes, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Cathelus plaing in his youth manie wild and vnrallie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achata, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had vsed the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and coming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dyns as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most glad some wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great need in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopiens that had inuaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopiens, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Meroe.

For such tokens of valiance and worthie prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage. But Moses was rather enuid than honored for his doing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vsurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers innovations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Madian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Israelites. ¶ Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter, which Cathelus thus married, was called Scota, of whome such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called *Scoti*, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit *Scotia*, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being advanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharaos Dyns, in great honor. But after his deceasse, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israel then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible maner; and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sooner and more grievous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be provided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he toke with him his wife and childzen, and a great multitude of people both Grækes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoisting vp sailles, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the 40 yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arrived first on the coasts of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they toke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped post Cathelus of this Cathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and estones againe in a maner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptlie called Portugale. But who is able in a matter of such anciencie to auouch anie thing for truth? C. iij. Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Cathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus doe leane to the authores, Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Madian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded.

Cathelus leaving Aegypt, sekerth other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W. H. 3643. H. B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portugale.

Cathelus.

Cathelus giuen to will and pleasure.

Cathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Cathelus was interred of Pharaos.

Cathelus went against the enimies, Moses capteine generall vnder Pharaos, Ios. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Cathelus his doings advanced.

Moses doings not allowed.

Moses fled,

The inhabit-
ants resist
Gathelus.

A communi-
cation.
Gathelus
buildeth the
citie Brigantia.
chara.

A communi-
cation.

Gathelus left
Dozingale,
and went into
Galitia.
He buildeth a
citie called
Brigantia,
and now
Compostella.

Gathelus.

He maketh
lawes and or-
dinances.

The Spani-
ards fight
with the
Scots in-
fortunatlie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Gathelus mi-
nistred iustice.
A description
of the seat.

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had wasted all their purueance:) whose arrivall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely encountering with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to have there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and uncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortly after they began the foundation of a citie nere to the banks of the river called of ancient time Mundus, and afterwards Brachara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiving these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diverse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres upon them: but when they understood that Gathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to invade, they offered to a communication, & persuaded with Gathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the avoiding of variance, to remove unto the northside of Spaine, lying upon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the uttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indentours in any manner of wise. This offer Gathelus gladly accepted, and causing publicke sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Pontum, and now Compostella.

Here Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, devised and ordeined lawes for his people to live by, that the citie might not onely be fenced with strong walles, but also with good and holysome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all cities and countreies. And because he would not onely have his said people to live under one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gave commandement that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to see remedie in time, and hereupon purposing utterly to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming upon the Scottishmen, gave them a fore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great bloodshed on either part, as the Scottish historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agreed upon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should live after their owne lawes, and neither of them to invade other.

Gathelus having peace thus with his neighbors, sat upon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gave lawes, and ministred iustice unto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, having such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, follow-

ing it, that wheresoever it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and have the supreme governance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled over the Scottishmen, received the crowne sitting upon that stone, untill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old lawes doo faile,
and wifards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceived that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of covenant: and therefore understanding that there was an Island lying north over against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into an haven nere unto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whom he had by his wife Scota, the one named Iberus, and the other Himeneus, to conueie them over into that Island, which afterwards they named Ibernia, after Iberus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the haven of Dundalk, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whom at their returne, and by such as they had happened upon and brought with them, they understood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as lived onely by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or use of any tillage. Whereupon Iberus with his brother Himeneus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, intending to ioine them in friendship so with their Scottishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inhabitants (perceiving the Scottishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in thole about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were given how the land should be converted unto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of such things as serve for mans sustenance, Iberus (leaving his brother in charge with the governance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of government, to the great reioicing of all the people there.

This Iberus was a man of great courage, and more given to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

Galitia not
sufficient to
hold the
Scots.

The Scots
take new
seats.

The Scots
arrive in Ire-
land.

Irishmen live
by milke and
herbes.

Irishmen are
gentle me-
treated.

Iberus.

Iberus return-
ed into
Spaine.

Iberus succe-
ded his father
Gathelus.

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Hiber a conquerour.

A peace.

Spaniards & Scots becom one people.

Hemecus.
Hemecus K.
of Ireland.

Discretion.

The Scots send an ambassador vnto Metellus in Spaine.

His sent to assist the Scots in Ireland.

Hermoneus returned into Spaine againe.

Simon Brech.

Brechus came into Ireland.

the same: Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and townes nere adjoining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spread ouer all those parties: and in the end constrained his enemies to seke for peace, which he willingly granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same took such good successe, that within certaine yeeres after, both the nations, what by marriage and other contracts, which they exercised together, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hiber decesse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hiberus, and Simon Brechus were of most worthie fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation moze at large.

In the meane while that these things were thus aduising in Spaine, Hemecus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one, but that after his decesse either of them would haue severall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling estates at discorde amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties happlie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so soon as they had once recovered their decayed strengths, so that the one seeking the others destruction, they continued in great discorietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finally adressed an ambassador vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scottishmen in Spaine, requiring him of aid and succor against their enemies, who went about both to by and naile to expell all the Scottish nation out of Ireland, which they were like enough to bring to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage, gaue eare to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinfolke from all wrong and injuries: immediately therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hiberus, with a chosen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where banquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell battles, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolomeus and Hiberus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succed his father when time should serue thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many yeeres in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred by grudge and partialities amongst them, which thozlie would haue decayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient lords had not pouldred redresse in time, which was to persuaide the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the blood royal, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiance in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie Jewels and regall monuments, the fatal stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Brechus being thus crowned, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons account is after the flood 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our saviour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he died, after whose decesse succeded Pandusus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, which Glaucus begat Poitastus, the father of Rothsay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land moze plainelie may appere.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scottish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certaine numbers of them into the Isles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the Iwerne Isles, because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

This Rothsay had not bene long in those Isles, but that hearing of his fathers decesse, he returned into Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Scottishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Isles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither daile in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles were not large enough to find them sustentance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred Isles, by them already inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they first began to settle themselves, they named Argathelia, after the name of their first captain and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

At their first comming, because they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they leuered themselves into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor: to see their lawes minisfred, and iustice mainteined: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yere, increasing in proceesse of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enemy. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certaine people of Germanie, as most writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came forth of the hether part of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathyrsi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, because they used to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they

Brechus.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.
Pandusus.

Rothsay.
The Scots ferrie ouer into the Iwerne Isles.

They inhabit the Ile of Rothsay.

The Scots inhabit the maine land of Scotland.

4617 H.B.
They inhabit the countrie called Arguile

They make lawes and ordinances.
Gouernors had in reuerence.

They liue in peace.
The Picts came into Scotland out of Germanie.

The Picts came first into Dheney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Didiand, Firith.

4867 H. B.
The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require women of the Scots.

A league made.

The succession of the government.

Their alliance disliked.

Dissention & present distress.

The Picts good husbands.
The Scots given to hunting and fouling.

The Britains send

used gaine apparell of diuers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Dheney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried ouer into Cathnesse, whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Didiand firch: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Kasse, Spurrey land, Perne, and Angule, and after that, entering into Ffiffe and Louthian, they diuine such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arrived, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enemies should chance to put them to such shifts; but perceiving they could not continue any time without viues to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enemies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and to supers upon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with covenants, that neither of them should seeke to vnrpe any peece of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioine their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at any time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

This alliance was euen at the first disliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparably together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to prevent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroy both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the cares amongst themselves, that afterwards when their powers were by such means fore abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the animitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the sake great loue and friendship was mainteined among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, using about the same to go armed in iacks and light ieffernes with bows and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiving happlie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they

sent solemne ambassadoers vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honozable for them to ioine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitful and replenished with all commodities necessarie hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of metall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and sauage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beastes. And herevnto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophetes, that the Scots through treason should vtterlie in time to come ertinguish and destroye all the Pictish bloud. Which persuations induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, encouraged the Picts so, that they sought daily how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: wherevpon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such as they toke within the same, they cruellie slue; other they ransomed at exorbitant summes: wherevpon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requested them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: wherevpon the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, sent ouer their ambassadoers vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as haniug now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the utter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needfull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some capitaine of honoz with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Pictish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leuiued, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusius to be generall of the same, a worthy yong gentleman, and an expert warrior: whome he sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth vnto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this iournie, had their wiues, their children, and all their substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any foren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusius was no sooner come into Albion amongst the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their enemies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finally for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obey.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusius, and that the

ambassadoers vnto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophecies.

The Picts become enemies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenge the injuries done vnto them.

Scots send for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusius king in Ireland.

Fergusius sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusius landed in Albion. A parlement.

A king is to be chosen.

Fergusius

chaire of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioysing of the people; he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640; which is (as Harlison saith in his chronologie) before the incarnation of our sauour 327, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus took vpon him to rule as king, making provision on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilst these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselves, and were now entred into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing hereof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portracted rampant, with his taile folded towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognifance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne by those kings that haue successuclie reigned after him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroye them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of arae in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enemies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might issue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies together, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safegard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willingly gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell arate, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainlie disclosed and throughlie lucied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Wherevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his counsell afoze him, declaring the substance of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present necessities of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yield with all to auoid the imminent perill of their

better ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

Wherevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beaustlie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroye all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdom to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to take new dwellings in some other foraine parties; sith the Britains would not saile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follied then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Duer and besides this, they had taken them twiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and foreseeable occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

Whilst the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their twiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorrowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mischief and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enemies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seeme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agreed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Fergus

The Britains and against the Scots.

The Britains are about to destroye the Picts.

Treason revealed vnto Fergus.

Fergus sendeth to the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts called his counsell and commons.

A prophesie.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

The Picts are moued to pitie.

Britains reputed as enemies.

The meeting of the two kings.

In other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go home sword displayed pointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Brits returne home in peace.

This Coillus by the circumstance of the time, and other considerations, should seeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gutteline.

Coillus his subtiltie.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Brits for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Brits invade the Britains.

Coillus entred into Scotland with an armie.

Fergusie assembled a great power of Scottishmen.

Fergusie being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Brits, I meane so sone as the Britains had understanding of this agreement, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agreement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Brits and Scottishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake up their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (so iourning in that season nere about Forke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwixt the Scottishmen and Brits, was nothing too full of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruiceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch peies and botties out of the Britishe confines. So that when the Brits sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains do in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such inuisious dissimulation, aswell Scots as Brits being not a little offended, they entred sone after into the Britishe confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all manner of cruelty. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he toke grieuous indignation thereat, and there vpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wasting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoever he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroye the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so sone as Fergusie heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about five thousand nimble men, and such as had bene bled to cline craggie hilles, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Brits being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to do; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the Britishe campe; Fergusie with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Brits on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entered into the Britishe campe, yet Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilest the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Brits comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind fowd, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemne buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leaving the kingdome vnto his sonne Sisellius, who with his mother Speritia gouerned the same together by the space of manie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enemies hands, got them together in the next morning, & perceiving what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herault vnto the Scots and Brits to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yield thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Brits with their part of the spoile gotten at this iourne, departed to their homes, and Fergusie returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parliament of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemble how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enemies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, aswell with the Britains as before hand with the Brits.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this peace or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Fergusie, the Scottishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be surueyors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as nere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulness or barrenness of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had victued the countrie, and according to their commission serued forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusie then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were repnted as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, of whome as Hector Boet. faith, their countrie of Coill toke name.

Peace concluded.

A parliament assembled into quietnesse and peace.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

Open diuide the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countreies took their names of those the first governors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them even unto this day. Fergus having thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subjects, studied further more to deuise lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbery, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

Beregonium.

Place appointed for iudice.

Fergus went into Ireland and in his returne was drowned.

Rocke Fergus, which is now called Rocke Fergus.

Edadus, Cruthenus, Camelonus, This citie the Scottish writers take to be Camelonum, of the which there is so often mention made in the Roman writers: but verelie herein they doo greatly erre. Agueda now called Odenbrough. The castell of Odenus.

The Scots consult about an other election of a king.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Loughquahay on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westerne Fles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Fles might haue their accesle & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neyghboys the Picts and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subjects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finally, falling afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottishmen in Albion about 25 yerres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euer since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Edadus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthenus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haven apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is damned up in such sort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that haven was: and the citie it selfe was finally subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The fozenamed Cruthenus builded also the towne of Agueda, afterwards called Odenbrough, of Othus king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Odenus, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & weaue, till they came to yerres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottishmen. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succeed in his place. Manie of them, in respect of the high benefitts which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yerres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, with they might not otherwise deliuer them selues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with tongue can be well exprest.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering by all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kindred more than reason happily required, and peradventure doo things otherwaies much displeasing to no small number of them by that his private authoritie. And againe, the king should no longer come to yerres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he understood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fantasies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yerres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought up in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yerres, they might succeed him in the estate and kingdome.

Feritharis chosen king.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succeed him, then should one of his neereff cousins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the throne, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecesors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuise for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vncle to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vncle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthy princes, to the no small danger of overthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finally that ordinance was clearely abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

The choosing of kings was not allowed.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kingly ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortreffe, signifying that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

Feritharis

A two edged sword.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scottish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achatus king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to indure for euer betwene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, together with foure crozlets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion and sincere faith, maintained by the Scottish nation, might

The crowne changed.

The league
with the
Picts con-
firmed.

might be the more euident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Fferitharis, shortly after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solemne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie by rightlie, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe greued: and thus continued he certeine yeeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephue Fferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Fferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Fferitharis had not with authoritie and gentle perswasions staied them) to haue tozme him all in peeces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Fferitharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughly, till that all such as had bene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Fferitharis
suddenly died.

Fferlegus
exiles.

An election of
a new king.

Fferitharis liued not passing thre moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Fferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to flie first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominie. Fferitharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the younger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeeres of age.

Mainus.

Iustice main-
tained.

Small mat-
ters redress
among neigh-
bours.

Great mat-
ters determi-
ned by the
king.

This Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Fferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studieng to answer the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthy acts, maintained iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he used euerie yeere once to haue a publicke out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earli had committed.

Mainus con-
firmed the
league with
the Picts.

Mainus a de-
vout man in
his religion.

Also for the more quiet of his subjects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chyrius requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreover this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured beliefe, that without their fauours all worldly policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certeine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge

stones round like a ring, but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched by in maner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chapels of the gods. A man would maruell by what thrift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that maner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddess of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this use was taken vp, that so lone as anie of them got sight of the new mone next after hir change, he saluted hir with certeine praiers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome induced amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Mainus did also appoint forth linings for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finally, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aswell touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leaving the estate to his sonne Doquadille, Clidurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Thaata amongst the Picts.

Doquadille being crowned king of the Scots, Desestablished a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greyhounds, ordaining that euerie household should find him two hounds and one greyhound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eye or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in deed the Scottishmen, even from the beginning, used to pursue in all they might deuise, because the same is such an enimie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Thus the Scottishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordained, that he whose dog did teile and go thorough to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were seene to be at the fall, should haue the skin, the head & hoznes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being drest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the master of the game. The bowels and panche were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should chuse by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are used even vnto these dates.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Doquadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certeine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

Diana hono-
red of the
Scots.
Diana gods
desse of hun-
ting.

The new
mone is soon
shipped.

A lining pro-
vided for the
priests.

Dorna-
dille.

Doquadille a
louer of peace:
Doquadille
had pleasure in
hunting.

The reward
for killing of
a wolfe.

Lawes made
for hunting.

The dogs
rewarded.

Did lawes
allowed, and
new establi-
shed.

the custodie of a graue counsellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offender should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offender might vnderstand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offenders without repining willingly were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoever it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the wessterne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decrees taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

Nothatus.

Nothatus

Bisigantia,
now called as
the Scots
say Galloway.Nothatus
murdered.Reuther.
Reuther crow
ned king.
Diuers lordes
offended.

Douantia.

A conspiracie
of Ferquhard
against Do-
ualus.
Ferquhard
slew into Fla.Ferquhard re-
turneth into
Scotland for
to reuenge his
injuries.

These were the acts and doings of king Dozadille, who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Berregonium, now called Dunstaffage, leauing behind him a sonne called Reuther as yet not of sufficient age to succede in the estate. By reason whereof Nothatus the brother of Dozadille, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboute remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

This Nothatus had breath reigned two yeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And forsomuch as he being admonished of his duetie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Bisigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Reuther king Dozadilles sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterpryse, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not tascing till they were commanded, rashly fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnities, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highly displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murdered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an vnskillfull young man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantir, called an assemblie of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to issue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabouts Ferquhard went, hastily came to the place where this assemblie was made, and there sleaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by stiong yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Fla, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard perswaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first joining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselves in certeine vessels, they entered the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willingly resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host stoue in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Berregonium with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceived, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore travelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Upon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Pictis, whose daughter king Reuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that took part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Kofse, Cathenesse, Parne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the wessterne Isles which were there with him.

Reuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they took him within a castell in Cathnesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partly in respect of his fathers merits, and partly againe for that it was knotone how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwise than in that he had followed the counsell of malicious persons. By this cruell martir and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottishmen and Pictis, both their forces were so greatlie infeebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happilie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains invaded the Pictis: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselves not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottish historie be true). Whereof moreover as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Pictis.

In the meane while the Britains seizing vpon such countries as these Pictis had forsaken, that is to saie, the Mers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garrisons of men of war, to kepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottish kingdome, burning & waiking all afore them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliue, being high

Douale is
slaine.Ferquhard is
slaine.Reuther the
king fled.Reuther pur-
sued & taken.
He is pardo-
ned of his life.

Gethus king.

why Orke-
nie was called
Pictland as
some suppose,
but the truth
should seeme
to be that they
were so called
because the
Pictis inhabi-
ted there be-
fore they set
foot in Brit-
taine.

The Scots
overthwone.

lie moued to indignation, came skoullie into the field to defend their countrie, and incountering with their enemies nere to Balender wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being soze chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

Scots belie-
ged deuoure
one another.

This discomforture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they utterlie despaired of all reuerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope utterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beragonium, where they held themselves as in the surest hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beragonium, where they held themselves as in the surest hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beragonium, where they held themselves as in the surest hold.

The Scots
come forth
and fight.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing forth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortress, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Wherevpon by common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfully, though in the end both he and his whole band were bozne downe and slaine with pzeale and multitude of his enemies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilst he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denuus king of the Britains to avoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Keuther pas-
sed into Ire-
land.

They inhabit
the mount-
eins.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such benefon and flesh of wild beafts as they killed in the wilderness: and sometimes they came downe and made raikes vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

Keuther is
sent for out
of Ireland.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Cethus king of the Picts kept his siege totall in Pomonia the cheefest Ile of the Orkenies. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Cethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships together, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Rosse at Lough Bnuum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they due, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first tasted thereof after their manner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Cethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie powver of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staid there abiding for his comming, to the intent that joining their powers together, they might be the better able to furnish their enterpryse.

The thirde daie after they met together with great joy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) daile resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Siffilius king of the Britains, who succeeded after Denuus, as then lately deceased, hauing knowlege hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he hastied forth to encounter with their powers, and so joining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great valiantie and manfull prowesse of Keuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath bene euer since called Keuthirdale, as ye would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not verie pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuolate betwixt these nations. The peare that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Keuda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the peare 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, foren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Beragonium, in the 26 peare of his reigne.

After Keuther his deceasse, his vnclen son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agreement of all the states, because that Thereus sonne to Keuther vnneth came to the age of ten yeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king over the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had achieved anie notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in solemne wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hills or mounteins, vpon

A custome.

The Ger-
mans in aid
of the Picts.

Keuther and
Cethus met
and ioune
their powers
together.

The Bri-
tains are
discomfited
by the Scots
and Picts.

Wherof Keu-
thir dale toke
the name.

A peace con-
cluded.

240 H.B.
4995 H.B.
Keuther by
Beda is na-
med Keuda.

4997 H.B.

Keutha.

An ordinance
for buriall
of their princes.
Wherof
Keutha was
the first.

Crafts
brought
Scots
instruc
people.

Living
pointed
vnto the
craftsm

A law
dictated
surgian

Keuth
ned the
vnto his
There
Then

Justice
leued a
imbac

The no
confire
gaint a
seus.

upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had slaine enemies in the wars: thereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

Craftsmen brought into Scotland to instruct the people.

Linings appointed fourth unto those craftsmen.

A law for physicians and surgeons.

This Menth also understanding of the lacke of all maner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Unto these also as unto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest linings, by way of fees, assigned to be received of such open and baseles as were killed, to euerie man of science and artifice his part. And further, each of them had certeine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vse of coine was not known amongst the Scottishmen. The which custome of distributing their beafts, which they killed in this wise, is still vsed in the westerne Isles even to these our daies.

Menth perceiving furthermore that through unskillfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take upon them as a surgion or physician, vntlesse they were by long experience well practised aforehand in those sciences. For before that time they used to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vered with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recovered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Menth thus studieng for the advancement of the commonwealth of his subjects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finally perceiving himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to traueil in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the prouesse of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Menth, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

Menth resigned the estate vnto his cousin Thereus.

Justice neglected and vice embraced.

The nobles conspire against Thereus.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such manner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subjects (as their custome is in following the maners and vices of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious linings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those fillic soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiving no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired together, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he having notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequels thereof, conueied himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, fleeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leuing a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Porke, he finally there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate.

Josina elected king.

Josina.

Immediatlie after this his avoiding the realme, the nobles and peeres chose one Conanus lord of Caloway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieflie imploted how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuing, of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wedded them forth, in such wise that yet he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was understood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Beregontium, where by common consent Josina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succeed.

This Josina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Britains and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he understood the vertues and properties of herbes, where with in those daies the Scots used to heale and remedie all maner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now known amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and excesse of meates and drincks used in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeiting, the chiefest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Josina his daies it chanced that a Boxtin-gale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streimable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

Surfeiting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through Synopsack arrive in Scotland, and are to fullie receiued of the king.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Beregontium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanish priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most to fullie, doing them all the honoz he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordingly ministered vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by conjecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of coine and graine, as containing far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue: this they said that

D. y.

The Scottish
religion re-
proued.

Wrightlik-
ing well re-
warded at
Gods hands.

Josina depar-
ted this life.

Finna-
nus.

Druides orde-
red in reli-
gion.
Druides in
the old Sco-
tish tong cal-
led Durceglis.

The Scots
mistake Man
for Angleseie.

The authori-
tie of the
Druides in-
creased.

they gathered by the influence of the heavens vnder the which it late. And as for the rites and blages of the people, in one point they could in no wise commend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Egyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beasts and fowls, whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordially cause or beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to devise anie similitude of living thing that might in anie wise represent him. Wherefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout prayer, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe botwes: at whose hands such as liued chastlie, byrightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

With these their sensible instructions they persuaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the mone, and stars, but that there was a certaine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers briedie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Josina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Berregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceasse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priuie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by meeknesse and gentle intreating of them, in somuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somewhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constrain anie man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fauour serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelates, which gouerned after the manner of bishops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tong Durceglis in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleseie, in the British tong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great linings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all intunctions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

These Druides afterwards applied themselves so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, as well naturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by means whereof their authoritie daile so far forth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtful matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserued accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Whoeuer such as refused to obeye their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no

creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cleared by the same Druides absolved.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Caesar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifieng how the first beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all wholie vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in so full rest and quietnesse. Yetther was his fame a little advanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durcius and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that alliance he won diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Scots as then soe diseased, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Berregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

After him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durcius. Durcius, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether giuen to banquetting and excessive drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuises could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peeres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsooke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing her to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous manner.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the weserne Isles with them of Cantire, Lozne, Argile, and Koffe, conspired together in the reformation of such disorders as were baile vied in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed counsellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remove from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beleafe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such counsellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

He further also in presence of Dozo the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, swore in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and couenants as he was agreed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloyed dissimulation they being deceived, came without suspect of further guile vnto Berregonium, where at their first comming he was ready to receiue them (as seemed by his feined countenance) with glad some hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinsfolke, caused

Durcius.

wicked coun-
sellors.

conspiracie.

craftie and
cloyed dissim-
ulation.

craftie dissim-
ulation.

craftie man-
ner.

A new tas
mult.
King Dur-
sus besieged.

Durkas is
name.

Ewin is cho-
sen king.

Ewin.

Swearing of
fealties first be-
gun.

Humble reue-
rence.

The dutie of
a good prince.

A notable or-
dinance.

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies
after, manie thousands of men in furious rage
came before the castell, and besieged the king most
straightlie therein. Who perceiuing himselfe in such
danger as he knew not well how to escape, came
forth with such companie as he had about him, and
incounting with his enemies, was straightwaies
beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there
both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his
reigne. Durkas being thus dispatched, his children
doubting the indignation of the people conceived a-
gainst them for their fathers fault, to auoid the
perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the
nobles of the realme assembled themselves together
for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding
to haue anie of Durkas his race to reigne ouer
them, least they would seeke by some means to re-
venge his death: howbeit at length when they were
at point to haue fallen at variance in sustaining of
contrarie opinions about the election of their prince,
through a wittie oration made by Cozanus gouer-
nour of Argile, who allegeded manie weightie rea-
sons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agreed to
commit the free election vnto the same Cozanus,
promising firmitie to accept whome soeuer he should
name. Whereupon Cozanus consulting a little with
the peeres of the realme, named one Ewin the un-
cles sonne of Durkas, who as then remained in
Picland, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in
Durkas his daies, being banished the realme by
him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt
manners. This election was acceptable to all estates,
for that thereby the administration of the kingdome
continued in the line of their former kings.

And Ewin shortly after was brought forth of
Picland with all regall solemnitie, and at Be-
regonium placed vpon the ston of marble, to the
great reioysing of the people there assembled. Here-
with also the nobles of the realme, putting their
hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall
and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which
custome of swearing fealties then first by Ewins
commandement, begun and continued manie hun-
dred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie;
in somuch that the capitans of the tribes also requi-
red the same kind of oth of them that inhabited with-
in their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto
this day amongst those of the westerne Isles, and
such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the crea-
tion of a new gouernour, whome they name their
capitaine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being
ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie,
proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting with-
in his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour
by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the
ancient & accustomed name as such rulers aforesaid
haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare
him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and
make a certaine courtesie in signe of honour due to
him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine ser-
uice, when anie holie myserie is in doing, or anie
sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest stu-
die was to mainteine iustice throughout his domi-
nion, and to weed out such transgressours as went
about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Fur-
thermore, considering what inconueniencies proce-
ded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wan-
ton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme
should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and
trauell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie fea-
therbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise
themselves to throw the dart, to shot, to wrestle,
and to beare armour as well in time of peace as of

warre; that when need required, trauell and such
kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure
vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might
make the same intollerable. Whilist Ewin is thus
occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordi-
nances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the
Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require
his aid against the Britains, who were entred his
countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, lent
an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward
to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the
old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who
likewise were as ready to receiue battell, as the
Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that
both the armies incounting together (the Scots
and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the o-
ther) there ensued a sore conflict betwixt them, con-
tinued with vnumerifull slaughter till night parted
them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who
had the better, but either part being prouide to their
owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from
the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts
the same night got them into the mounteins of Pic-
land, and the Britains so lone as it was day made
homewards with all speed towards their countrie,
leaving no small prete and battie behind them, which
the Scottishmen and the Picts recouered, comming
downe with all speed from the mounteins, when
they once heard that their enemies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from this iourne,
determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and
quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his
realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of
lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of
the same. He appointed also such as should watch for
the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high-
waies, assigning them liuings of the common trea-
surie to liue by. And there be enen vnto this day that
hold still such liuings, though the office be woyn out
of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant
from Berregonium, which he named after his owne
name Ewinum: but afterwards it was called
Dunstaffage, which is as much to say, as Streuens
castell, which name it beareth at this present. Final-
lie, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great
weale of the realme, about 19 yeares, he departed
this life, leaving behind him a son bafe begotten, na-
med Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be
erected with all solempne pompe and ceremonies,
raised vp some after sundry obelisks about his graue
nere vnto Dunstaffage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of
Durkas his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time
had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were
in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, be-
cause they were twins, and not knowne whether of
them came first into the world, looked to be king af-
ter Ewin: their names were Doshan and Dorgall.
And such malicious emulation and enuious spite
rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of
their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which
Gillus, like a craftie & subtil for, by couert means
sought still to augment; and in the end causing them
to come together for some conclusion of agreement,
at length when he had set them further at ods than
they were before, he procured a number of souldiers
appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as
though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and
there to slea them both.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he
came for, shewed in countenance as though he had
bene much offended therewith, and done what he
could

A doubtful
battell.

Dunstaffage
is builded.

The craftie
working of
Gillus.

Durkas two
sonnes are
slaine.

Ed. ii.

could to haue appeased the matter, and herewith he cometh running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good shift for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Dogall, who fell into such mischance themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in so much that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstaffage, where being receiued into the castle with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuention against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowne, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

The nobles through feare consented to create Gillus king.

Those that were present, perceiving to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might haplie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to sweare vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreeable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he won the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogether in libertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iourne thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismorus, being about twelue yeres of age, and the other Cornacus that was two yeres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seven yeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a pince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaving certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leasure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his coming home to Dunstaffage, he caused them to be murdered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, prouided more warlike for his safeguard, for the smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders vp into the mounteins, and there with in a secret den sustained his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus goeth about to murder Dothans sonnes also.

A detestable murder.

Ederus escapes.

Gillus counterfeits a scale to mislead.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continuallie, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: in so much that he can-

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Now the people seeing the baile slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie loyered against him, namelie those of Galloway, Bilsy, Carrick, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lozne, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such assistance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enemies with more speed than god succelle: for yet the two armies came to joining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole pitifullie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers boate, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowne, his souldiours yielded themselves vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capitaine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernor of the realme till they had chosen a king.

The Scots rise against Gillus.

Gillus departeth secretly and getteth ouer into Ireland. Cadall of Galloway is chosen gouernor of the realme.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Beragonium, Dunstaffage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Fla, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he shuld attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Isles. Whither was brought vnhim also, the yong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honorable conueied vnto Episke the chiefe citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that coming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

Ireland and other take Ederus not to be so farre noy.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, in so much that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefe gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthe fame, nephew to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gouwere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

Gillus parchalet aid in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name chosen king.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Fla, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstaffage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enemies, he put them to the worse, in so much that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saved himselfe. His souldiours also perceiving him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yielded themselves vnto Cadall, who took them to grace, and forthwith sent

Ewin.

Cadall with an armie sent into Ireland.

Gillus to
ben.

Gillus be-
headed,

A shipwreck
by a tempest.

Cadall for his
good & faithful
service is re-
warded.

Scots
gaint
s.

A Depart-
ment
creeth
out
to Fre-

How Ca-
dall's cho-
ice of
realme.

An interview
betwixt the
kings of
Scots and
Britons.
The people of
Dykeney in-
vade Cath-
ness.

And
fate
not to
arre

A par-
ty aid in
nd.

The so-
f that
chofen

Bladus king
of Dykeney
slew himself.

Enuerloch-
tey is build-
ed.

Enuernesse
builded.

72.

With
nests
to Fre-

sent out certeine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien hid certeine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie strooke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioysing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterprize with good successe, he toke the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voyage. Which mischance sore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioysing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall toke it so grieuoullie, that nothing could be moe of seruise vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castles in Galloway, in recompense of his good faithful seruice at sundrie times thewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Brits in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient leage betwixt the Scottish men and the Brits. For moe corroboracion therof Egoza the daughter of Gethus the third king of the Brits, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Epiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Duffasage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Koller, that the Islanders of Dykeney had passed Scotland firsh, and were entred into Cathness, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Koller, he leued an armie with all speed, and hastned towards the enimies, constraining them by his sudden coming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leisure to get awaie, so that with small resistance they were vanquished and chased, some into the mountains, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by botes ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden overthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Dykeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, slew himself. And thus ended this enterprize against the enimies of Dykeney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchising the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochness, which he named Enuernesse, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such fures, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin proued a most famous prince for his worthie exploits right fortunatlie atchiued both in peace and warre. And finally understan-

ding the death of his verie deere and intirelle beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifying of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to do the moe honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Epiake, and setting an altar betwixt the yong men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market stee, commanding the same to be honored with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deere a friend, he began to war like himselfe, and at length perceluing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholesome aduertisements how to vse himselfe in gouernement of his subiects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his decess he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seuentene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the decess of Ewin, Ederus was, in a manner before exprest, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose chief delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and greihounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the wolfe the heardmans fo, by meanes whereof his aduancement was much moe acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards the publike state of the realme being maintained by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politike lie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Ederus of the Isles, nere of kin to Gillus that usurper and murtherer, who with a powder of Irishmen, and other of the westerne Isles landed in Argile, waisting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, whereof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hastning to the place where his enimies ships laye at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruelly executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the westerne Isles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Ederus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and deppriving some vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoys sent from Castillane kings of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie hostile to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seignorie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoys verie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afore whom he willed that Androgens, cheefe of the British ambassadoys, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall de-
ceased.

Ewin resigneth the estate.

Ederus de-
ceased.

Ederus.

Ederus in-
uadeth the
Isles.

Ederus burneth his enimies ships,

Castillane king of the Britains requirith of the Scottishmen aid against the Romans.

Androgens cheefe ambassadoy of the Britains declareth the effect of his message.

The Scots
grant to aid
the Britains
against the
Romans.

Cadallane &
Donald with
ten thousand
Scottishmen
send to aid
the Britains.

1129 H.B.
60 H.B.

The Brit-
tains refuse
aid being of-
fered them.

Julius Cesar
invaeth this
land the se-
cond time.

The Brit-
tains are over-
throwne.

Julius Cesar
his message
to the Scots
and Picts.

The answer
of the Scots
and Picts un-
to Cesar his
ambassadors.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scottishmen upon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the advice of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Roman, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates unto Cethus king of the Picts, to move him to do the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Thus the British ambassadors having speed according to their desires, repaired homewards: immediately upon whose departure, both the kings Cederus & Cethus lentied their armies, & sent them forth towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojournd. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men under the leading of Cadallane gouernour of Gallo way, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Donald gouernour of Argile. But what successe followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of England more at length expressed. The yere that Julius Cesar came to invade Britaine, was the fourth of Cederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after spaisier Harisons account 54 before the coming of our Saviour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

The Scottishmen and Picts having their part of the spoile which the Romans at their departure left behind them, were sent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they believed verelie they should haue no more to do with those enemies, or if they had they thought themselves strong enough to repell them without aid of other. By means whereof when king Cederus was informed how the Romans prepared to invade them afresh, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but answered that it was not necessarie, for euerie light invasion of forren enemies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same well enough.

But of this refusal of so friendlie an offer, it was not long per the Britains fore repented them. For shortly after Julius Cesar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at three sundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Cassibilane, at length he put the Cassibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners were three of their chiefeest captains, Androgeus, Silentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason of which overthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged, that doubting further mischance, he yielded himselfe unto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of covenants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent his ambassadors unto the kings of the Scottishmen and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as Cassibilane had done, or else he had them loke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might assure themselves they should in no wise be able to susteine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole world at their commandement already. Whereunto as well the one king as the other made this or much what the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution, if they were put to the trial, should be euidentlie

proued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these two nations, he sendeth new messengers unto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats but also by great reasons went about to persuade them unto submission. But they persisting in their former opinion for defense of their liberties, and sterile refusing all manner of bondage, would incline by no means to come in any bond of friendship with the Romans. After the returne of these last messengers, Cesar was fullie resolved to enter into their countries, to force them unto that by dint of sword, whereunto by treatie he might not induce them: and had set forward on that iourne shortly after indeed, if he had not bene called backe into France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those countries, where the Picts and Romans, with other the inhabitants nere about Chartres do now dwell.

The common Scottish chronicles record, how Julius Cesar came as far as Balenbar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the British kings used most to sojourne. Hereunto the same chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone house of 24 cubits in heighth, & of 12 cubits in breadth, of square hewen stones, right workmanlike framed, which house they saie Cesar caused to be used in stead of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the river of Caron, ouer against the forrenamed citie of Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such an house there remaineth to be seene euen unto this daie, and is called Julius hof, that is Julius hall, or Julius court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Cesar, and of the goddess Victoria, by the Romane capteine Ctespasian, at such time as he made wars in that countrie, before his advancement to the empire.

But to returne unto Cederus. About the same time, in which he looked to be invaded by Julius Cesar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent for them of the westerne Isles to reinforce his host, he was now enforced to conuert it another waie, for there was one Murketus, nephue unto the aboue remembred Gilius, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute as then of men to resist him. But Cederus hearing thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into those parties for defense of his subiects: which Cadallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this exploit, that setting upon the enemies as they lay at anchor, he took them in the night season, without making any great defense, and after hanged them by along the shore side within the Ile of Gotoze: Murket himself being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was their chiefe head and leader in that volage. The remnant of Cederus his reigne passed without anie other notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38 yeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23 yere of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & solemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome then was) erected and set by about the place where he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie unto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeres of his reigne he was wholly drowned in lasciuious lecherie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering amongst

Cesar sendeth
new messen-
gers unto the
Scots and
Picts, but
they speake
much like to
the former.

Balenbar of
Caledon wood
this cannot
be true, for
Cesar came
not neer Scot-
land, as in the
historie of
England it
appeareth.

Julius hof.

Murketus
nephue unto
Gilius inua-
eth the west-
erne Isles.

Murket is
hanged with
manie more.
48 H.B.
26 H.B.
Cederus de-
parteth this
life.

Ewin.

Intemperate
king.

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more freely without gainesaying hant his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and cosins. Such delight he had also in his filthy and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subjects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualitties. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first despoile the hyde after hir marriage: which last ordinance toke such effect, that of manie hundred yeres after it could by no means be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortly after this Ewins decesse, taken awaie and reuoked.

filthy lawes

Ewin is punished and forgotten his subjects.

Ewin condemned to perpetual prison.

Ewin is strangled.

32 H.B.

Merellanus.

Kimbaline king of the Britains.

Metellanus becometh kind to the Romans.

amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdom for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning thoroughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and salutarious birth did come to passe in the 12 yeare of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdom by Fergusius 324 yeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certaine yeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore readie to do the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finally, he passed out of this life in the 39 yere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauour, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Whowbeit he left no issue alieue behind him to succede in the government of the kingdom: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes thereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nepheue to king Metellanus by his sister Europeta, was proclaimed king: as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the yeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litle to do in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his uncle Metellanus.

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The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the author punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Caridoulum, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situate within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealtie and state thereof. Whilist these things were a doing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Gubderius succeeding, disdained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and inuaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saved themselves within castles & fortresses. The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Roman empire, aduertised hereof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Suetonius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Gubderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enemies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadours returne, there were sent ouer into France certaine intelligenciarie to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Gubderius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yet the Galls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortly

The birth of our Sauour Christ.

10 H.B.
320 H.B.
5109 H.B.

Metellanus departeth this world.
29 H.B.
14 H.B.
Caratake is proclaimed King.
This Caratake take all the British and English words taken to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

Caratake.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains died.

Gubderius the British king rebelled against the Romans.

Plautius or Suetonius.

Gubderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Gubderius slaine.

lie

The emperour Claudius cometh into Britaine.

Claudius saileth into the Dykenies.

How Kirke-walc.

Claudius taketh the king of the Dykenies.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Dykenies. Dion Cassius.

Arutragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

Moada imprisoned.

Moada is delivered out of prison, and conueied into Wales.

Arutragus giueth his enemies an overthrow.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obedience, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Isles of Dykenie, purposing to conquire the same, for that they had aided the Britains in these last warres against the Romans. But approaching nere to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast awate by a tempest rising by chance, even as he was entred the streit betwixt the Dykenies and Dungibie head in Cathnesse called Witland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arrived, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in caues and dens amongst the rocks & mounteins.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Domonia the chiefe of all the Dykenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Isles named Genuus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finally causing him to yeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie. ¶ But whatsoever Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Dykenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he failed not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Dykenie and conquire the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth: But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should seeme to defraud them of whatsoever glorie is to be gotten by errors, as the manner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant worthy of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arutragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsooke his wife named Moada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottismen, and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britans disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Moada, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plandius, thereby to breake all friendship and alliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Moada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales togither with hir children.

With which dealing Arutragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Plandius assembling togither with such of the Britains as toke part with Arutragus, set forward toward the enemies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Darbushire, were vp in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Arutragus and Aulus Plandius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoever charced. And to reinforce their power, Aulus Plandius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselves, now being certified of all their enemies doings, thought best to make themselves so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lordes and estates assembled togither at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Cozimum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Arutragus, who went about to bring them whole vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance togither, there rose a doubt whome they might chuse for their generall capteine, for that it was feared least there might grow some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischief, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Arutragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister quene Moada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit to the end, such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane blood) might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lordes which were confederat in this enterprise, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weighing the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to provide for themselves, as their enemies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioicing at the news, made provision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as the spring approached, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkshire, in purpose to encounter with their enemies in battell, where soeuer they found them.

Arutragus and Aulus Plandius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them,

The confederats against Arutragus.

The Britains make themselves strong.

The Britains assemble themselves at Shrewsburie.

They conferat themselves together.

Caratake chosen to be capteine of the Britains.

Arutragus should disherit his own children which he had by Moada.

Caratake promised aid to the Britains.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains against the Romans.

for a while forbare to ioin in battell, through counsell of Plandius, who perceiuing the most part of the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers, taken bp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be some out of heart, through watching and euill harbozough, in such sort that in the end they should be easie enough to deale with; and even so it came to passe. For the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured to the fields on ecy side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie wales for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched bp, so that what through hunger, lacke of slepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conueie themselves from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enemies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and soe infabled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they were enforced vnto in the campe. Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plandius determined the next day to giue battell. And so in the morning they arraied their people, & marched forth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

The Britains were tried through cruell.

The Romans giue battell to the Britains.

Right parted the fray.

Caratake returneth home to Caracorum, Ambassadors are sent vnto Caratake from Aulus Plandius.

Caratake his answer vnto the ambassadors.

Aruiragus resoluetly.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderstanding the enemies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and vnumercifull slaughter betwixt them on both parts, without sparing any at all, till such time as the night parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that after they were once got in sunder, neither part had anie haile afterwards to ioin againe: so that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, those that were left aliue as well on the one part as the other being fled and scattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plandius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himselfe with few first towards Powke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly after there came vnto him ambassadors from Aulus Plandius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did aid the British rebels against the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a woorthie amends for so presumptuous an enterprisse, he should be sure to haue the Romans his enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue it were much better for him to seke their friendship, than to abide their enmitie.

Herevnto Caratake answered, that he had inst cause to do that which he did, considering the injuries which his sister Moada with hir sonne Guidorius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded to make anie amends for that was done, that he thought it moze reason that the Romans should clearelie auoid out of the whole possession of Britaine, either else they might assure themselves to haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedome. The Romane ambassadors being returned with this answer, Plandius toke no small indignation thereat, soe menacing to be reuenged of so high and countenelous words pronounced against the maiestie of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust conceived by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and so to reconer the intire estate, resolting from them, fled into Shyewsburie, where, at the same time such British lords as were enemies to the Romans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genissa being at the same season great with child, toke such thought for this resolting of hir husband, that traouelling before hir time, she immediatly died therewith. But Aulus Plandius, perceiuing now thoroughly how little trust there was to be put in the Britains, dispatched a messenger in all hast with letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then sojourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what danger the state of Britaine stood, if timely prouision were not the sooner made.

Genissa the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

A messenger sent vnto Claudius the emperor from Plandius.

Claudius weighing the matter by good aduise of counsell, ordeined by decree of the senate, that Vespasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent hither with an armie, to tame the proud and loitic stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Vespasian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increasing his legions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his coming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished after the warlike order of the Romane vsage, and mozeouer all such companies of men of warre as kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praise the great diligence and politike gouernement of Plandius.

Vespasian cometh into Britaine.

Now when Vespasian had a little refreshed his men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he set forward toward Aruiragus & other the enemies, whom he vnderstood as then to be at Powke, making their assemblee, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of all parties a chosen number of piket men were sent for, as out of Denonshire & Cornewall there came 6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kendall, Westmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Dorsetshire and other the parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto Powke, euerie man bringing his prouision with him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scottish men; and Alithara otherwise called Eboran, king of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

The Britains gather an armie.

Acem.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains. Alithara or Eboran king of Picts.

Vespasian being certified still from time to time of all the doings of his enemies, hastened with all speed towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from Powke, he hercelle vpon a sudden setteth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had bene nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manfully stood to their defense: insomuch that those in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue bene distressed, if Vespasian perceiuing the danger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, whereby the battell was newlie in that part reformed. The captains on either side did what they could to incourage their folkes to sticke to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, considering what gain came by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the ouerthrow.

Vespasian attacketh the Britains in their campe.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like enraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and desperate hardinesse preuaile, for fortune by fatal appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the domination

The desperat hardinesse of the Britains and Scottish men.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

The Brit-
tain's receive
the overthrow

Caratake
escapeth.
Charan king
of the Picts
is slain.

Messengers
sent by Arui-
ragus unto
Clespasian
with sub-
mission.

Arui-
ragus
commeth in
unto Clespa-
sian.
Arui-
ragus is
restored again
to his former
dignitie.
The Brit-
tain's are par-
doned, but yet
deliuer new
hostages.
Their lawes
abrogated.
New lawes.

Camelon be-
sieged by
Clespasian.

Camelon
surrendered.
The kings
regall orna-
ments taken.

Camelon pro-
pied with
Romans.

nion of the whole world, shewed hir selfe so fauoura-
ble unto them in this battell, that in the end, though
the Britains with the confederats did what lay in
men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they
beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a
few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Arui-
ragus seeing the slaughter of his people,
would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his ser-
uants caried him by force out of the field, that he
might be reserued yet unto some better fortune.
Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie,
but Charan king of the Picts, notwithstanding to liue
after such losse of his people, threw away his armor
with all his kinglie ornaments, and sitting downe
vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there
slaine by such as followed in the chase. Arui-
ragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke,
considered how by reason of this great discomfiture,
it was impossible to resist the Romane puissance,
and therefore with consent of the residue of his no-
bles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an
herald unto Clespasian, offering to submit himselfe in
most humble wise unto anie reasonable conditions
of peace and agreement. Whereupon Clespasian com-
manded that Arui-
ragus should in priuate apparell
come in unto him, for he would not talke of anie
peace, except he had Arui-
ragus present, and there-
fore he sent unto him his safe conduct to assure him
safetie both to come and go.

Arui-
ragus seeing no other remedie, came in un-
to Clespasian, according to his appointment, and by
on his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses,
and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and
good townes also that were partakers in the rebel-
lion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fir-
ming or other indenmitie, and so likewise were all
the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better
assurance of their libertie in time to come, they deli-
uered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were
abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place
established. For the administration of the which, in
euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to
see good orders obserued according to the forme there-
of. By which meanes the Brittain nation estones re-
turned unto hir former obedience of the Romane
empire. All the winter following, Clespasian laie
at Forke, making his apperalls against the next
spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So sone
therefore as the summer was come, Clespasian set-
teth forth with his armie, and entering into the
marches of his enemies, he did put them in such feare
that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves unto
him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which
were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through
strength of that towin to defend themselves from all
assaults. Clespasian being certified therof, came & be-
sieged them within the same citie, not minding to de-
part till he had them at his pleasure. This siege con-
tinued till they within, being in danger to famish
through want of vittels, surrendered themselves
with the towin into Clespasian's hands. In this towin
were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne
& sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of
the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a pur-
ple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed, Clespa-
sian used to weare in all the warres wherein he after-
wards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not of what good
successe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictish lords
which were within Camelon, were commanded to
deliuer pledges: and after licensed to depart with-
out anie other damage. Clespasian himselfe remai-
ning at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the
towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the
liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome inioied. Also ouer against the towne
vpon the banke of the river of Caron, he builded a
temple in honoz of the emperor Claudius, wherein
he set vp two images, the one representing Clau-
dius, and the other the goddesse Victoria.

Whilest he was thus occupied, things came to
him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had as-
sembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts
and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to
revenge the last overthrow. Whereupon Clespasian
with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the
leading of Aulus Plautius to encounter the ene-
mies. Plautius being approached within foure miles
of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as
though he minded not to passe further, till Clespasian
with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his
aid. Nevertheless, night was no sone come on,
but that he gaue generall commandement through
his host, that euerie man should make him readie to
depart at a certaine houre vnder the standards of
their capteins in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set
ward, following certaine guides (which knew all the
straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to
the place where Caratake with his armie was lod-
ged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend
his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon
the whole campe, and though he found such resistance
that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from
the dawning of the day, till it was hie none, yet in
the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and
the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were
on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake esca-
ping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him
to the castell of Dunstaffage. Diuerse of the Bri-
tain's & Picts, which as yet had not submitted them-
selves, were put in such dread through brute of this
overthrow, that immediatlie thereupon they came
in and yelded themselves unto Clespasian. And in
semblable wise the people of Galloway utterlie des-
pairing any longer to defend their countrie against
Plautius (who was now entred into their confines,
and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become
subjects unto the Romans, which they might neuer
be brought unto before that time.

These newes being certified unto Clespasian by
a pursuant, he rode straightwaies unto Carrike, &
there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the in-
habitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambas-
sadors unto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie
meanes to become friend unto the Romane em-
pire, in acknowledging some maner of subiection
thereunto: but this deuise was to small purpose, for
Caratake was determined rather to end his life as
a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to be-
come thrall unto anie soveraine nation, in hope to
liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came
anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they
would vsurpe the whole dominion unto themselves.
Whose mind when Clespasian vnderstood by his an-
swer made to the ambassadors which were sent unto
him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie un-
to Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was
informed that dangerous passages he must march
through, all full of desert mountains, bogs, and
quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or
forage to bee found by all the way as the armie
should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterprize, he caused so ma-
nie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided on
all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile
of Man, into the which there were gotten together a
great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped
the Romans hands. But this iourne also was bro-
ken

Julius Hoff.
This was at
Colchester, as
the British &
English writers
doe tell.

Caratake af-
sembled an
armie.

Plautius
sent forth with
an armie a-
gainst Ca-
ratake.

Plautius
setteth vpon
the Scottish
campe.

Caratake fle-
eth unto
Dunstaffage.

The people of
Galloway
submit them-
selves to the
Romans.

Ambassadors
sent unto
Caratake.

Caratake be-
cometh refuseth
to become a
subject.

The Ile of
wight re-
bellith.

Cleopasian
appeareth the
rebels.

Cleopasian
returneth to
Rome.

Plautius left
as gouernor.
Plautius
prepareth to
meet the
Scots.

The Romans
through poli-
cie banquish
the Scottish
men.

Plautius fol-
loweth.

Drizius
Scapula is
sent into
Britaine.

Julius Plau-
tius dieth.

The vse as
amongst the
Scots to
burne the
dead bodie.

ken by another incident, for euen at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were revolted, and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in garisons in those parts. Vespasian therefore minding to cure this wound yet it should throughlie fester, hastened thither with all speed, and with little ado pacifying the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be punished according to their deserts.

Shortly after being sent for by the emperor Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchieued victories. Aulus Plautius was left in charge with the gouernment of Britaine after Vespasians departure: who hearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselves vnto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countries which Vespasian had latelie conquered, he likewise prepared to meet them, so that both the armies encountering together, there was fought a right terrible battell with great slaughter on both parties, till finally the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marshes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots, when by any aduenture they chanced to be put to flight.

After this overthrow the warre was continued for two yeres space, by rodes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Aile and Galloway. In which meane while Plautius fell sicke of the sicke, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperor Claudius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and thereupon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauing receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of the same, sent one Drizius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arriual into Britaine, Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Camelon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was burned, and according to the vse of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and buried within the church of Claudius and Vitoria, which (as is said) Vespasian builded nere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken by amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodies of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse tokens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findo, a village in Perth, five miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbadden in Perth, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by certaine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of worke, manship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Spente the semblable monuments haue bene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

But now to our purpose. Immediatlie vpon the coming of Drizius into Britaine, the people

of the west countries rebelled, procuring the northern men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarrell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well enough with this new Romane capitaine Drizius Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Drizius being informed of all these practices, and remembryng what furtherance it were for a capitaine in the beginning to win a name by some praise-worthy enterpryse, he made first towards the western Britains, whom he thought to surpise yet they should assemble with the other rebels, and so meeting with them, he chased and toke a great number of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

After this, he went against the people called Iceni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countie now called Dorsetshire, but other take them to be Southfolke men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no horsemen should breake in vpon them: yet this notwithstanding, Drizius assailed them within their strength, and in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on eche side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterpryses, which Drizius and other of the Romane lieutenants atchieued here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yere of our Lord 320, at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants remoued by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Humfrey Llloyd, and others, that they inhabited countries contained now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Deuonians where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carrike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the description as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to returne where we left: the brate of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such of the Britains, as were readie to haue revolted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Caratake continued in their rebellion, till Drizius came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were soone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Aile and Cantire, spoiling and wasting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which inturie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assembled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subiects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be reuenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the task of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this season, that they in maner were wholie conspired together to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a deepe fowleisse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the strepnesse

The Brit-
tains yet este-
moued rebell.
The Brit-
tains require
aid of Carata-
ke.

The Brit-
tains of the
west part are
chased.

Iceni.
Dorsetshire
is assailed.
Some take
the Iceni to
be the South-
folke men.

They of Gal-
loway are bea-
ten and pacifi-
ed.

Aile and Can-
tire wasted
and spoiled.
Caratake as-
sembleth an
armie.

The strength
of the place
where Carata-
ke was in-
camped.

Of this matter ye may read more in England. Women incamped.

Women placed in order of battell. Caratake and his captains exhort their men to fight.

Moxius incourageth his Romans.

Caratake overthrowne by the Romans. His queene taken.

Caratake betrayed by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

He is shewed to the people in triumph.

Caratake departeth this life.

Strange sights seene.

stapnesse of the crags and such fencing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any waie to enter. All such women as were some what steep in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to do valiantlie with shouting and hallowing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe araie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake having thus ordered his field, and hearing that Moxius was come to give battell, exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thalidome to them and their posteritie for ever. On the other part Moxius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in araie after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whom they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Herewith upon commandement given on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Britains, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimaria: but as aduersitie kindestly few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Moxius. This was in the ninth years after the beginning of the warres. Moxius used him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him unto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

At his coming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchieued enterpryse against whatsoever the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius upon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior, and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, upon his oth received to be a true subiect unto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning unto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Aile, Carrick, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preferue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeeres after the deceasse of his vncle Metellan, in the yeere of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of hoymen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished a waie, that no appearance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of twolues in the night season set upon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried a waie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffered him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrick there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims sauing the head, which was like unto a rauens. These vnkethly signes and monstres put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decease, his yongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succede in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yeere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomack, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his induror to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the Westerne Isles, also in Rosse & Cathnes. In the meane time the Brits hauing created there a new king called Conkist, gouernour of Mers and Louthian, they set upon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next towncs and castles adjoining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues ther e.

Shortly after also, the same Brits overthrow a number of foragers, with such companies of hoymen as came to defend them. Herewith Moxius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Brits, who defended themselves so vigozoullie, that the fore ward of the Romans was nere hand discomfited. Which danger Moxius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene slaine. The night coming upon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Brits with such other Britains as were come unto them out of the Isle of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and upon the first ioining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them unto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streits of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Brits as returned from the battell.

Moxius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortly after sent a pursuant unto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Brits, who neither by force nor gentle perswasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therfore, sent word againe that he would not that the Brits should be estions received upon their submission, if they were giuen to make sute for pardon, but utterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe over into Britaine. But in the meane while Moxius departed this world, together of his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or thorough sicknesse (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After those

Corbreid.

The Brits moue war against the Romans.

The Brits overthrow the Romane foragers.

Moxius is wounded.

The Romans trained forth into ambushes and so surprised.

Moxius deeth.

Appianus
Valens inu-
beth the
Picts.

The Ro-
mans are dis-
comfited by
the Picts.

Aulus Did-
us cometh
into Britaine.

The Picts
sent to the
Scots for
aid.

Caesius Pa-
lics entred
with an armie
into Galloway.

Venerius the
husband of
Cartimandua.

Venerius re-
uoltereth.

Cartimandua
is buried
quicke.

whole deceasse Marcius Valens had the chiefest charge, who bying his armie forth to encounter the Picts that came to seeke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had abidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 hostlers out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and chased vnto their campe, there being slaine about 3000 of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arriued in Britaine another Romane captaine to be generall in place of Moxus now deceased, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remembred. At his first comming ouer he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great danger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been wonne and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselves to recouer againe the hono: which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them manfull stomaches, and obeie him and such other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send vnto Corbzeid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loued libertie, and hated to lue in seruile bondage. For which respect Corbzeid was the sooner moued to condescend vnto the request of the Picts; and therevpon assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Where of Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuerfed againe vnto the empire.

The herald had vnto the done his message, when word came vnto Corbzeid how an armie of the Romans vnder the guiding of Caesius Palica was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terro: of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on eche hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbzeid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbzeid brought with him into Galloway, he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast vnto Eptake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Venerius that had married the forenamed Cartimandua that unkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Venerius was of consell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraying of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Romans, he reuolted from them vnto Corbzeid. Where with his wife being offended, found means to apprehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kindfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbzeid at his comming thither, did not onlie set them at libertie, but also toke & caused Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane

while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few foragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slaine. This mischance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Pacifica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entrics, had not other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how another armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approached within thre miles of him, he brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hastied forth towards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fiercelie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellows, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got vp into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselves with that which they had in possession before the beginning of these last wars, and suffer Corbzeid to inioy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts paying their former tribut for the finding of such garisons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour anie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displeasures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

After his deceasse the emperor Nero, who succeeded Claudius, appointed one Venerius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of hono:, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, sought daile in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable encounter chanced betwixt them, Venerius died. His last words were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Romane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Corbzeid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that it

The darke
night parted
the fraie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Aulus Did-
us departeth
this life at
London.

Venerius
is made lieut-
enant of Bri-
taine.

Venerius
departeth this
life.

Paulinus
Suetonius.

Angletrie and
not Man
was thus in-
uaded by
Suetonius.

it was not span, but the Ile of Angleseie which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficiently after what sort Suetonius both attempted & achieved this enterpryse, which being brought to end, he was sent for into Gallia, to represse certaine tumults raised among the people there. In whose absence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpose, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whilst Suetonius was busie in requiring the Ile of Angleseie, as in the English chronicle it likewise appeareth, with the strange sights and wonders which happened about the same time, where vpon the Countsaiers (as Hector Boetius saith) declared that the Romans should receiue a great ouerturrow. Vpon trust of whose words the Brits and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereof, set vpon such Romans as inhabited there, and due a great manie of them per they were in doubt of a nie rebellion. The residue which escaped, got them into an old church, where they were slaine echmothers sonne.

**The Scots
and Picts kill
the Romans.**

Petilius Ce-
realis his men
being slain
returned.

Thus the
procurator of
Britaine fled
into France.

Queene Mo-
ada desireth
aid of hir bro-
ther Corbrend.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of
foemen and a troope of hoſſemen to their ſuccours,
was incountried by the Pictes, & being put to flight,
loſt all his foemen, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with
the hoſſemen to the campe. Shortly after he toke vp
his tents and returned towarde Kent, where Catus
the procurator, or receiuer (as I may call him) of Bri-
taine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding how
the whole Ile was on eith ſide in an uprore, ſied ouer
into France then called Gallia. This meane while
queene Goada ſent vnto hir brother Corbied king
of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans,
who had ſo villie vſed hir and hir daughters, to the
great diſhonour of hir and all hir lineage, and now
was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries, the
whole nation of the Britains through the couetous
dealing of the procurator Catus, being riſen in
armes to recover their ancient liberties.

Charanach Is.
of the Digs.

The Romans Aine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Cozbeizd being highlie displeased towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his siser, determined either to see hir satisfied by woorthie recompense, or elle to be reuenged on them that had misbised hir : and hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procurator: that was as then returned into Byztaine with a power of men of warre . Cozbeizd receiving but a scornfull answer from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Pias, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other , pursued the Romans and their associates, slaing downe a wonderfull number of them. He also burned and destroyed diuers towncs, such as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans stood earnestlie to their defense, as Werwikke and Carleiss with others . About the same season there arrived in the frith a number of Dutch ships, fraught with people of Perherne or Poojauia, a region in Germanie situate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and assembling together vnder a famous capteine named Koderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making shipp for vessels, they toke the seas to seeke them some new habitations ; and thus arriuing in Idaland, were iustlie receiued of the Pias and Scots, so; that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne injuries against the Romans. Hamelic with the Pias they were much esteemed, so; that they came forth of the same countrie from whence their ancestors were defended .

Their huge bodies and mightie lims did greatlie commend them in the sight of all men before whom they mustered, so that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Brits were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enemies, they were highlie welcomed, and upon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iourneie, in aid of quene Moada against the Romans. With this Moada was assembled a mightie host of the Britains, amongst whom were five thousand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies done to their persons by the Romans, as to die in the paine. And for this purpose were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the first that should giue the onset. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Brits and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

After taking aduise how to behaue themselves in their enterprise, they thought it good to make hast to fight with the pzocuratoz Catus, per anie new powler of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was striken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the ho:lemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on eche side; Catus himselfe being wounded, escaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortly after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchiued this victorie, pursued their enemies from place to place, so that there died by the sword, what in the battell and elsewhere in the chase, senentie thousand Romans and other strangers, which serued amongst them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were slaine thirtie thousand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthowt, & in what danger things stood in Britaine, by reason of the same, came ouer with two legions of souldiers, and ten thousand of other Brigants as aiders to those legions. Moada the queene vnderstanding of his arriual, assembled againe hir people, and sent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Ptozauians came with all speed vnto hir. When they were thus assembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Ptozauians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to encounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of sword, being earnestlie exhorted thereto by their gouernors on either side. So that joining puillance against puillance, they fought a right cruell battell, made in the beginning being flaine and bozne downe on both sides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chased out of the fielde. There were flaine of them at the point of foure score thousand persons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Ptozauians, together with their captaine Koderike, were in that number. Moada the queene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enemies, flue hir selfe. Two of hir daughters were taken prisoners, and brought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

The eldest of them within a few months after was married unto a noble Roman named Spartus who had deflowered him before time. He was also created king of Brittain by the emperours authority, that thereby the state of the countrey might be reduced unto a better quiet. He used to lie most an end in the parties of Kentdale, and named a part thereof

Others were men of good stature,

Women come
with the
queen in ar-
mour.

The Romans
are put to
flight and over-
thrown.

**Catus wa
wounded.**

70000 Ro-
mans slain,
and 30000
Britains.

Masada assembled an army against the Romans.

The Romans
overthrow the
Scots and
Picts.
The Mo-
nians all
slaine.
Wroada slue
hir selfe.

Marinus was made king. . .

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Westmerland. (where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Romans which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the rivers of Tyne and Speie, called euen unto this day **Marrey land.**

Corbzeid being thus overthrom, and hauing his power greatly enfeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scots nor Brits, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finally **Corbzeid** departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere vnto **Dunstaffage**, with manie obelisks set vp about him.

Dardan. After **Corbzeid** succeeded one **Dardan**, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended fro **Metellane**, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onelic for the good opinion they had conceived of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had achieved vnder him manie towtie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the same, considering the sonnes of **Corbzeid** were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to intay the same. For the said **Corbzeid** had three sons in all, **Corbzeid**, **Tulcane**, and **Wreke**. The eldest had bene brought vp with **Moda**, quene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vices of the Britissh nation, and therevpon was surnamed **Gald**; for so do the Scottishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countrymen that hath learned the courtesie and maners of strange countries.

But to returne to **Dardan**, in the beginning of his reigne he governed the estate by god indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, removing from offices such as were upright beaers of themselves in the same, and aduancing to their places bysers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelic such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was bowed beyond all the terms of honesty in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was too little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceived to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessour **Corbzeid**, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for **Corbzeid Gald** the eldest sonne of the former **Corbzeid**, remaining as then in the Ile of **Span** (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant **Dardan** into their hands, & bying him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Sauour, being the first of the emperor **Domitian**, & the fourth compleat of his owne reigne ouer the Scottishmen.

Corbreid Gald. **Corbreid Gald** being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the gouernment of Scotland after **Dardan**, is called by **Cornelius Tacitus** **Galgacus**, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors misgouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the weserne Isles, where he appeased certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Isles of **Arlewis** and **Shite**, and put to death certeine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by **Kosse**, and set a stay also in that countrey, touching certeine misdeemeanors of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessour **Dardan**, and here vnto he was mightilie aided by the **Spouanians**, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this means was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the peere next ensuing, being the third of **Gald** his reigne, he called a counsell at **Dunstaffage**, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king **Cluin**, as before is partly specified: but he could not obtaine more, than that poore men from thenceforth should haue their potes free vnto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferently by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. While he was thus busied about the establishing of holisome orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that **Petilius Cerealis** a Roman captaine, being sent from **Cesarian** the emperor to haue the gouernment of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrey, and minded hostile to invade the borders of his realme, as **Annandale** and **Galloway**.

With these newes **Gald** being somewhat afflicted, thought good to vnderstand the certentie of the enemies doings, before he made anie stirre for the leuening of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare of; who at their returne declared that the enemies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of **Pictland**, and had giuen the **Picts** already a great overthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into **Galloway**. **Gald** being thus certified of the Romans approach towards his countrey, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrey.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enemies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was sene almost all a whole day, flying by and downe ouer the Scottish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was sene flying round about the armie, and suddenly vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with blood. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie gods successe, and some otherwise. Also the chieffest capteins amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weeing the great force of the Roman armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrey before that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought with all, but rather to suffer them to wearie themselves, till vittels and other prouision should faile them, and then

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See more of him in England.

Gald punished such as disturbe the quiet state of his subiects.

The Spouanians helpe to apprehend theues and offenders.

Gald laboureth to abrogate wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis a Roman captaine sent by Cesarian into Britaine.

The Picts, vnto whom the Romans mistaken by the Scottish writers.

The Picts overthrowen by the Romans. The Romans purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald determineth to fight with the Romans.

Strange sights appeare to the Scottish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

Humf. Lloid doubteth of this historie of the Spouanians.

Corbzeid dead Anno Christi, 71. H. B.

Corbzeid his three sonnes.

Dardan fallen into all kind of vices.

His cousin Cedonius and others.

The commons rebelled.

Dardan is beheaded. 71. H. B. 6 of Vespasian. H. B.

Corbreid Gald. Galdus other wise called Gulgacus, not a Scot but a Britaine as other think.

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (with the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should wax faint and decaye: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to encounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cherefull exhortations of their king, and other their captains, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldlie set vpon the Romans, whereof ensued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, holobeing it in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Cald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) about twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchined, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Roman gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced estones to haue received the ouerthrow.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigantes, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie thereto, affirming the same Brigantes & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countrymen do place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But neuertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in manner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authoꝝ it shall seeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom in this treatise is partly touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partlie of the inhabitants, and partlie of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shee toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past received at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, tolen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, flared their har-

die forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arrate, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sprung, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie shee set fire on it, and slue such Romans as shee found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Whose that had the charge of them that were thus sent, vnder such diligence, that laeing an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, shee was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought alieue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shee was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Aparius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and fraie: and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the flux and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperour sent one Julius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Aparius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not vanquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and visiting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enemye had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Her vnto the king of Picts much suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his pæres & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruite bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Cald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraue himselfe into Argile, leauing his power behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but shortly after his departure from amongst them, they were sought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, thre thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which ouerthrowe those countries submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraue to their lodgings for the winter

Epiake is taken & burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebell.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Roman legat dieth.

Julius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scottishmen.

Frontinus purpoꝝeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Galloway men.

Frontinus requieth to come in amitie with the Picts. The Pictish king refuseth to be in league with the Romans.

Cald resisteth the Romans. By reason of sickness he withdraweth to Argile.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is taken by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficient in the historie of England.

Moadicia renews wars with the Romans.

The Roman campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Frontinus being bereft with sickness returneth to Rome.

Julius Agricola is sent into Britaine. The Scots of Annandale beat rowne the Romans. Agricola prepareth to go against the Scots. Karanach King of the Picts is comforted by the Romans.

Karanach flieth beyond the Forth.

The Scots of Annandale slaine by their wives.

Here is a marvellous error in the Scottish writers, taxing Agan for Agricola. Agricola assisted the Isle of Anglesey and not Agan as Hector Boetius mislabeled it.

The Isle of Anglesey is subdued by Agricola.

Agricola studieth to bring the Scots into civilitie.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which bereft him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then governed the Romane empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Julius Agricola to succeed as lieutenant of Britaine in his roome. About the time of whose arrivall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kile, Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported unto Agricola, he made his provision with all speed to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwick to their former subjection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts encountered him by the waite, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after having reinforced his power, he estones gaue battell againe to his enimies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon wone by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recovered the most part of all the castles and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the waite of Forth, for the more libertie of his owne person. Agricola having speed thus in Pictland, marched forth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constrained to give backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wives they were murdered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation used to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enemies.

Agricola understanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance unto him for the atchiuing of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Isle of Man; but wanting vessels to convey his armie over, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to have arrived upon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as endangered themselves to passe the seas in that manner of wise, they submitted themselves unto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certeine garisons to keepe divers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed over with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie show of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst advance themselves to encounter him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had bene aforesaid subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselves to a civil trade of living, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Ro-

man maner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and about all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought up in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glofe of humanitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen upon, Agricola invaded such countries as were yet undiscovered by the Romans, entring by the nether side of Calidon wood, even unto the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountaine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had bene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which undoubtedly was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bridge to be made over the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie over into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawn into a castell thereby, standing upon an high mountaine cleped Benart, he environed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to have broken the bridge, which Agricola had made over the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was encountered by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enemies, had leuied his siege, and was coming towards them, so that both the hosts meeting together in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased unto the riuer of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this overthrow, Agricola brought in subjection those countries, which lie betwixt the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Forthryke, and Ormedall, and sojourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most convenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their covenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted unto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good chere, and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe by some good fortune and meanes that might happen to come yee ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them laie, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and hereupon they took advise which waite to worke, insomuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought god to seeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certeine messengers dispatched with all speed unto Gald the Scottish king, requiring him in that common ieopardie to ioine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the utter subuersion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeared by their proceedings, having already occupied and wrongfully

Kalendar word. Agricola cometh to Sterling.

Agricola buildeth the castle of Sterling with the bridge.

Mount Benart.

Karanach assisted the bridge, which the Romans defended.

Karanach is fiercely chased, Fife with other countries brought into subjection of the Romans.

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Picts send for aid to king Gald.

Cald promi-
seth to ioin
league with
the Picts
against the
Romans.

The Scots
sea the Ro-
man souldiers
lieing in cer-
taine garisons
The river of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.
Agricola re-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win
the castell of
Dumbarton,
ancientlie
called Fowl-
cluch, or Al-
cluth.

Agricola
inuaeth
Lennox.

Agricola re-
turneth into
Pictland, to
appease a re-
bellion of the
people there.
He returneth
vnto Clide.

Agricola pur-
sueth his en-
terprize
against the
Scots.

All the Scots
assemble.

fullie surprisid a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, minding still to go foreward in such vnrighteous conquests, if by timelie resistance they were not staied. Cald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladiie consented to ioin his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enemies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herewith the assent of all his pères and chiefeest counsellors.

Thus whilst the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league together for defense of themselves and their countries, certeine Scots entered into the confines of Kile, Carrilke, and Coningham, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certeine garisons of Romane souldiers solourned, whome they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those iniuries, some he took amongst the hilles and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the riuer of Clide, but the castell of Dumbarton he could not by any meanes obtaine, though he assaied to win it euen to the uttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scottishmen being thus diuinen backe, Agricola repaired such castles and fortresses as they had ouerthrowne and beaten downe.

In the yeare following, being the first after the first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about frō the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochline in Argile, thereby to put his enemies in vtter despair of escaping his hands either by water or land: and thereupon passing ouer the riuer of Clide with his armie, and finding his naute there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were ready to rebell, by reason wherof he left off this enterprize against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he appeled the rebels with small adu, punishing the chiefe authors according to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieing all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane emper.

The summer following he appointed his naute to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and crēaks of Argile, and of the Islands nere to the same. Whilst he by land passing ouer the water of Lenine, went about to conquer towne and castles, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, deepe marishes, fens and moles, with the great riuers which with his armie he must needs passe, if he minded to attaine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their worthie generall and other the capitains and so inuading the countrie took towne and castles, of the which some they beat downe and rased, and some they fortified and stufed with garisons of men of warre.

About the same time by commandement of king Calb, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lozne, Murrey land, Lugenmarth, also those of the westerne Isles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

a place not passing fīue miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Baranach king of the Picts, to the end that joining together in one armie, they might work some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftēne thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mountaine of Granzbene, in times past cleped Mons Crampius, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the eares, Baranach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the frate, was slaine presently at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iourne was broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and discomforted herewith, staled and departed alunder.

Cald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chiefeest aid, durst not leaopard to trie the chance of battell with the enemies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of vittels out of their walke, to keep them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to provide against the next summer new aid and succors to keepe the field, and so to incounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agrēment & concord amongst themselves, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligentlie behaue themselves, in bringing their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioin in friendlie amitie one with another, and to chouse one Garnard to their king to succed in the throne of Baranach. They also confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enemies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wheresoeuer the same were inhabiting in arie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as frō them that esteemed themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

Whilst these things were thus in doing, Calbus diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterprize anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no sōner come (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one another againe with all their forces.

Fromst of Ireland there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being there already assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. Whither came also Garnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled together by common agrēment amongst them, Cald king of the

Baranach K.
of the Picts
slaine by mis-
fortune of one
of his owne
subiects.

An ambassage
frō the Scots
to the Picts.

The Picts
brought to
agreement
amongst them-
selves.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Danes and
Irishmen for
aid.

The same of
Cald his pur-
suer putterly
the Romans
in feare.

An aid of Ir-
ishmen come
to the succor
of the Scots.

Cald chosen
to be generall
against the
Romans.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entred into Kalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enemies in purpose to encounter them. Agricola being of this aduertised by spies, parted his people also into three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some comberfome place by reason of the great multitude of his enemies, that were esteemed to be in number aboue 50000 of one and other.

Cald setteth
upon one part
of his enemies
in the night.

Cald on the other side vnderstanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding means to slea the watch, was entred into the enemies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his coming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell even among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterpryse of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till his might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterpryse according to the deuise in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall soze amazed and disordered by reason of the enemies sudden inuasion.

Agricola com-
meth to the
succours of his
men.

By this means the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appeere, shewed to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approaching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Wherevnto were the Scots and Picts put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This ouerthrow did so abash both the Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their townes and countrie, by making sundrie railes vpon their enemies, as occasion and oportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiance, but that they were able to overcome whatsoeuer should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Isle of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Almond, they pitched their field nere to the riuer of Tait, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

The Ro-
mans passe
through Cal-
don wood ouer
the riuer of
Almond.

The Picts, by reason that their enemies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, least the same enemies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Tait, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towers, as may appeere euē vnto this daie by the old ruines thereof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Inchutryhill. All their wiues and children they removed vnto the mounteins of Cranzbene for their more suertie and safegard.

The Picts
burne the
citie of
Tuline.
The place
where Tu-
line stood is
called by the
inhabitants
at this daie
Inchutryhill.

The Ger-
mans coming
to serue the
Romans re-
bell against
their captein
and leaders.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish by such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These slauing their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike seats at the beginning, as the ma-

ner was, got certaine pinnelles which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arrived in Tait water, offering themselves to the Scots and Picts to serue against the Romans, whose malice they dread for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Vespites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Gullike.

Their offer was accepted most thankfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Purraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilist these things were thus a doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Fozwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. His Gildo with his nauie first arrived in the frith betwixt Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuer of Tait, where he landed all his people, for provision whereof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Gernard king of the Picts hearing of their arrivall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and coming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, received him in most ioyfull wise, feasted and banqueted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were provided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painefull iourne by the seas.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundee the Scottish king Cald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioyfull and glad of his coming, yielding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as serued best to the purpose, and receiued no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certaine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Cald & Gernard, together with this Gildo, went vnto the castell of Fozfare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their enterpryse against the enimie. At length they resolved not to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might insue, by reason of the extreame cold intemperance of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they took order for the furniture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onelie to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strae abroad to fetch in vittels and other provisions to their owne gains, and to the vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Vpon this determination when the counsell was broken vp, Cald withdrew into Atholl, to defend those parties; and Gernard with the Danish general Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in Angus ouer against the riuer of Tait, to stop the passages of the same, that the enemies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that peace, without any great exploit on either part achieved.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola appointed his nauie of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie creeke & haueu alongst by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, sailed

These Vespites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mounteins of Hellen and the Rhene, now called Hochbrug, from whence they removed into the nether countreys. Danes, and Fozwegians, came to aid the Scots and Picts. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriveth in Tait water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of any forraine aid to come to the succours of his enemies comprehending them all vnder the name of Britains. Gernard the king of Picts ioyfullie receiued Gildo. Cald cometh into Dundee to welcome Gildo. Cald Gernard and Gildo do assemble a counsell at Fozfare, where they deuise how to proceed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre onelie.

Agricola sendeth forth his name of ships, to discover the furthest point of Britaine northward.

ailed round about the north coast, discovering manie of the westerne Isles, and likewise those of Orkneie, till at length they found out Orkneie firth, being a streit of the sea of twentie miles in breadth, which separateth the Isles of Orkneie from the point of Cathnessie, passing with so swift a course, that without an expert pilot the ships that shall passe the same are oftentimes in great danger, by reason of the contrarie course of the tides. The Romane mariners therefore, finding certeine husbandmen in the next Isles, constrained them to go a shipboard, & to guide them through that streit, promising them high rewards for their labour; but they upon a malicious intent not passing for their owne lues, so they might be reuenged of their enemies in casting away such a notable number of them together with their vessels, entred the streit at such an inconuenient time, that the ships were bozne with violence of the streame against the rocks and shelues, in such wise that a number of the same were drowned and lost without recouerie.

The Romane ships through want of pilots are lost in Orkneie firth.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, passeth by the same with his host, and incampeth nere to the foot of the mountaine of Oranzbene.

Some of them that were not over-hastie to follow the first, seeing the present losse of their fellows, returned by the same way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer of Tay, by the which he passed with his whole armie, and incamped on the further side thereof nere to the roots of the mountaine of Oranzbene, leauing the bridge garnished with a competent number of souldiers to defend it against the enemies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, dispatched forth a messenger with all hast vnto Cald the Scottish king, signifieng vnto him the whole matter, and therupon required of him aid.

Cald hauing mustered his people aswell Scottish as Irish, assembled them together to the number of forty thousand persons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all speed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and so within a few daies passing ouer the mountaine of Oranzbene, he arriveth in a ballie beyond the same mountaine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped together not far off from the host of the Romans. Here taking aduise together, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Cald (vnto whom as before is expessed, the gouernance of the whole was committed) assembling together all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defense of libertie (the most precious icwell that man might inioy) to shew their manlie stomachs against them that sought onelie to depriue them of that so great a benefite. And sith they were bounden to the bittermost bounds of their countrie, he perswaded them to make vertue of necessitie, and rather chuse to die with honoz, than to liue in perpetuall shame & ignominie, which must needs insue to their whole nation, if they suffered themselves to be vanquished in that instant. With these words, or other much what of the semblable effect, Cald so moued the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to ioine with their enemies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceiued a great desire amongst his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to encourage them with most cherefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in arate. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disaduan-

tage. On the other side, king Cald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compasse in the enemies on eche side. At the first approach of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrows and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined together to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, coming once to fight at hand-blows, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sozie light bucklers to defend themselves with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth into the warres, though the same haue bene so vied among the Scottishmen, euen till these our daies.

Cald by reason of his multitude, thinketh to inclose his enemies.

The armies approach together to fight, they ioin.

The Scottish mens disaduantage, by reason of their vnfit weapons.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, slue downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage againe at their hands, till king Cald appointed his spearmen to step forth befoze those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlie, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were nere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Romans) rushed forth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen, where most danger appeared, and so restored againe the fainting stomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloodie fight, and most vnnmercifull murder betwixt them, which continued with moze violence on the Scottish side than anie warlike skill, till finally the night coming on, toke the daies light from them both, and so parted the fraie. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left alieue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

A cohort of Germans restored the Romans nere at point to haue had the victorie.

The night fethereth the armies in sundry a parteth the fray.

The Romans withdrew to their campe, & the Scots to the mounteins.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in all points with the Scottish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Julius Agricola, where he treateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The number of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Romans not passing thre hundred and forty. Amongst whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scottish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederates at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Romans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreover, the night following, when Calbus with the residue of his people which were left alieue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was vnderstand by the howles and kinfowmen of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

See moze here of in the historie of England.

The number of them that were slaine at this battell.

But Cald, doubting least the same should come to the eares of some espials, that might lurke nere to the place where he was withdrawne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had bene in token of some reioysing, till the

women began to waile their friends.

the women bewailing thus the death of their friends, might be removed out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safeguard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Cald and Carnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

The Scottish men & Picts breake vp their campe.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to dissimble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them vnadvisedly aduentering so farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hills and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth vnto Angus, where (so long as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he took pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

The Romans in pursuing vnadvisedly are distressed.

Agricola subdueth Angus and wintereth there.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his nauie.

The Romanes fleet saileth round about the north point of Ilibon.

Strange visions.

Ships seene in the aire. It rained frogs. A monstrous child borne.

Domitian the emperor enueth the prosperous success of Agricola. Agricola is sent for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellianus appointed in his place which caused the soldiers to make a mutine.

The Scots upon occasion of discord amongst the Romans, come forth against them.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Ibialand frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gave order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie provision, and manned thoroughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them effronies to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkenies, and so by alongst by the east coast: which enterprize they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Traie they burnt the Danish fleet lieng there in harbour.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before the fore-reinembred ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Grangbene, there happened manie sundrie wicked and strange sights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared lieng in the aire certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great peere of Balendar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner seene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapes, so filthy a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eyes. These prodigious things were deuorlie interpreted, according to the variable fantasie of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he took such enuie thereat, that shortly after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellianus to succeed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being couline to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldiers, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus took a sort of the best soldiers away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Caius Sisinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in him with him to take it vpon him.

In the meane time came the enemies vnder the leading of Cald ready to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselves, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Sisinnius receiued a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

This atchued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprizes, highlie reioiced the appalled hearts of the Albions; hauing bene continuallie in maner now for the space of fiftie yeeres through aduersie fortune grievouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrew themselves wholie vnto Tuline, and shortly after for their more safeguard, they got them ouer the river of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Cald hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delaye, not suffering them to haue time to provide for resistance. And hereupon comming to the castell of Calidon otherwise Balendar, they got ouer the river of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same river, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either side to a streitnesse.

The Romanes captiues also not ignorant of the passage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves ready to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Sisinnius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celsus, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enemies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Romanes part in this encounter to the number of sixe thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Romanes obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, flaring & chafing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent vnto Cald king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enemies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifying vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scottishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, inso much that if timely succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecoverable. Wherevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subiects, so far forth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood; considering the slender pouison there through the misgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots set vpon the Romans.

The Romans are distressed.

The Romans withdrew vnto Tuline. They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and breake the bridge after them.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay nere to Calidon castell. The Scots effronies giue battell to the Romans.

The Romans are againe discomfited.

The Britains hearing of the euill aduenterous fallen to the Romans, revolt fro their obedience.

The Romans send vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Marius king of the Britains doubteith rebellion of his subiects.

Marinus coun-
sellith the
Romans to
leane the
north parts
vnto the eni-
mies, and to
draw vnto
him into the
south parts
to keepe the
same.

The Romans
withdrew in-
to Cantire, &
after into
Galloway.

Cald persue-
th the Ro-
mans.

The Romans
determine a-
gaine to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
fiercelie assaile
the Scots.

Strange dea-
ling in womē,
and contrarie
to their nature

The Romans
sle to their
camps.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane camps.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

rising vp in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leauing the north parts to the enemies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, with their puissance might not suffice to retaine & rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Cald with an huge armie of Scottishmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arrived, and perceiving themselves as yet to be in no great surtie there, they went awaie from thence with speed into Galloway. In the meane time king Cald, supposing it best expedientes to fight with them yet they might haue anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diuerse castles and fortresses furnished with sundrie garrisons of his enemies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be done, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselves with offering their seruice vnto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselves fauourable in this their relieving of the oppressed Britains. Herevnto Calvus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their tranell, receiued them verie gentlie, mixing his talke with most comfortable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous successe, as that hostile they should thereby be restored interlie vnto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren sermitude and bondage.

But to proceed, at length he did so much by his tounies, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all speed (seeing none other remedie) resolved themselves to giue him battell, and thereupon exhorting one another to plaie the men, with their onelic refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts whole vnto the world. In which wing, according to their manner in those daies vsed, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Cald therefore perceiving the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till need required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which means the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiance than the men, and therewith much more cruel- tie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preserved.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their overthrow gaue occasion to all the residue to sle backe to their campe, being pursued so egerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much ado to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselves to rest, but provided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enemies afresh, and namely from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their deuiceno; and purpose being vnderstood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some perswaded Calvus to the contrarie) vpon depe considerations of fortunes fraile fauor, was at length granted vnto them, and foure an- ci-

ent Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Cald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whom with humble submission they acknowledged themselves as vanquished, and that by the iust wrath and reuenge of the equall gods, which against them they had conceived for the wrongfull inuasion of that which in no wise of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to hyde and restraime their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resounding so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could be more; considering so humble sute made to them by the oratores of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

Herewith falling prostrate at the feet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pittifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Cald toke vpon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should cease from that day forward in anie wise to molest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and also to depart whole out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remaining in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their oratores, were gladlie accepted, with they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselves out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Agricola king of the south Britains sojourned as then. Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of threescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but now at their departure out of Galloway, there remained bineth twentie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before wonne and taken away from them, as the Pers, Lothian, the marches about Berwick, Fife, and Angus, with Aile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leauing the same vnto the former owners.

Calvus having thus ended the warres with the Romans, toke order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the commonwealth, visiting daile the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre breedeth god souldiers, so peace by iustice riddeth them out of the way, if they be not the better provided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons nere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, he came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Balendar, to repress certain troubles raised betwixt their subjects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiving a sort of enill disposed persons to be

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

The condi-
tions of peace
prescribed to
the Romans
by the Scots
and Picts.

The Romans
depart out of
Galloway.

The Romans
gaine by all
their holds
and fortresses
which they
kept within
the Scottish
or Pictish do-
minions.

Calvus studi-
eth to preserue
his subjects
in god quiet
now after the
warre is ended.

Such as
sought to trou-
ble the peace
were punished

he wholie in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to steale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such trauell and labour sought to restore, they punished the offenders, and set all things in god quiet, and so departed in sunder with great loue and friendship.

Thus Calvus applying all his studie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet state of his countrie, liued manie yeeres so highlie in the fauour of all his subiects, that the like hath bene but selborne heard of: finally, to their great griefe and displeasure he ended his life, more deere to them than their owne at Epistake, in the 35 yere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yere after the world's creation, and from the birth of our Saviour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in most pious manner, and laid in a goodlie tombe which was raised with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number of obelisks set vp round about it according to the manner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should euer indure, the countrie where he fought last with the Romans was called Caldia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots do hold: but how that seemeth to agree with a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

After this famous prince was thus departed hence, his sonne Lughthake succeeded in rule of the Scottish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men for his detestable and filthy vices, joined with all kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lughthake went so farre past the bounds of all continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that he forced and rauished not onlie aunt, nece, and sister, but euen his owne daughters also. Such as were honozable personages, and met to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the administration of things vnto vile persons, and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarels against the rich, whereby they might be fleeced of all that fouer they had: and oftentimes vpon some forged cause cruellie put to death. So little did he pouldre to see offenders in anie wise corrected, that contrarie he maintained them in such sort therein, that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but spoile and rauine exercised.

Thus he continued about two yeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finally, when he went about to put vnto death such as in an assemble called at Dunstaffage spake against the misordered gouernement of the realme, he was there murdered amongst the people, with a number of those also whom he used to haue attendant on his person for safegard of the same. His owne bodie was solemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing respect to his fathers benefits, but the carcases of his gard were cast out into the fields, there to be deuoured of beasts and birds of rauine.

After Lughthake was thus dispatched, one Mogall the nephew of Calvus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His cheefest studie was to reforme the decayed state of his countrie, and first he caused such wicked counsellors of his predecessors and uncle Lughthake, as had escaped with life (when their maister was made auaite) to be put to death, according to their iust desertings. He restored also the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers. The Scottishmen in like manner conceiuing an assured hope of a good redresse in all their griefes and oppressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince,

began to beare him incredible loue and fauor; euen the like as they had done his grandfather Calvus. In the meane time came certeine ambassadores from the Picts, vnto this Mogall, requiring him of aid against the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden inuasion had done much hurt in Pictland, to the great distresse of the inhabitants.

At the same time they of Galloway certified him also by letters, that the same Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led auaite a great hostie of gods and prisoners. Mogall hauing a mind no lesse giuen to deeds of chualrie, than to the studie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiced that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some proofe of his valiant inclination, and so herevpon sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald doing his message, receiued nothing but scornfull words, and disdainfull menaces, whereby Mogall being thoroughly kindled with despise, assembled his power together south of all the parties of his dominions, and coming with the same into Galloway, visited his grandfathers sepulchre, honozing it with great reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as it were his aid against those enemies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by solemne oths and other accustomed meanes of ratification. This done, he dreynt into Annandale, where Unipannus as then king of the Picts abode his coming. There joining their powers together, they marched south into Cumberland, and so forward into Westmerland, with fire and sword wasting and spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

Lucius Antinous the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the same time at Pozke, being certified hereof by such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and halted south with the same towards his enemies; of whose approach Mogall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to incourage them to fight manfullie against the Romans, perswading them effectually thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the haliant enterprises atchieued by their elders, in the defense of their countrie and libertie of the same. In like manner Lucius Antinous for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predecessors, and how that as then they should fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than with any discretion or aduised order, saing furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoe to recouer that which through the negligent sloth of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they should attaine great honoz and famous renoume for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they dreynt nere together, and began the fight right fiercelie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts and arrowes so thicke that one might binneeth see another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, because they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reason of bogs and marishes, with such fideling banks on the sides that they could keepe none arate: yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this battell was fought so far forth to the vtterance, that in the end, after a wonderfull slaughter on both sides made, when their swords and other weapons were spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

F. J.

Finally

Mogall is beloued of his subiects. The Picts desire aid of the Scots against the Romans.

The Romans inuade the Scottish borders.

Mogall requirith restitution of wrongs done by the Romans. Mogall prepareth to the wars. Mogall visiteth his grandfathers sepulchre.

The Picts and Scots ioine their powers together and enter into the lands of their enemies.

Lucius Antinous lieutenant of Britaine. Mogall exhorted his men to be valiant.

The battell beginneth betwene the Romans and Albions.

A cruell fight.

Gaid departed this life at Epistake.

3. H.B.
5202. H.B.
130. H.B.

Galloway taketh the name of Gaid.

Lughthake An ingratiating son succeeded after his worthy father.

The incontinencie of Lughthake.

This small regard to the nobilitie. Fawcethowed to men of base condition.

Offenders maintained.

Iustice banished.

Lughthake would haue put to death such as spake against his misgouernment. Lughthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Mogall nephew to Calvus is admitted king and doth redresse abuses.

The Ro-
mans retire.

Lucius Ante-
nus is wound-
ed.
The Ro-
mans are put
to flight.

Women as
readie to the
battell as the
men.

Adrian the
emperor pre-
pareth to go
into Brittain.
Adrian trans-
porteth into
Brittain.

Adrian com-
meth to York.

He passeth
ouer the river
of Tyne.
Adrian find-
eth nothing
abroad in the
countrie of
his enemies.

What manner
of people he
had to doe
withall.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to re-
tire, which their generall Antennus perceiuing, did
what he could to staie them, and to bring them for-
ward againe, but as he was most busie in the fore-
front to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with
an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the bat-
tell, which gaue occasion to diuers other of his com-
panie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the re-
stidue fell to running awaie, and made toward the
next wood, there to saue themselves as well as they
might, though some companies perceiuing that they
could not reach thither without manifest danger, clo-
sed themselves together and departed by another
waie, which they took at aduenture, not knowing
towards what parts they drewe, so that they laie all
the night following within two miles of the Scots
and Picts, who for that the daie was in manner spent
(before the Romans were put to flight) incamped
themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell
was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part
of their enemies were lodged so nere them, & knew
not which waie to drave, they sent a number forth of
their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they
resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they
should seeme willing to yeld. Those that were thus
sent, found the Romans in verie good order of bat-
tell for so small a band, not minding to yeld them-
selves as prisoners. By reason of which their obsti-
nate wilfulness, they were slaine in the end euerie
mothersonne.

Lucius Antennus hauing thus receiued the over-
throw, dispatched a post into Rome with all hast,
signifying vnto the emperor Adrian the whole ma-
ner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason there-
of things stood in great danger here in Brittain, if
speedie succors were not the sooner sent, for the eni-
mies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this
present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as
in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not
for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might
die reneged.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purpo-
sed forthwith to go himselfe into Brittain. Causing
therefore an armie to be leued, he passed forth with
the same into France, then called Gallia, and com-
ming to Calice, he transported ouer into Brittain,
where he learned how the Scots and Picts were ne-
uer more busie than at this present, hauing of late
wasted and spoiled the countrie euen to the river of
Tyne. Here with Adrian being sore offended, joined
the power which he had brought with him fro Rome,
with the other which he had caused to be raised in
France and Brittain. This done, he remoued to
York, where solomning certeine daies to refresh his
people, he afterwards drewe toward the borders, and
coming to the river of Tyne, he passed ouer the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie
wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing
to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he
found neither coine, nor other prouision of vittell,
nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being
fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where
no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in
case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie
abroad in the same without house or any couerture
ouer their heads. Doubtless, for all that he gaue not
ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where
they lurked in the hills and woods, he graueouslie as-
sailed them, and that in sundrie manner. In the end
espiesing the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the
people, and that there was no hope left to come by
sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his ar-
mie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore re-
turned vnto Tyne, there to restrain the Scots and
Picts from invading such of the Britains as were
subiect to the Romane empire, he caused a great
trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth
of Tyne to the river of Ouse, and a wall to be made
on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. The
Scottish chronicles make mention that it was be-
gun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the
emperor Suetonius, who made an end of it, and there-
fore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septi-
mius Suetonius.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts
of Brittain, in his returne visited Wales with the
marches of the same, setting an order amongst such
as had moued a commotion against the magistrats
in those parties, the authors whereof he punished ac-
cording to their offenses, & so then he came to Lon-
don, whither at the same time a great number of the

Brittain nobilitie resorted to doe him honor, accor-
ding to their duties. And he for his part shewed them
such friendlie intertainment, that they could not
wish any better.

After this he sailed into France,
taking Lucius Antennus with him, because he could
not auaile with the aire of Brittain, in whose place he
left one Aulus Alatorius lieutenant there, who dis-
posed diuers garisons of souldiers in places nere
vnto the fore-remembered wall, for defense of the
habitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts.

Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided
those lands and countries (which they had latelie wa-
sted on the further side of Tyne) in such sort betwixt
them, that all whatsoeuer laie towards the Irish sea,
remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon
the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Apogall liued manie yeares in good qui-
et without anie trouble of enemies. But being per-
sued by in pride, by such notable victories as he had
gotten, he could not in time of peace master his
owne vnraile appetites; but that drowned in the fil-
thie lustes of the bodie, he spared neither maid, nor
dowrie, nor wife.

Again, he was giuen to such vn-
quenchable conuetousnesse, that nothing might suffice
him, finding manie forged matters against the rich,
whereby to bereue them both of life and substance.
He was the first which ordeined that such as were
banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit
all their lands & goods without any consideration had
either of losse or child, which is obserued at the full
euen vnto these our daies, where before it was o-
therwise in that countrie. But these so notable crimes
in the prince could not long continue unpunished,
for at last a conspiracie was practised against him,
whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witte-
craft or otherwise by relation of friends, the cer-
teintie is not knowne) in the dead of the night he ar-
med himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie
fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his depar-
ture to anie other of his household.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how
he was thus departed, the conspiratours pursued af-
ter him, who perceiuing them to approach, sought
waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such
was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were
as readie as the first to awake their malice vpon
him, and so by them he was immediatlie murder-
ed in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of
the world, and after the birth of our sauour 169,
Antoninus Pius then governing the Romane em-
pire, and Platanus surnamed Albus reigning a-
mongest the Picts. His head being smitten off, was
set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision;
but afterwards in respect of his linage it was bo-
ried

Adrian begin-
neth to make
wall for safe-
gard of the
Britains
against the
Picts and
Scots.
The Romans
experts to
confirm the
same.

Adrian com-
meth to Lon-
don.

Adrian retur-
neth towards
Rome.
Aulus Alato-
rius lieute-
nant of
Brittain.

The Scottish
men & Picts
diuide the
countries
beyond Tyne
betwixt them.
Apogall
through pride
abuseth him-
selfe in sum-
ptuous kind of
vice.

Conetons
and cruell or-
dinance.

A conspiracie
attempted a-
gainst Apo-
gall.
Apogall fleth
out of his
owne house,

Apogall is
murdered.
148. H. B.

Comas
Common
some of
gold stee
his fasty

Comas
to erect
glaston

The lo-
conspir
gaint
rus,

The s
of the l
the den
Conar

Comas
taken
comm
close t

Comas
minst
pauit
Apere o

ried together with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it most unworthie of anie such honoz.

CONARUS.
Conarus the sonne of Argall succedeth his father.

MAgall being thus dispatched, as ye haue heard, his sonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was pryncie to the conspiracie bent against his father, and as he came to the government by wicked means, so in the end he used himselfe much that accordingly in the same; for after he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature, he began at the last openly to shew himselfe in his right colours, committing first of all the administration of publike affaires unto men of base condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogether in banketting and costlie fare, not regarding the ancient temperancie in feeding, bled amongstest his worthie ancestors.

Conarus gins to exercise wastonlie.

In wasting therefore his kinglie revenues upon such riotous exerce, he was nothing abashed to requite in an open assemblie of his nobles, a subsidie to be granted, towards the maintenance of such roiall chere, as he iudged to stand with his honoz to haue dailie in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be leuted through the realme, of euerie person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expences as he dailie bled in exerce banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respit to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they communed secretly together, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie gouernement, sith his naughtie life requited no lesse.

The lords conspire against Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councill-chamber, one of them in name of the residue toke vpon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king hauing no warres therewith to consume his treasure, should yet be enforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his household; but the fault was knowen well enough to rest in such as he most unworthilie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but deulie means how to cause the king to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and possessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith he) as they shalbe prouided for well enough per long, and so aduanced as they shall not need to thirst for other mens linings, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of galloves, there to end their liues with shame, as a number of such other losengers had often done before them: so it is conuenient that the king, sith his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be shut vp in some one chamber or other, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it vpon him.

The answer of the lords to the demand of Conarus.

Conarus is taken and committed to close keeping.

Conarus his ministers are punished for their offences.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a loud voice began to call them traitors; adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his person, they should derelie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him vp, mangre all his resistance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, vpon examination taken of their offences, suffered death according to their iust demerits.

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour toke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduise might be taken. This mans studie in the beginning was onelie to cleanse the countrie of all misdoers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But with in a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous successe changed his former mind to an euill disposition, whereby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peeres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the common-wealth, he nourished ciuill discord and sedition amongstest the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at odds. He also married a Pictish ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren alliance.

Argadus is chosen to gouerne the realme.

Argadus an vpright iusticer.

Prosperitie changeth condicions.

Herevpon the peeres of the realme, understanding what mischiefe might insue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parliament to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemblie, they laid vnto his charge, both that (through his misgouernement and presumption, not onelie in coupling himselfe in marriage with a wife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his trespasses being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argadus is rebuked.

Argadus cometh forth his fault.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees, & partly confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eyes, besought them of pardon, whole submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being moued with this humble submission of Argadus, vpon promise he should reuocesse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had bene his chiefeest counsellors were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peeres; and some after, amongstest other things, he toke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferior officers, as bailiffes, boroughmaisters, constables, and such other should extend. But especiallie he travelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theues and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreover, he ordeined by statute, that no man exercising anie publike office, should taste of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as used with dressing of delicate meates, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banketting there, to allure mens appettes from the old rude fare accustomed amongstest their elders, who sought not to followe their delicious appettes, but onlie prouided to susteine nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that boie of costlie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argadus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argadus amendeth his former misgouernance, and ruleth himselfe by better aduise.

A notable statute.

A fine coherie banished.

Conarus departed out of this world. 162. H.B.

Ethodius.
Ethodius the
nephew of
Argadus is
chosen king.

Argadus is
created lord
president of
the council.

Civil discorde
amongst the
lords of the
Isles.
Argadus is
sent forth to
appehender the
rebels.

The Island
rebels are pu-
nished.

The Romans
inmade the
Pictish and
Scottish bor-
ders.

Ethodius re-
quireth restitu-
tion of his
subjects goods
taken away
by the Ro-
mans.

Victorine
answers to E-
thodius re-
quest.

Ethodius ex-
horteth the
king of the
Picts to
make warre
against the
Romans.

After whole decesse, the nobles and other
states of the realme assembling themselves to-
gether, chose one Ethodius, nephew to king Argadus
by his sister, to reigne over them. But Argadus
being highly rewarded with lands and livings for
his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the advance-
ment of the publike weale, during the time of his go-
vernement, was thereto some after created as it
were lord president of the councill, thereby to be chief-
est in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ru-
ling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortly after
Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those
daies was) went over into the westerne Isles, there
to take order for the administration of iustice, where
immediatlie upon his arrivall, it was shewed him,
that not passing two or three daies before, there had
bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles &
clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was
stirred amongst their servants, being a compaignie
of naughtie and unrulie fellows, to the great dis-
quiet of the inhabitants. Hereupon was Argadus
sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease
that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that
they might receive reward according to their demer-
its. Argadus forthwith hastened towards the place
where he understood the rebels to be remaining, and
apprehending the whole number of them, some by
force, and some upon their humble submission, he
returned backe with them to the king, who causing
the matter to be thoughtlie heard, such as were the
chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished
by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure.
The Island people being thus appeased, the king
returned into Aiblon, where as then lieng at Cri-
uerlochthe, a towne (as is said) in Loughababer,
word came unto him that the Romans had broken
downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian,
and made a great robe into the Scottish and Pictish
borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assem-
bled together in defense of their countrie (after a
foxe conflict) the victorie remained with the Ro-
mans; by reason whereof they led a great bottie of
cattell and other goods away with them to the places
where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moved herewith, sent forthwith
an herald unto Victorine the Romane lieutenant,
requiring that his subjects might have restitution
of their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to
looke for warres within sixtene daies after. Victo-
rine answered herewith, that the Scots and Picts
had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall,
and to build a tower upon the same, fortifying it
with a number of men of warre, who running da-
lie into the British confines, fetched prizes thence
from amongst the Romane subjects, and though
he had sent divers times to the Scottish and Pictish
wardens for restitution, yet could he never have a-
nie towardlie answer, so that he was constrained to
begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had
done already.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answer,
wrote straightwaies to the k. of the Picts, exhor-
ting him in reuenge of such injuries as his subjects
had latelie received at the hands of the Romans, to
inuaide the wall on that side where it diuided his
countrie from the Britains, and to breake in upon
the enemies by the same, and for his part he promi-
sed shortly after to come, and to ioine with him in
such a necessarie enterprize against the common eni-
mies of both their countries. The Pictish king gi-
uing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promi-
sed with all speed to set forward according to the ad-
uise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner ha-
ving knowledge of the whole intention of the two

kings, with all speed made preparation also for the
warre, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in
upon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries
next adjoining, which when the Romans perceived,
they passed by the enemies campe in the night sea-
son, and entered into the Pictish borders, wasting
and spoiling all afore them.

When the two kings understood this, they hastened
forth towards them, and were no sooner come with-
in sight of them, but that they made ech towards o-
ther, and so encountering together, there was fought
a foxe battell with doubtful victorie, for the right
wings on either side vanquished the left, the heads
of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not
once thinking backe from the other till night seue-
red them in sunder, but not without such slaughter
made on both sides, that being once parted, they
made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as
well the one part as the other being thus discomfited,
betwixt incontinentlie homelwards without abiding
for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie fur-
ther exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to
Rome unto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aure-
lius, who as then governed the empire, signifying
unto him in what state things stood in Britaine; fur-
ther declaring, that if convenient succors were not
sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious
rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he
perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no
lesse ready upon occasion to make warres in reco-
uerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were
to inroch upon them. The emperor upon receit
of these letters, thought in his mind that Victo-
rine was not so valiant a capteine as the case requi-
red, and that thereupon the Scots and Picts became
the more emboldened to resist, therefore he sent for
him home, appointing one Agricola Calphurnius to
succeed in his roome, who was (as some haue left in
writing) the nephew of Julius Agricola, the most
famous capteine of the Romans that ever came in-
to Britaine.

This Calphurnius comming into Britaine with
an armie, ioined to the same the power which he
found there, as well of the Britains, as of other ser-
uing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he
repaired toward the river of Tyne, where being ar-
riued, he marched forth into the borders of his eni-
mies, finding all the countrie round about him so
clearelie wasted and burned; that there was not a
house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one bed
of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding
all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland,
and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was be-
fore him with fire and sword. And for so much as
winter came upon him, when he had done his will
in that behalfe, he returned unto York, where he
sojourned untill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his
provision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word
came unto him that the Welshmen were revolted,
and began to raise warre against the Romans, so
that taking order for the repairing of the wall made
by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had
broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of
men of warre for defense of the same against all in-
uasions that might be attempted, he turned the res-
idue of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom
in the end, though not without much adu, he reduced
to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard
also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were by
in armour against such Romans as ruled there,
sundry noble men of the maine Ile taking their
part, but they also were at length brought againe

The Scottish
men and the
Picts inuade
the British
borders.

The Romans
incounten by
the Scottish
men and
Picts.

Night parted
the battell.

Victorine
sends letters
to Rome.

Victorine is
sent for to re-
turne into
Rome, and
one Calphur-
nius sent into
Britaine to
succeed in his
roome.

Calphurnius
entred into
the borders of
his enemies.

Calphurnius
returneth to
York.

The Welsh-
men rebell a-
gainst the Ro-
mans.

The Welsh-
men brought
to their former
obedience.
The inhabi-
tants of the
Ile of Wight
revolting fro
the Romans,
are constrain-
ed againe to
be obedient.

to their former subjection, and the authors of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane time the Scots and Brits determined not to attempt any further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and lineage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calpurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble achieved conquests of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearfall. Calpurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended wholie to reforme all misdoers amongst the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperor Antonius Commodus, the sonne and successor of the fore-remembred Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first used himselfe verie byzighlie in his office, shewing all honoz and loue towards the Britains, subjects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once wone him a pce of credit amongst them, he changed his manners, or rather discovered his naturall inclination, so wholie giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set vpon way to fill his bags, not caring how vnrulie he forgoe accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so sore to hate him, that had it not bene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who helpe to appeale them) there had bene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Brits hauing knowledge of this mistaking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and hereupon leueng an armie, they came to the oft remembred wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confines with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hastened forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuassions; but finding the enemies readie in the field, and encountering them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to save himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horse and galloping away.

After this, gathering together his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Forke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiours, and men of warre: for the Scots and Brits, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kendall in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traine that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion grounded vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which folowed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue giuen them all out of the land.

Their captaine was one Calbozus a Brit bozne.

There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfeting themselves to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, howbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Calbozus escaping the hands of his enemies, fled into his native countie of Wicland, not a little reioicing that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enemies to him and his countie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season took down those dead bodies, and hanged vp as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiving thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperor Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe so long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperor doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Vertinar an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Vertinar comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, took vpon him the office: and first setting a state among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Brits, driving them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constrained them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperor Commodus being murdered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scottish commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Isles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselves together, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethobius the king with a great host of Scottishmen and Brits lay in campe nere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasson of the enemies on that side, if happlie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Island-men hearing of Argadus his approach, betw themselves together to rescue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enemies, they laid themselves secretlie in ambush by the waie where he should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his reuerward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impulsion at the first brunt, that though he did what in him lay to bring them againe into araid of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enemies. Ethobius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hastened forth towards Argile, to reuenge

It is the

The name of Agricola dyed full to the Scottishmen and Brits

Calpurnius studieth to reforme the state of Britaine

Calpurnius returneth vnto Rome. Publius Trebellius sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Publius Trebellius giuen to couetousnesse.

He is hated of the Britains.

The Scots and Brits reuenge the warre against the Romans.

Trebellius fighteth against his enemies, is forsaken of his owne men, and chased out of the field.

Westmerland and Kendall spoiled by the Scottishmen and Brits.

The British commons rise against Trebellius, one Calbozus a Brit being their captaine.

The same commons are vanquished. Calbozus reioiceth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Vertinar sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Vertinar driveth back both the Scots and Brits.

Vertinar is chosen emperor.

Argile infested by the Islandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrap Argadus

Argadus is slaine.

the death of his balliant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his comming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wills, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warlike by closing them by among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted themselves vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chieffest, should yeld themselves simple to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Islanders
yeld themselves.

Execution.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and pæres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yelded up their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Islanders being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scottishmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subjects.

Ethodius visiteth
his countreies, to see
iustice maintained.

He giueth him
selfe to hunting, & causeth
the lawes for
the maintenance
of game
to be well kept
& looked vnto,

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his elders, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroye anie hares with nets, gins or bare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and courtiers neere vnto the towne & houses.

He ordeined moreover therewith, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being borne in one of the west Isles, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murderer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was readie to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not be so painfull, but that I shall reioyce even in the very instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horses in most violent wise.

Septimus
Seuerus H.B.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeres, untill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperour. He was buried at Dun-

staffage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine received the faith with a great part of his people, being the yeres after the birth of our Saviour, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

Britaine received
the christian faith
in the yere
187.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was verie young in yeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Satrahell was subtil of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius; thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthe subjects, whose lands and goods hee ouerlie fought to intop at his owne will. By means whereof such mischeefe ensued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition daily rose amongst the people, that pittie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof; by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeres.

Satrahell.

Satrahell sought
to defraud
such as were
in fauour with
his predecessor.

Discord arose
among the people
through the
kings maligne
ueruence.

Satrahell
strangled to
death by his
owne seruants.

397 H.B.
Donala.

His place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit; more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subjects. Neither bare he with offenders, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be duly punished: finally he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subjects as it had bene from a wild and savage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to intop that title.

Donald sought
to reduce
his subjects
vnto all ciuilitie.
Lucius king
of Britaine
died.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their general, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose enderor (as he knew) had euer bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them whole out of the Isle, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

The Britains
rebell and chose
one Fulgentius
to their captain
whom they
chose to be
their captain.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendly, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whom in semblable

Donald promised
to aid
Fulgentius.

The Britains
come to
Diplans
wall, and put
it downe
to let in the
Scots.
The Scots
men & Picts
come to the
aid of the
Britains.

The Scots
and Picts
inuaide the
Britains.
The Scots
helpe the
Britains to
spore
their owne
countreie.

Rebellious
certifieth the
emperour of the
state of Britaine.

Fulgentius
inconuinceth
the Britains
to forsake
their begun
enterprize.

Seuerus
leteth forth
towards his
enemies.

Seuerus
commeth to
York.

Seuerus is
incountred
by his enemies.

The Britains come to Adrian's wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scots.

The Scots and Picts invade the Britains. The Scots helpe the Britains to spoile their owne countrie.

Rebellius certifieth the emperor of the state of Britaine.

Fulgentius incourageth the Britains to stick to their begun enterprise.

Seuerus setteth forth towards his enemies.

Seuerus cometh to Yorke.

Seuerus is incouraged by his enemies.

semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, reioyced vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrow in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free access and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, ioining their powers together, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrieng of the countrie abroad on euerie side, confreining the most part of the people to come in and yeld themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake by their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certifieth the emperor: Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: wherupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere. At his comming into Britaine, he slackened no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enemies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enemy, sent ambassadoz vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to a nie, wherupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their necessities begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long withed libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquishing the emperor at that present they should assuredlie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like fellows and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie concord, considering the enemies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtaining of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to liue and die in the quarrell. Wherupon he toke aduise with them, which waie to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were already certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadoz from him, set incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leaving his yongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he toke with him in his iourne against his enemies. At his comming to Yorke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnisch custome, & also toke aduise with his captains how to proceed in his enterprise against his enemies.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being already ioined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, in so much that those of the one side came no sooner in sight of the other, but that they hasted forth to ioin together in battell, whereof ensued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and practiced skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scotishmen and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in amongst the thickest preale of his enemies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scotishmen and Picts, and together with them passed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and retained them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to implete them effones against his enemies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus punished most grieuoullie, but the commons he used more gentlie, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to draw vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Yorke.

In the next summer there was little done worthe to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmishes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduantage. But so much as the Scots had no aid sent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to leaue againe in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was ready bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sicke at Yorke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before recited) first by Adrian the emperor, to staie the Scotishmen from inuading the lands appertaining to the subjects of the Romane empire, & after ouerthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in sozt as before is partlie mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastilions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first descrying of the enemies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so soone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scotishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Irelaund, he receiued sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then late. Shortly after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it appereth. But now to returne vnto Donald the Scotish king, yeshall vnderstand, that being deliuered of forren trouble, he studied cheeflie how to preserue his people in god peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being lately afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganisme and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the aboue said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus saith Harison) being the 15 in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the christian religion, and utterlie to forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discomfited.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Irelaund.

Seuerus wintereth at Yorke.

Seuerus sicketh. The wall is repaired.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enemies.

Donald studi-ous to maintain his subjects in peace and concord.

Donald conuerted vnto christian beliefe in the daies of Seuerus.

gods, and therefore infantile required him to send over into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beleefe. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their endeavour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and cherele for

The Scottis men received the faith in the peere of our Saviour 203. 5399. H.B. 533 H.B.

soke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the peare after the birth of our saviour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first creation of the Scottis kingdome 230, as W. Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie confirme. **Whereupon** this Donald was the first as the Scottis chronicles alledge, that caused silver and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he devised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged and bartered wares for wares, either else occupied with Britissh and Romane monie, as diners marble chests full of the same which haue bene found of late yeeres in sundrie parts of Scotland do verie well witness. Finallye this Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the manner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departed out of this world. 216 H.B.

Ethodius.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and some of the former Ethodius, which prince proued so verie a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed unto certaine noble men, who being diuided into sundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties so to them limited, and vnder themselves verie brightlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Seruerus before his death had giuen such order for the gouernment of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the cheefest of all the Britissh nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his casers, as one though dolissh, yet naturallie giuen to unquenchable couetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

Athirco.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberall towards all men, that he wan him wonderfull much praise and loue amongest his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him togither with his age, but contrariele decayed, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yeeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice; for courtesie and amiable countenance, he used sterne and losse lookes: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholly to filthie pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as ready to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the lowest and meanest degre.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regarded not his nobles.

The villanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mens daughters.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countrie) named Patholocus, had two faire yong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satiffie his lust upon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so con-

tent, deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father vnderstanding this villanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he required their assistance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of such an iniurie done to their blood, promised in reuenge thereof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in sunder, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprize, as to rid the countrie of such a catife wretch, respecting nothing but the satiffing of his filthie carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

The kindmen and friends of the gentlewomen conspire against Athirco.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunstaffe, where they vnderstood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne thereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called togither his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enemies; but when he had thoughtlie weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of good wills in his people, he prouide stole away from them, and would haue passed ouer into Zla, one of the westerne Isles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarcked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driven backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to slea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderstanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggars weed for doubt of death, and went into Idland with three of his nephews, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be taken of his owne men if he came to the triall of battell, conueied himselfe from among them. Athirco slayeth himselfe.

242 H.B. Doorus the brother of Athirco conueied himselfe out of the way.

Patholocus seeketh the life of Doorus.

Whobest, Patholocus hauing knowledge whether he was fled, sent forth certaine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie secretly, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischief. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doorus, slue the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie full of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doorus. Then Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by dissuading them to chose any of Athircos blood to reigne ouer them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by anie common consent of the nobles: for diners of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserved nothing to be defrauded of the kingdom, saue onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might haue intioed that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kindman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeares to beare the rule himselfe.

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

But Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blood attainted of

Patholocus.

Patholocus.

Patholocus.

Patholocus.

Patholocus.

Patholocus.

The w.

what ha.

Patholocus
goeth vnto
Dunstaffage
to be in prison
sed.

Patholocus
seeketh to pro-
cure loue of
the nobilitie
through
bydes.

Fortune fa-
uoring Pa-
tholocus for a
time began to
change.
Doozus with-
eth vnto
certeine Sco-
tish lords to
moue them
to rebellion.

Patholocus
putteth such
to death as he
suspecteth to
fauour Do-
ozus.

Patholocus
seeketh vnto
a witch to
know the con-
clusion of his
enemies
attempts.

The witches
answers.

What happed
by giuing
credit to the
wordes of a
witch.

treason, and so published, according to the custome he took the othes of those that were present, and then repaired vnto Dunstaffage, there to be inuicted according to the maner. This done, he called such as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gaue vnto diuerse of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he shewed himselfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better establishment of his newe atchieued estate: and hereto he imployed such riches as the former kings had heaped together amongst the nobles, studying by all meanes to auoid all seditiuous quarels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yeeres, at length fortune began to shew a change of countenance after his old accustomed guise. For Doozus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Patholocus supposed to haue bene dead) wrote certeine letters, signifying his owne estate with the wellfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scottish lords, whom he knew to fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a pitifull woman, appointing hir how and to whome she should deliuer the same, but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Patholocus, he caused hir secretlie to be sacked and throwne into a riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the foresaid letters had giuen him occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretlie strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad, so moued the hearts of their friends and allies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them together, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Patholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe privatlie into Spurrey land, there to get together an armie to resist his enemies, and for that he was desirous also to vnderstand somewhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Zona) esteemed verie skilfull in foretelling of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which was already begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortly to passe, that the king should be murthered, not by his open enemies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be: Cuen by thine faith the, as it shall be well knowne within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these wordes, railed against hir verie bitterly, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answer he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the truth as it was told him, the king might haplie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as he had declared, and thereupon put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he keepe it secret, it might happen to be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to tooke the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuite chamber, where all other being commanded to auoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling forth

with vpon Patholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuite; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horse which he had there readie; he fled with all speed vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought newes vnto them of this act thus by him atchieued. This chanced in the yeere of our Lord 280, & in the eleuenth yeare after the first entring of Patholocus into the estate.

After Patholocus was thus dispatched, the peeres assembled together to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongst them concluded, that the sonnes of Athirco should be sent for into Scotland, and Findocke receiued for king. The Bohemian that slue Patholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commission) comming into Scotland, conueied them right honorable into Argile, where Findocke being already chosen king, was placed on the stone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that case appertaining.

This Findocke was in the flower of his age, of person most beautifull, cleane made, & of a godly lie stature; wherewith were ioined most excellent gifts of the mind, not so much desirous to seeme as to be vertuous in deed. He was courteous, meke, & full of affabilitie, studing alwaies to win friendship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare and menacing wordes. He leagued with the Britains, Scots and Romans he firmelie obserued. But as peace with foraine enemies breedeth oftentimes ciuill discord at home, so came it then to passe with him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Koffe and Spurrey land, fetching from thence a great spoile and bootie, not without great slaughter of such as enforced themselves for to resist him. The occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Patholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed ouer with the same into the Ile of Ila, where incomming with Donald and other his enemies, he vanquished and chased them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the sword or the sea had made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a hope, in hope to haue escaped, the prease was such at his entring into the same, that before they could get it off from the shore, it sunke by means of the ouerlading, and so he and all they that were on board were drowned there, withall. The king hauing atchieued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Island-men not fullie quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certeine Ierns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the sonne of the former Donald, made starts now and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie shrewd turnes in the same, yet they could be suppressed. But Findocke being some informed of these tidings, went ouer againe into the Isles, and such of his enemies as he found, he caused to be hanged, to giue other example what to looke for when they should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiving himselfe not able to tooke such seats as he hoped to haue done, he sent a messenger vnto the king, offering to yeld himselfe, and to become his true subject if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being answered that he should not be receiued, vnlesse he would come vnto Dunstaffage with other of his chiefest complices, and to stand fallie at the kings mercie; he refused thus to do, deuising an other

Patholocus
murthered.

252. H. B.

The lords of
the realme as-
sembled to-
gether to chuse a
new king.

The sonnes
of Athirco are
sent for, and
the eldest of
them named
Findocke cho-
sen to reigne.

Findocke.

Findocke his
noble quali-
ties and ver-
tuous disposi-
tion.

Findocke ob-
serueth the
leagues con-
firmed of for-
mer times
with his
neighbors.
Whole of the
out Isles in-
uade the coun-
tries of
Koffe and
Spurrey land.
Findocke ma-
keth a iourne
into the Isles,
to subdue the
rebels.

Donald is
drowned.

The Island-
men with aid
of the Irish
Ierns, make
often inuasi-
ons into Ar-
gile, and other
of the Scottish
countreies.

Findocke go-
eth againe to
subdue the re-
bels of the
Isles.

Donald offer-
eth to yeld
himselfe v-
pon certeine
conditions,
but is not re-
ceiued.

meane

Donald deni-
eth how to
murder king
Findocke by
two naughtie
persons.

meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to seine themselves to haue fled from him, where also he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king, and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be, and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the way. These craftie mates working according to Donalds twicked instructions, at length with much adoe they got credit, and after credit they got place so nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the kings brother (whome they made priuie also vnto their intent) that finding all things correspondent vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which the Islanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue verie good eare, whilest the other smote him to the heart with a ianeline, & so leauing the iron sticking in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous companion and fellows. Those that were nere, seeing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to see if they might relieue him as then struggling with the pangs of death; others followed the murderers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receive their meed according to that which they had iustlie deserued; being also examined, they confessed how they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald of the Isles, but also by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of set purpose being out of the way at that present, and hauing knowledge that he was accused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence (after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the emperours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus, he became a right famous and a verie skillfull capteine.

Findocke is
slaine.

The murder-
ers confesse
by whose pro-
curement they
did the deed.
A pretie in-
duction (if not
fogged) to the
historie that
afterwards
followeth of
Carantius or
Carantius as
the Scots
write him.

But if this report be true that Carantius (of whom Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, which if they had done, no doubt they would haue spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counterfeite himselfe to be borne of some base kindred, and so for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards that he attained vnto so high degree of honour, as to surpse the imperiall robes of purpure, and to possesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie roiall, he would haue set forth to the vttermost the nobilitie of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that so apparantie to the world, that aswell his enemies as friends should both haue knowen and spoken of it.

Donald.

Findocke being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunstaffage, his brother Donald, the third son to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdom, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, prepared to go into the Isles against Donald that common enemy of Scotland. But this Donald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of that trouble: for so soone as he heard that the murderer by him contriued was executed, he assembled a mightie power of the Island-men, and transporting with them ouer into Rolle, proclaimed himselfe king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie marched forth with such power as he had already assembled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

Donald of the
Isles inua-
deth Scot-
land.

appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Thus coming into Spurrey land, he pitched downe his tents, purposing there to abide the coming of the rescue of his armie. But Donald of the Isles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it best to assaile him within his campe, before all his power should come vnto him, and being thus resolved, he set forward in the night time, and was vpon his enemies, before that his committing towards them was once signified in their campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersaries to be at hand, bringing forth his men, setteth them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pithie wordes to receiue their enemies with manlie stomachs. But the Island-men encouraged also by their capteine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Scottishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but were enforced euen at the first to loine at hand blows, which were bestowed in such furious sort, that in the end the Scots being oppressed with multitude, were constrained to giue backe, some saving themselves by flight, and some standing at defense till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were slaine on the kings part three thousand men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst whom were thirtie personages of honorable estate, together with the king himselfe being wounded so sore, that he died within three daies after the battell, rather through angulsh of mind than of his hurts (as some haue written) in the same yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Isles hauing thus got the victorie, took vpon him as king, accordingly as he had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by blood, he continued still in doubt and feare of new conspiracies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrongfull usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them present death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie stirre against him. Moreover he nourished priuie factions amongst the nobilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was to be moued against him; finally, if anie mischief happened amongst them, he caused the matter thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the forfeitures and penalties which he took vpon amongst them. He seldome times went abroad, and when he stirred forth anie whither, he had his garr about him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so in sundrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that manie there were which deead him, and but a few that loued him, so that in the end being in a manner run into the deablie hatred of all men, he was murdered one night at Ennerlochthe (whither he was come to haue passed ouer into the Isles) by certeine that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries done not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knewe verie well; but also to the whole state of the Scottish common welth, by the naughtie suggestion of diuerse of the kings complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was

Donald of the
Isles suddenly
setteth vpon
the enemies.

Crath

Crathlin
made his

The Scots
ouertaken.

Donald de-
ceiteth this
king.

Donald of the
Isles taketh
vpon him as
king.

Donald.

A guiltie con-
science.

The kin
and frien
Donald
Isles are
securd.

The poe
gouernm
of Crathl

Crathlin
eth to hun
the moun-
tains of
ancientie
is Gram
mons.
An ambal
from the
Isles.
The Isles
quire the
league to
be renewed.

Donald of the
Isles is mur-
dered.
Anno Christi
273. H.B.

Crathlin
chiese conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlin
cureth the no-
bles of the
countrie to
oppress the
seruants of
king Donald.

Crathlin
miserly to o
serue the a-
cient amitt
betwixt th
Scottishm
and Isles.
The presen-
sent by Cr
line, vnto
king of the
Isles.
Diuers Is-
les lordes
to Crathlin
to hunt and
make merie
with him.
A pteise of
Scottish do-

now

now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the netes, and reioysing greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, comming upon the kings household maner, they slue about two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking to saue themselves, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioysed much at his death, but thought themselves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

Crathlint

Crathlint is made king.

After this, Crathlint being certeinlie knowne to be the sonne of king Findoche, by such evident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his iust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he perswaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the roots, least anie of them haplie remaining aliuie, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common wealth. The people consented lightlie hereto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenly in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualitties of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beautie, setting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

The kindmen and friends of Donald of the Picts are persecuted.

The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

Crathlint goeth to hunt in the mountains of Grangebene, ancientlie called Grampeus mons. An ambassage from the Picts. The Picts require the league to be renewed.

Crathlint goeth to observe the ancient amitie betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts. The present sent by Crathlint vnto the king of the Picts. Diuers Pictish lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him. A paise of the Scottish dogs.

The issue therefore with other the kindmen and allies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruellie put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the countreies gouerned in god and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The yonger sort he reserved to attend upon his person.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Grangebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beastes, whither came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the toy which their maiester had conceived for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe vnto the estate, requesting that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most sofallie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maiester for this signification of his good will shewed by their comming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreover, when the said ambassadors should depart, he toke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maiester certeine houndes, with houndes and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And shortly after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuers yong gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart home wards, perceiuing that the Scottish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in faimelie, swiftnesse, hardnesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuers both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maiester of the leath being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the maiester of the leath through with their bozesperees that he died presentlie, whereupon a noyse and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuers of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned, and falling upon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there ensued a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died threescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them understanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The kindmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the inurie committed, insomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they assembled in great numbers togither, and entering into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the manner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth togither into the field, and encountering with the Scots, there was fought a sore battle betwixt them, without capteine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died about thre thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus upon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still readie to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Kentha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Fergule.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderstand with what cruellie the one sought to destruye the other. No pittie might moue their cruell harts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blood. At last Thelargus B. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischiefe was happened through the folke of a few wilfull persons, appointed certeine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions comming to the place where Crathlint as then sojournd, had much adoe to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they vied such humble perswasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for thre moneths space, which was but shortly obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the hearts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the innading of one anothers confines, mauer their princes and all their soze restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Roman empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknowledge at his comming to Rome of what linage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthy seruice in the warres, he attained vnto great

The Picts slea one of the kings best greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

what mischiefe ensued upon so light an occasion as the stealing of a dog. This chanced about the yeere of Christ 188, as lo. Ma. noteth.

The Scots rob the Pictish borders. The Scots & Picts encounter in battell.

The Scots discomfited by the Picts. What continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & how broken about a small matter as begun about a dog.

Cruell wars Thelargus king of the Picts being an aged man, desireth to haue peace, and thereupon sendeth his ambassadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

Carantius named by Eutropius Carausius, troubleth the estate of Britaine.

The witte
practise of
Carantius.

Carantius
fereth to come
to make an-
swer to such
matters as he
was charged
with.
Carantius
revolting co-
meth into
Westmerland,
e causeth the
people there
to take his
part against
the Romans.

Carantius
sendeth mes-
sengers unto
king Crath-
lint, in excu-
sing his fault
for his brother
Findockes
death.
Carantius
requereth to
be aided a-
gainst the
Romans.

Crathlint re-
toiseth to hear
that Caranti-
us was alive.

Crathlint re-
solueth to aid
Carantius, &
certifieth him
of the same.

The king of
the Picts also
promiseth to
aid Caranti-
us.

Crathlint
king of the
Scots and
Carantius
come to talke
together.

Crathlint and
the king of the
Picts come to
a communica-
tion by Caran-
tius his
means, who
trauellereth to
set them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the soueraine regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats of the Saxons and other Germans, that sore molested the same in those daies. But for that he used to suffer those rousers to take spoiles and prizes, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Romaine emperoz, he was complained vpon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his nauie with men, vittels and ordinance, and with the same toke his course about the west parts of Britaine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselves to be vnder his rule and obeisance, and promised to deliuer them from the greuous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purposed to atchieue, for his further advancement therein, he sent ambassadoz vnto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also excusing the trespasses furnished against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Findocke, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vntertie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all those prouinces within the same (which as then they possessed) vnto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendship, and ioine with them in aid against their common enemies, than to seeke to destroy one another, as he lately vnderstood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadoz, reioiseth not a little, that his vnckle Carantius was not onelie aliue, but also had through his valiance atchieued so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romaine captiues. And herevpon with good aduise he determined to aid him in that his enterprise for the conquest of Britaine to the uttermost of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onelie send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadoz both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer vnto their master Carantius, he reioiseth not a little, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he receiued about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Esk, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Findocke, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence therevnto stood so much in freed, that chieflie through his perswasion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such maner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the aduise and discret order of eight ancient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduisedlie giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitrement and direction, so that a sofull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romaine lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not onelie caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also laine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to reuenge these injuries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie readie, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to Poike, and had tooke the citie by surrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with marishes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the maner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great bzute, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was incamped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh readie for the same, giuing the best disposition he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but so much as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his troops nothing auailed: for they desirous to see the vtter ruine of all the Romaine power, euen at the verie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselves apart without anie stroke stricken, and got them by into the next mountiains, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romaine armie, seeing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reason of the marshy ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were overtaken and laine. Amongst whom Bassianus himselfe was one, and Viricus the emperors procurator an other.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yielded themselves vnto Carantius, and swore to be his true liegemen and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeeres and threescore, to remaine with him in hostage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, blurring the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and retaining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safeguard of his person, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassadoz, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countie of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Poike, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for:

Peace confir-
med againe
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Bassianus
entrencheth
into
Westmerland,
but hearing
that his eni-
mies were at
Poike he tur-
neth thither-
wards.

The Brit-
tains betray
the Romans.

The Romans
are discomfited.

The slaugh-
ter of the
Romans.

The Brit-
tains yield
themselves
vnto Car-
antius.

Carantius or
Caraulus, as
Eutropius na-
meth him,
blurring the
kingdome of
Britaine.

Carantius
hauing got the
victory, diui-
deth the game
in assigning to
his confederates,
their true
portions.

The
cutting
christ
Dion

Concl
perfect
the ch

Ham
Bite
to the
to auo
scut
Crath
stout
templ
false g
in the

The fi
shop
Scoti
Sodor
ecclesi
Crath
part
this so

Finc
mark

Amph

The cl
of S
other
led Soc
ecclesia

Culdei

what y
Finc
began
reigne.

for evermore. Finally the said Carantius was slaine by his companion Alecus, as in the English historie ye may find more at large.

The persecution of the christians by Dioclesian.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie god ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie obserued betwixt him and the Brits. Also in his daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be executed in most furious wise, so that there were few partes of the world (where anie christians were knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cruell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Brittain also, as well as in other places, there was no small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most vnnmercifull murder committed, to the great triumph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our religion.

Constantius persecuteth the christians.

Anie of the Britains fled to the Scots to avoid persecution. Crathlint destroyed the temples of the false gods in Spain.

The first bishops see in Scotland. Sodorensis ecclesia. Crathlint departed out of this world.

Fincomarke.

Amphibalus.

The church of S. Saviour, otherwise called Sodorensis ecclesia.

Culdei.

What yeere Fincomarke began his reigne.

In which time Constantius Glorius father to Constantine the great, was resident in Brittain, who adiudging the Scots to be a people whole giuen to pillage and laughter, as they were in deed, determined with himselfe to haue brought them to subiection. But per he could atchieue any notable enterprise, he died, leauing behind him the same of a right gentle and worthy prince, sauing that in one point he sore stained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faithfull amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots and Brits to avoid his persecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assigned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, destroying all such temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there since the beginning; and vnterlie abolished all the superstitious rites and customs of the same Druides, with their whole order and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which he dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauiour, wherein the christians might celebrate their diuine service, according to their profession. This church being richlie indowded, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots, and thereupon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of saint Saviour. Finally Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, being much praised as well for his politike gouernment, as for his great and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeeded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone of marie, to the great reioicing of all the estates, who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There lived in king Crathlints daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Brittain borne, who fleeing from the persecution then raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crathlint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint Saviours church in Man: this Amphibalus did beare much good amongst the Scots and Britains in setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other also of right famous memorie about the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Podoacus, Pileus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scottish tongue Culdei, that is to vnderstand, Cultores Dei, or as you would say in English, the worshippers of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke, ye shall vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the

yeere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Saviour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome 652, and in the 20 yeere of Constantine the emperor. It chanced that Ottauius king of the Britains was banquished by Traherus a Roman captaine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Roman empire, yet Fincomarke refused so to do, choosing rather to susteine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Roman emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall trust of safegard.

Here with Traherus being not a little moued, assembled his power, and entred into Westmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scottish mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the least 60 thousand persons together in one armie, as 30 thousand of his owne countreimen, 20 thousand Brits, & ten thousand of such Britains as followed after Ottauius. Fincomarke being thus furnished, hastened forth to encounter with his enemies, before they should haue time to do any notable damage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderstand the cause why he thus invaded his countrie, but receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and so joining with the enemy, there was fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnnmercifull murder and slaughter on both parts.

Finally, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in such feare with the sight of a number of husbandmen, who had got together their cattell and were driving the same awaie, that supposing they had bene some new succors comming to aid their enemies, they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leauing the victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots side were slaine (as their chronicles report) sixtene thousand men, and on the Roman part about sixteen thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto Dorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Ottauius pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him into places of more suertie, so that when the enemies came thither, the citizens yielded themselves, and receiued Ottauius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernment. The newes of these atchieued victories being buied throughout the realme, caused a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Ottauius, who receiued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought so by their support, that he was shortly after restored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and established therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell sustained in that iournie. There was also promise made and confirmed by solempne oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such other parts as were assigned to his predecessor king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their joining together in league against the Romans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his successors the Scottish kings, without anie claime or title to be made by any of the Britains;

322. H.B.
5490. H.B.
655. H.B.
First of Constantine. H.B.
Ottauius is banquished, & fleeth into Scotland.

Traherus invadeth westmerland.

Fincomarke raiseth his power.

Fincomarke joineth in battell with Traherus.

The Romans flee.

The number is slaine.

Yorke is yielded vnto Ottauius.

Ottauius obtaineth the rule of Brittain.

Westmerland assigned to the Scottishmen.

A counsell
kept at York.

Octavius
counsell
to enlarge his
dominion.

The Brit-
tains invade
Westmerland.

Craberus
returneth
into Brittain.
Octavius is
banquished by
Craberus.

Craberus by
a conspiracie
is murdered.
Octavius is
reconciled
with Fin-
comarke.

Octavius
entrench into
Brittain with
the Brittain
king.

Octavius be-
commerch
tributarie
vnto the Ro-
man emperour.
17 of Octavius
& Constantine
emperours. H.B.
Fincomarke
deceased.
358. H.B.

Eugenius &
Ethobius
sons to Fin-
comarke.

Romacius,
Fethelmacus
and Angulianus
sons to
three generall
brethren pre-
tend a right
to the estate.

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Octavius had once chased all the Romans south of the British confines, and that Traherus was fled over into France, there was a counsell called at York, where it was not onely ordered, that from thenceforth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne over the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperour Adrian, euen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling forth the inhabitants of forren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of enlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octavius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefitts received, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottishmen & Picts, they were hapely repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Traherus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octavius, he banquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Forwaite, there to saue his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Traherus againe in possession of Brittain as lieutenant to Constantine the emperour: but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octavius murdered, and then Octavius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottish king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlin. He likewise sent ship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans eschewes to invade his countrie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperour, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottishmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperour of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue 47 yeeres. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. His Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Ethobius, and was younger than his brother by one yeere, so that neither of them might succede their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Whereupon a counsell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlin, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacius, Fethelmacus, and Angulianus. Romacius had a Pictish ladie of the blood rofall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlin, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was younger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angulianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voices as he had vnto Angulianus, wherewith Romacius being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdrau their good wills from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and therevpon the counsell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angulianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacius was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being nere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angulianus therefore vnderstanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and incountering with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flee into the Westerne Isles with his cousin Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angulianus being thus chased out of the realme, Romacius was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed manner of tyrants, committing thus to the gouernment of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacius call vnto him, and afterward vsed their counsell aboue all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Againe, those which had bene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspicion, that he would likewise ver long find meanes to dispatch Ethobius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conueied themselves into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a date.

Then began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauourers of Angulianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any vnderstanding of their enterprise, so that whereas he (being vnprovided of resistance) assailed by slight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserved, in the fourth yeere of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioicing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angulianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king,

Romacius
seeketh meanes
to destroy his
cousin.

Angulianus
with bright
dealing pur-
cheth the
more friends
ship.

Romacius
banquisheth
Angulianus.

Octavius
king of the
Picts make
some warres
vpon the
Scots.

Romacius
Romacius is
receiued for
king.

Romacius
gouerneth
tyrannicallie;
Ethobius &
Eugenius
the sonnes of
Fincomarke
are conueied
into the Ile
of Man.

The Picts
discomfited
Scots.

Octavius
wins of re-
venge.

The Scottish
lords conspire
against Ro-
macius.

Octavius
useth the
Scottish con-
fines.

Romacius
apprehended
and put to
death.

Angulianus
proclaimed
king.

Angulianus
slew for pea-

king, as well by consent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slaine the Romane lieutenant, the emperor Constantine sent one Maximus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Maximus in countrey in battell, gaue them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Maximus king of the Britains, through greife, age, and long sickness, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Maximus, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yeeres unknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were oftentimes discomfited in battell by Maximus, and soe by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subjection.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Augustinus k. of Scots was soe disquieted by Pectanus king of Picts, who enforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scottish confines, and greatlye indamaged the countrey, by spoiling of goods, murdering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certeine Scottish men, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he pleased soe vpon Augustinus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agreement could be heard, though Augustinus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enimie in the field, where (after soe fight and much laughter) the victorie remained with Augustinus and Pectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the injuries received by the Scots, whereof he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceiued against his enimies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forthward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leuied, and led forth into the Scottish borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to invade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken by through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staid not long but set forthward with them, and entred into Balendar wood, spoiling and destruction all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Augustinus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should seeke to ioine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictish and Scottish estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Wherevpon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Augustinus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to do valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forthward, letting their arrowes flie fraeie one at an other, untill at length comming to handblowes they stroke on freshlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtfull. At length Augustinus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed forth into the thickest of the preale amongst his enimies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with preale, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cause to reioyse, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right penfise and sorrowfull, giuing manie a soe curtle vnto such as had bene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene contained in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloodie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterpryse of impotance the one against the other.

Augustinus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & slaue downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and encountering with the Scots, there was a soe battell fought betwixt them: but the Scots first putting the wings of their enimies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being advanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Laie, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrey of Fife.

The Picts, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to match with their enimies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skirmishes and light encounterings (if it were possible) to keepe them off from the winning of anie of their fenced townes, castles or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselves in this their purposed

Pectanus re-
sisteth all of-
fers of peace.

Augustinus
and Pectanus
come in battell
with their ar-
mies.

Augustinus
is slaine.

The Scots
are discomfi-
ted.

Pectanus is
also slaine.

Fethel-
macus.

The Scots
discomfite the
Picts.

An other
Pectanus
king of the
Picts dieth of
wounds recei-
ued in the
fight with the
Scots.

Heirgust is
chosen king
of the Picts.

He pretended
treason.

Fethelmacus
is murdered
in his bed.

In the fift
yeare of the
emperour
Constantinus.

369. H.B.

Saint Keule
commeth into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots
send into the
Iles of Man,
for Finco-
marke his
sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is
murdered king.

The practice
of Sparimus
to destroy the
Scots.

intention, they did chose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two lie fellows Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus took great pleasure, they were appointed to make sute to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he late at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hauing plaide in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asleepe) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who forthwith slue him euen as he late so sleeping: but the king growning grieuouſlie at the deablie stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber doze perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murderers, who fled with all speed vnto the next mountains, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling downe stones, vpon them that came by towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were drowen in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and conuict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene beleued) certaine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought forth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Greekish monke named Regulus Albatius, commonlie called S. Keule, a man in those daies highly esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirraruill, that is, the church of S. Keule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie churchyard, where the chanoons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethobius had remained, during the daies of the thre last remembered kings, Romacus, Angulianus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Sparimus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelie to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might ioine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroy-

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to doe with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceiued by their continuall practise and vsage, neuer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with rodes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them bitterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iollfull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almighty God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon any reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelie requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Sparimus hauing receiued this answer, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adiuſed for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts. And further therewith were certaine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Sparimus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the R. of the Picts, the authours of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doe, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer herevnto, declared that since he entred into the gouernment of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects; and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equitie and reason. Neither did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Picts against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would doe what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chiefly in the succours of almighty God, who vsed to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Sparimus receiuing this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserable, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Anandale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seene in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell,

He sendeth
vnto Heirgust
king of the
Picts.

Heirgust his
answer vnto
Sparimus
his message.

Sparimus
and Heirgust
ioine in friend-
ship, and the
Scots pro-
claimed eni-
mies to them
both.

An herald
sent from
Sparimus
vnto Eugen-
ius.

The enuoyes
of Eugenius
vnto the he-
rals.

Sparimus
raiseth a
mightie ar-
mie.
He inuadeth
the Scottish
regions.

Cruell wars.

Eugenius
gathering his
and

power fight
with his
enemies, and
in discomfited.

The Romans
following to
forwardlie
the chase, re-
ceive damage.

Eugenius
breaketh up
his army.

A rebellion in
Kent.

The Scots
indamage the
Picts.

Marinus
his feined
griefe.

Marinus,
showing in-
nedyth the
Scots.

Eugenius
prepareth an
armie to de-
fend his coun-
trie.

Women used
to the warres.

The number
of the Scottish
armie.

The approach
of Marinus
towards the
Scots.

and so joining with his enemies nere unto the wa-
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,
happened to light amongst them of Argyle, which
had not bene at the battell, but were coming to-
wards it, and now fiercelie incounting with such
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire
backe with some losse, wherupon the other Scots al-
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,
so that if night had not come on the soner, there had
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke
of. Whereupon the Romans, doubting what their en-
emies intended to doe, they fortified their campe that
night verie stronglie; but Eugenius understanding
what a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat-
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree
was stoped by with dead carcases, he thought best
(with the aduise of the pæres) to licence his people to
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his
enemies anie more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same
night unto Carrike, where he remained for a sea-
son, making prouision for defense of his realme the
best he could deuise. Marinus hauing knowledge
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone
their waies, he determined to haue followed them;
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re-
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leauing
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such
holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare fol-
lowing, Marinus was so buisied in the south parts
of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the
warres against the Scots, otherwise than in main-
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their
countrie, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and
the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but
also to inuade and deströie Pictland, so that they har-
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Spenteth and
Sterling thire, burning & waiking towne, castles,
and houses most cruellie.

Whereof Marinus being certified, made sem-
blance as though he were sore grieved therewith,
but inwardlie he could haue reioised at nothing
more than to heare of the iniuries don by the Scots
vnto the Picts, supposing it to make chiefie for his
purpose; and hereupon preparing an armie against
the next summer, when he had disposed all things in
a quiet order amongst the Britains, he set forward
with the same towards Galloway, where being ar-
riued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time
understanding the coming of his enemies, mu-
stered his people, and appointed the assemble to be
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard
that his enemies would trauell. Thither came also
not onlie all the able men of the Scottish dominions,
but likewise a great number of lustie & strong wo-
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac-
customed guise of their nation, so that there were
numbered in this armie fiftie thousand persons right
fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the
enemie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in
the place.

Marinus hearing that the Scots were thus in-
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and low-
ged the same night not far off from the river of
Munda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Euge-
nius, that Marinus was come within fiew miles of
him, with a greater armie than he had at his last in-

countring with him in Galloway. These aduertise-
ments caused no small stir to be raised in the campe,
some being stricken with present feare; where other
contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired
nothing so much as to ioine in battell with the Ro-
mans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested.
Eugenius himselfe thewed no countenance of feare
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable
wordes, he brought them streight in order of battell,
divided into three wards, committing one of them
to the leading of his brother Ethobius, the second
to Doalus the gouernour of Argyle, & reseruing the
third to himselfe. This done, he made vnto them a
pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for
them to plate the men, considering that in victorie
consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being
vanquished, their countrie was endangered to be
brought into perpetuall bondage for ever, for the
onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to op-
presse the libertie of the whole Island, and to reduce
the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gou-
erned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all
their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

With these and manie other like reasons he went
about to incourage the minds of his subiects, in such
wise, that in manner the most part of them determi-
ned rather to die with honor, than to liue in such mi-
serie as they feared would insue, if the victorie should
rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in
such talke together, suddenly cometh in one of
their scouts with newes, that Marinus with his ar-
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,
anon after the sunne was up, where he was not lo-
ked for till the euening following, inso much that the
same his sudden arrivall, chancing so farre contra-
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that
hereby they were constrained to change the order of
their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as
they had prouided at the first it should haue bene, if
the enemies had not come untill the after none. Yet
notwithstanding, they had no soner changed their
place, and gotten themselves into arraie of battell
again, but that with great violence they pressed
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which
Marinus perceiuing, made all the speed he could to
set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue
his enemies coming thus to incounter him. So
both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approched
within danger of shot, they let flie the same most e-
gerlie, albeit that through hasting forth to ioine at
hand-strokes, there was litle hurt done with bowes
or darts.

The Scots crieng vpon the name of their wor-
thy and famous ancesto king Calo, did laie about
them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the fo-
ring: and likewise the Romans, being incouraged
with the cherefull wordes of the lieutenant Mar-
mus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doub-
full at the first whether part should haue the worse
end of the strife. But shortly there followed variable
successe, for on the one part, they of Rolfe and Mar-
being appointed vnder Ethobius to incounter that
wing of the enemies where the Picts were, fought
so egerlie and with such fierce wills, that they easlie
put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great
number of them as they would haue passed the wa-
ter of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the
spoil, they were slaine downe right by a legion of
such Romans as were sent by Marinus vnto the
succours of the Picts.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argyle,
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after
C.iff. long

Eugenius
comforteth
his people.

The sudden
arriual of
Marinus.

The Scots
giue the onset.

The battell
joine.

Doubtfull
fight.

Ethobius
overthroweth
the Picts.

The Scots
hauing van-
quished the
Picts, are
slaine by the
Romans.

The Scottish
battell is ouer-
throwne.

Eugenius is
slaine.

The furious
rage of the
Scottish
carrers.

The spoile di-
uided amongst
the souldiers.

The buriall of
the dead bo-
dies by ap-
pointment of
Marinus.

Ethodius fore
wounded, is
committed to
the cure of
surgeons.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for euer, so that by this meane the maine battell of the Scottishmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Marinus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enimies hands to liue in miserie, as was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedilie with honor, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdom, in the third yeere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cariage and trulle of the field, seeing their lordes and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slea some number of their enimies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by anie valiant activitie: but this companie being anon broken in lunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten downe. Moreover, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enimies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kindred, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they slue upon such Romans as they met with; but being easilie vanquished, and refusing to flie, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable maner.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Brits, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserved farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Marinus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodie to be gathered, & equallie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found fore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed maner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Roman princes.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pittifull wise, and in maner halfe dead, was also taken up by commandement of the same Marinus, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus achieved, Marinus surueteth the countie of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both gods and lands in peace and quietnesse upon their othes of allegiance, without anie further molestation. Herigast

king of the Brits with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottish race. Whereunto Marinus at the first would not agree, alleging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to banquish by benefits, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

But the Brits not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to perswade him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue anie abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished anie quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Brits) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namely of the Brits, unto whose confusion (as the prophetes spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Brits, that all such as were naturall Scottishmen, should by a certeine date auoid out of those countie that they possessed in Brittain, upon paine of losing life and gods, & to deliuer by their houses and lands unto such Britains and Brits as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make anie resistance, obeyed this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Isles, and some of them got ouer also into Portugal, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Roman souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Brits were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottish lineage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise unto Marinus, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countie all the residue of their liues, though in seruaile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in granes with their slaine husbands.

Moreover, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife unto Eugenius, was brought unto Marinus, with two gentlewomen and a grome from the towne of hir husband, where she had remained euersith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Britain, and descended by lineage from the princes of Wales; Marinus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other revenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of British riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie slea hir grome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Marinus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserved. The queene herselfe being brought backe unto Marinus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

Herigast deli-
ueth the bitter
destruction of
the Scots.

The Brits
offended for
Marinus.

Cartandis
lamenteth h
imprisonme
estate.

where words
faile, gifts
preuaile.

The procla-
mation for the
auoiding of
all Scottish-
men forth of
the whole
Island of
Brittaine.

The Scots
plagued for
their beastlie
crueltie.

The monast-
rie of Mona
hubbled by
banished
Scottish
monks.

The cruell
dealing of
the Brits.

The time thi
the Scots
were thus
confined.

5547. H.B.

379. H.B.

710. H.B.

The second
yeare of Ju-
lian the Apo-
cata. H.B.

Strange
visions.
Swords and
weapons set
in the aire.

It raineth
birds.

Ethodius con-
fined into
Denmarke.

The Scots
offended with
Marinus.

Cartandis
lamenteth his
infortunate
state.

The monas-
terie of Iona
built by
banished
Scottish
monks.

The time that
the Scots
were thus
confined.
5547. H.B.
379. H.B.
710. H.B.
The second
year of Ju-
lian the Apo-
cata. H. B.
Strange
visions.
Swords and
weapons seen
in the aire.

It raineth
birds.

Ethodius con-
fined into
Denmarke.

But the Scots being offended herewith, and spe-
ciallie for putting to death of their men, fundrie of
their nobilitie came unto Marinus, and began to
make a soze complaint in that behalf, declaring
that the deserts of their nation had not bene such to-
ward the Romane empire, as to haue their people
put to execution for a womans sake, being both an
enemie and a prisoner, therefore they required that
he might be confined into Britaine, and according
to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all his
goods. Where Cartandis being present his selfe, be-
gan to make pittifull lamentation, bewailing his
most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of
his wretched case and present miserable fortune, he
should now be forced to turne againe into his coun-
trie: wishing rather than he should be enforced so
to do, that he might offer up his life as a sacrifice
in the place of his husbands buriall: and therefore
holding up his hands unto Marinus in most pittifull
wise, he besought him instantlie, that it might
please him, either to suffer him to passe the residue
of his life after such sort as he thought best agreed with
his widowlike estate, or else to take the same from
him presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Scots, that
saw and heard him at that instant, but lamented his
woofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the
Scots was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing liuing
assigned him for the maintenance of his degree, was
licenced to depart into what place he thought expe-
dient, there to liue as he thought best without let or
disturbance. The same time the Scottish bishops and
prelats, being banished as well as the other sort of
the Scottish people, a number of their monks got
them into the Ile of Iona, now called Cownekill,
where they erected a monastirie for their owne habi-
tation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right fa-
mous, even unto these our daies, as that which was
afterward indowbed with manie faire revenues by
diuers of the Scottish kings, who had their burials
there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as
shall be hereafter expressed.

The yeere in the which the Scottishmen were thus
vanquished by the Romans and Scots, and finally
confined out of their seats, was from the creation
of the world 4319, after the birth of our saviour 352,
from the beginning of the Scottish kingdome 679,
and the third yeere of Marcinus. The same yeere
before Eugenius came battell unto Marinus, ma-
nie strange sights were seene in the furthest part of
Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens
hearts. In the night season in the aire were seene
fierie swords and other weapons mouing in a long
ranke, after comming together on a heape, and be-
ing changed into an huge flame as it had been a fire-
brand, it then vanished auaile. The waters of the
riuier of Dune ran with blood, the banks of the same
riuier flashed oftentimes as they had bene all on a fire.
There were seene also a number of small birds fall
out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained
birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of
ranens that denoured by the same.

Certeine wittdes and soothsayers, declaring that
these things betokened the destruction of the Sco-
tish kingdome, were commanded by the prelates to
hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told
nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their
tales proved most true. But to returne to our hi-
storie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cu-
red (as is said) by commandement of Marinus,
was yet banished amongst the residue, and constrain-
ed to take an oth, that he should immediatlie re-
paire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch
nearer unto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots thro-
ugh his meanes, thereby to returne into their
countie againe, & to recouer their former state. But
this staied not them of the westerne Isles, but that
assembling themselves together, and choosing one
Gillo to their capitaine, they passed ouer into Argile,
where in the end they were incountred by such Scots
as were set there to defend that countie, and slaine
each mothers sonne. Their vessels were also taken
and brought into fundrie hauens of the countie, to
serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enter-
prise which the Scots should chance to make: but the
other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to sur-
nish forth a new armie in the Isles by any aid they
might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where
presenting themselves unto the king of that region,
they declared unto him from point to point all their
infortunate chances and lamentable calamities,
which were happened unto them of late through the
tyrannicall puillance of the Romans, and malicious
enemie of the Scots, in such sort as nothing could be
more miserable than their present estate, considering
the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the small
banishment of the inhabitants from their houses
and lands, which had bene in possession of them and
their elders, by the space almost of seuen hundred
yeeres.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pitie
to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to
haue chanced vnto that nation, whose good or bad hap
could not but touch them verie nere, considering
they were descended both of one progenie, comforted
these Scottishmen to the best of their power, and in
the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand
men, and to furnish them forth with ships, vittels,
and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie
of their countie. This aid being put in a readines,
and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite
for such an enterprise, they took the sea, and landing
in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heirdorlane bro-
ther to Heirgust king of the Scots, accompanied
with a great number of Scots and Britains assem-
bled to defend the countie, but being charpely af-
fected of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie
put to flight, & such as were overtaken died on the
sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants
that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue
counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to
take such bodies of goods and prisoners as they had
got in the countie, and to returne therewith into
Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, suppo-
sing it best to followe the victorie, and either to reco-
uer againe their ancient seats, or else to die in the
balaunt attempt thereof. Which aduise was follo-
wed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for be-
fore they could come to any conclusion of that enter-
prise, the Romans, Scots, and Britains gathered
themselves together, and gaue battell againe to the
Scottish and Irish companie, wherein they ouer-
threw them, to their vtter ruine and destruction.

The newes of this infortunate encounter being
brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles
there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought
it best with all speed to send ambassadoers vnto Mari-
nus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent
at the first were soze blamed and checked by Mari-
nus, for that they had aided the Scottishmen in the
last inuasion made into Albion: but at length acce-
pting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certeine
conditions, whereof the most principall article was,
that in no wise they should receive aid, or succor any
enemie to the Romane empire. This Marinus ha-
uing got a quiet peace on each side, used all meanes
possible

Gillo chosen
captaine of the
banished
Scots in the
western Isles
comming into
Argile is bene
quilted by
the Scots.

The Scots
repaire into
Ireland.

The king of
Ireland with
his nobles
lament the
Scottishmens
case.
The Irish-
men conclude
to aid the
Scottishmen.

The Scots
and Irishmen
land in Can-
tire.
The Scots
incounter
with the
Scots and
Irishmen and
are discom-
fited.

The Scots
and Irishmen
are ouer-
throwne.

The king of
Ireland see-
keth for peace.
Marinus
granteth
peace to the
Irishmen.
Marinus
seeketh by his
bounteous
liberalitie to
win the peo-
ples fauour.

possible how to procure the love of his souldiours and men of warre, shewing himselfe not onelic gentle, courteous and make towards them, but also so liberal and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all wonderstanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie nere hand as much in rewards, as the revenues of Britaine yielded to the empire in a whole yere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he used not onelic towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere unto their maners & fashions, that at his coming into Pictland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this manner of meanes therefore he wan him such love and fauor, as well amongst his souldiours, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 38. yere after Christ, protesting generallic, that they would owe onelic their obseuance vnto him as to their supreme gouernor. Where the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Sparimus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by anie meanes which he of himselfe used to attaine vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certeine persons to worke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of fise yeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man before his time, since the Ile was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperously he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquila in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Marcian the sonne of Marcian late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortly after he was constrained to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute, and liue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Marcian should be reputed during his life for king. Immediately hereupon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whom the one named Martinus sojourned at London, and the other called Valentinian at Rome. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practise, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and used most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Valentinian, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue straight commandement vnto Heirgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be used anie longer amongst his subjects, vpon paine that might inue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Heirgust now percelating into what thraldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile estate, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Valentinian commanded that the Picts should not chuse anie other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obiect anie other magistrates but onlie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he acknowledged by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirgust and Sparimus, that after the deccasse of the same Heirgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Notwithstanding the Picts nothing regarded the wordes of Valentinian, but by common agreement did chuse one Dursus the second sonne of Heirgust to be their king.

Whereupon Valentinian being informed of their doings, raised a power, and made such speed towards them, that he was gotten so nere vnto the citie of Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his approach, that Dursus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being forthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assault, and the citie sacked, to the great enriching of the Romane armie, and utter vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Dursus with other the chieffest prisoners were first had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie yeavlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their revenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to labo in mettall mines, to dig stoness forth of the quarries, and to make bycicke to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For they were become so loslie, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Ile, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortly disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Valentinian, to charge the Picts in maner as is before specified; but to their further graevance he deuised an other waie, whereby to byzing them in the end vnto utter destruction, which was this: he constrained them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Sparimus to possess, after that the Scots were expelled.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Valentinian to the Britains, as subjects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast along by the same, from Abirconne, through the territorie of Glascoo vnto Alcluth, or Aldcluth, now called Dunbretton, so running from the

Sparimus is chosen emperor in Britaine.

Sparimus ruled the estate of Britaine 17 yeres.

The emperor Gratian is slaine by Sparimus.

Heirgust slayeth himselfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Dursus is chosen king of the Picts.

Dursus is besieged of the Romans.

Dursus is brought prisoner to London.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their base seruices.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts.

The Scots
forbiden to
pass: over be-
yond that wall

The Scots
live in other
countries.

Ethobius
brother unto
Eugenius,
late king of
Scotland.

Erthus the
son of Etho-
bius begot
Fergus.

The Gothes
make an expe-
dition against
the empire of
Rome.

Fergus was
sent to aid the
Goths.

Rome sacked.

Fergus was
a captive un-
der Alarick
and Athaulf
kings of the
Goths.

Fergus with
his men re-
turned
again from
Italy into
Denmarke.

S. Albin.

the east sea to the west. Here to proclamation was made, that if any of the British nation did enter-
prise to passe this wall, and to enter into the British
confines without licence of the magistrats, he should
die for it. Whylest the Scots through their owne fault
are thus brought into most miserable subiection of
the Romans, the Scottishmen (as is said) being ban-
nished the land, lived in other countries by shifting
out the time so well as they might, some continuing
with their wives and children, got a poore living with
their hands, exercising some science or occupation.
Other there were that followed the warres, and ser-
ued under sundrie worthy capteins here and there,
as occasion serued.

But Ethobius the brother of Eugenius comman-
ded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was iustly
receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an of-
fice, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he li-
ued there certeine yeeres in right honorable estate,
and begot of his wife whome he brought thither with
him forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who
after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wife called
Hocha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the no-
bles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Hordichus, se-
cond person of the realme) a sonne named Fergus,
whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scot-
tish nation againe to their former estate and king-
dome. In his young yeeres he was appointed to serue
vnder Alarick the Gothic king in that famous voi-
age which he took in hand against the Romane em-
pire. For such was the hate as then of all the no-
therne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane
name, that by generall agrément they conspired to-
gether to the vtter ruine and finall destruction there-
of. And so ech of them sent forth a power in aid of the
said Alarick, chosen by common consent as generall
of the whole enterpryse.

Fergus being set forth by the king of Denmarke
with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number
of such Scottishmen as were withdrawne into those
parties, went with the better will, for that beside the
common quarell, he bare a private grudge towards
the Romans for the vsing of his ancessors so cruellie
interpellung them out of their owne homes and na-
tive countrie. This Fergus was present with the
Goths at the winning of Rome, in the sacking
whereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is repor-
ted) a certeine chest full of bookes, the which some hold
opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne
Isles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Col-
mevill, within a librarie there builded for the same
intent. Which bookes (as is to be supposed) were cer-
teine histories or monuments of old antiquities.
But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hee-
tor Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them
to be brought over to him to Aberdene) that it could
not be understood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Fergus, that he contin-
ued with Alarick in all his enterprises, so long as
he lived, and afterwards serued vnder his successor
Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable
estimation, as few were found comparable vnto
him in those daies. At length requiring a safe con-
duct to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to
depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as
in part of recompense of his good and faithfull ser-
uice shewed during the time of the warres, as well
in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the
daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarick. About
the same season, the bishops &c. of Candida casa, o-
therwise called Dublitterne, was first instituted by
one Pinian a preacher, that toke great paines (as
the report hath gone) to instruct the Scots and
Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his buriall had in such
veneration, that manie used to resort thither for de-
uotion sake, as the manner in times past was when
pilgrimage-goings were bled.

But now to returne where we left touching the
Scots, and to shew the maner how the Scots retur-
ned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that
the Scots being brought into feruile bondage (as
before we haue partly declared) and doubting daile
of worse to ensue, they sent secret messengers vnto
such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne
Isles, in Iorwaie, and in other parts of the world,
promising them, if they would giue the attempt for
reuerie of their ancient dwelling places in Alba-
nie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them
laie, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the
injuries which they daile sustained at the Romans
hands, whose continuall practise euer was, how to
oppress the ancient liberties of all such nations as
came vnder their subiection. The experience where-
of they now felt to their insufferable graunce,
looking for nothing else but hostile to be expelled out
of their countrie, and diuened to go seeke them other
places to inhabit in strange countries after the ma-
ner of outlawes, as it had chanced already to the
Scots by commandement of Aparius, as before
is expressed.

Fergus, vnto whom amongst other this message
was chiesly directed, reioiced greatly of the newes;
and first conferring with the king of Denmarke,
of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise
he sent letters abroad forthwith into Iorwaie, Alba-
nie, the westerne Isles, and into Ireland, vnto such
of the Scottishmen as dwelt in those places, to vnder-
stand their minds herein. And being certified
that they were vniuersallie agreed, not onlie to
trie their chance for reuerie of their former state
and kingdom; but also had chosen him to be gouer-
nour and generall capteine in that enterpryse; he
prepared partly at his owne costs, and partly at the
charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his
friends and allies there, a great multitude both of
men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe over in-
to Albanie to recouer his grandfathers estate, which
as it was thought might now be the more easilie
brought to passe, sith the Scots would aid him there-
to, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge
their owne injuries receiued at the Romans hands,
and to deliuer themselves from such thraldome as
they daile felt themselves oppressed with, doubting
withall hostile to be quite expelled out of their
whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a
great and the better part thereof already.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of
the British blood, by consent of the Romane legat
Aparius (both of them going against their allegi-
ance) usurped the gouernance of Brittain by his
owne private authoritie; but hostile after, they two
falling at variance together, the one of them slue the
other. And then the souldiers not staling till they vnder-
stood the pleasure of Honorius the emperor,
chose one Constantine to succeed in the place of
Aparius, who passing over into France, was slaine
there by Constantius one of the capteins of the said
Honorius. Unto the other of the Romane legats
hearing of the death both of Aparius and Con-
stantine, removed from Porke vnto London, the
better to provide for the safe keeping of the land to
the emperor Honorius his use; for that he doubted
sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the
countrie was as then vnprouided of men of warre,
the most part of them being transported over into
France with the fornamed Constantine, and not
again returned.

The Scots
sent into for-
eign countries
to call home
the Scots.

Fergus sent
vnto the
Scots dispe-
sed.

Fergus pre-
pared himselfe
to warre.

Gratian usur-
ped the gouer-
nance of Brit-
tain.

Aparius
slaine.

Constantine
succeedeth
Aparius.
Constantine
is slaine.
The lieuten-
ant of the
north com-
meth to Lon-
don.

The

The Picts
send speid
unto Fer-
gule.

Fergule ar-
rived with his
ships in Dur-
rey firth.

The Picts
toisulie re-
ceive Fergule.

The Picts
crave pardon
excusing
themselves.

Fergule.

The Picts
punished for
their un-
truthes.

The ancient
league renewed
again be-
twixt the
Scots and
Picts.

The Scots
restored to
their coun-
tries.

Fergule.

Fergule is
conveied into
Argile, and
there inuested
king.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all speed unto Fergule, requiring him to make haste, sith if he should have wished for a convenient time, a better could not be devised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Roman empire, the people euerie where being ready to moue rebellion. Fergule vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another unto him from the Picts, he hastened to depart with all diligence; and when all things were ready, he took the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arrived in safety within the firth of Durey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, a word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Denie, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wives, children, and whole families in most speedie wise unto him, as though the countrie had bene already recovered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts also reioicing greatly at the newes of his coming, repaired unto him, and shewed him all the honors that might be desired, beseeching him to pardon and forget all injuries and displeasures by them wrought and continued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were ready for the advancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enimies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Petrus had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the false words and sweet promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought upon their owne heads and their posterities. Therefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Fergule by content of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, euen according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to ioin his power with theirs to helpe to restore them unto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender by into the Scottishmens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same already, being reduced into most fertile & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great untruthes, used and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were thoughtlie pleased and satisfied with Fergule his words, so that within few daies after, the king (whome they had lately chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came unto Fergule, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene observed on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Roman power.

Ad Fergule then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and commons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had bene driven forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our saviour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

noxius the emperor, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castles also and fortresses as the Picts held within any of those countries, which belonged unto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessities, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what

I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certaine seats in the same till then: but that coming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Isles, where they before inhabited, they used to make often inuasions into this land, greatly molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor with others to beleue, that there was any such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories do make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willingly seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auousched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but euen amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well advised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Gald, and some other happlie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to doe with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to retorne where we left. After that Vitroline the Roman legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scottishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leued with all speed, and hastened forth with the same unto Forke, where being arrived, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuade the Picts to forsake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceiving he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so thereupon setting forward, he passed forth till he came nere Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therewith (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Fergule being aduertised hereof, & hauing in like maner already assembled a mightie huge host both of Scottishmen and Picts, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Vitroline hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being ready to receiue the Scots vpon their first approach, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nere vnto the

422. H.B.
396. 10. Ma.
The 18 yeare
of the empe-
rour Honor-
rius. H.B.
755. H.B.

when the
Scots first
got certein
seats here in
this Ile of
Britaine as
some thinke,

The riuer
Carron run
neth with
blood.

The battell
slew by
reason of a
tempest.

The licen-
tiant fur-
nishing diuer
holdes, retur-
neth into
Acut.

The Scots
Picts beal
by their
compe.

Whole offi-
ned to the
Picts.

The Pits
ains by the
appointmen
of Vitroline
make a wall

The Scoti-
mens Pits
interrupt the
making of
that wall.

Graine, oth
hoile called
Graham, as
his linage.

Fergule ma-
ried a daugh-
ter of Grain

Dinertie of
opinions con-
cerning the ori-
ginal begin-
ning of the
Grain.

The river of Carron runneth with blood.

The battell caused by reason of a tempest.

The lieutenant furnishing diuerse holdes, returned into Kent.

The Scots & Picts break by their campe.

Athole assigned to the Picts.

The Britains by the appointment of Vitorine make a wall.

The Scottish men & Picts interrupt the making of that wall.

Graine, other wise called Graham, and his lineage.

Fergus married a daughter of Graine.

Diuerſitie of opinions concerning the originall beginning of the Britains.

which their battels (joined) was well nere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into a ruddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run altogether with blood.

In the end (whilst as yet it was doubtfull to whether ſide the victorie would incline) there came ſuch a ſudden ſhower of raine, mixed with ſuch great abundance of haileſtones, that neither part was able to haue ſight of other, ſo that by reaſon of the violent rage of that huge ſtorme and tempeſt, either ſide was ſaine to withſtand from the other. There were ſlaine in this battell ſuch great numbers of men, as well on the one ſide as the other, that they had ſmall liſt to ſoine in battell againe for certaine yeeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderſtanding that loſſe of people he had ſuſtained, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certaine of his companies to lie in gariſon within ſundrie fortrefſes in Britland, & with the reſidue he returned into Kent. In like ſort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiving themſelues not able as then to make anie further attempt againſt their enemies, brake by their armie, and deuiled onelie how they might defend that which they had already in poſſeſſion.

And ſoſomuch as the Pictiſh nation was increaſed vnto a greater multitude of people, than thoſe countries which they then held were able to find with ſufficient ſuſtenance (conſidering what a great poſſion of their ancient ſeates the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots that they ſhould inſoſe the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering nere vnto the ſame, lieng without the compaſſe of the mountaine of Grangeben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increaſed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire caſtles and towres in thoſe parties, to the great beautifying of that countrie. In which meane while, Vitorine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Britains to make haſt with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and ſuſtained with certaine poſſes of timber paſſing ouerſwart the borders betwixt them and their enemies, beginning (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and ſo ſtretching ſouth by Glaſco, and Kirkpatrike, euen vnto Abchurch, now Dunbryton, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperour Adrian cauſed (as is ſaid) to be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they aſſembled themſelues together, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graine, they ſet vpon the Britains, as they were buſie in working about the ſame, and ſlue not onelie a great number of labourers and ſouldiers, which were ſet to labour and defend the worke, but alſo entering into the Britiſh borders, fetched from thence a great botie of cattell and other riches, which they found diſperſed abroad in the countrie. This Graine (who as I ſaid was chiefe in this enterpriſe) was brother vnto the Scottiſh queene, the wiſe of king Fergus. He was bozne in Denmarke (as ſome hold opinion) in the time of the Scottiſh mens baniſhment, and had a Scottiſhman to his father deſcended of a noble houſe, and a Daniſh ladie to his mother. He himſelfe alſo married a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whom Fergus by the perſuaſion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wiſe, and had iſſue by hir (aſore his coming into Scotland) three ſonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Conſtantius, of whom hereafter in their place mention ſhall be made, as occaſion ſerueth. Whether there be, that affirme how this Graine was a Britaine bozne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled ſorth of his native countrie,

and continued euer after amongſt the Scots, as firſt in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer ready to do what diſpleaſures he could deuile againſt the Romans & other their friends or ſubiectes. Of this Graine thoſe Scots, which vnto this day beare that ſurname, are ſaid to be deſcended.

But now to the purpoſe. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after that it was knowne in foreign countries, how the Scots had got ſot againe within thoſe regions in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had poſſeſſed, there came baillie diuerſe companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Itallie (where during the time of their baniſhment they had ſerued vnder ſundrie captiues) vnto Fergus to aid him, in recourſe of their countrie and ancient ſeats, out of the which they had bene moſt cruellie expelled. So that Fergus now ſeing his power thus not a little augmented by their coming, entereth into the borders of Bile, Carike, and Contingham, ſpoiling and harrieng thoſe countries on euery ſide: but ſhortlie thereupon cometh the armie of the Romans, with whom the Scots incountering in battell, received no leſſe damage than they minded to haue done vnto their aduerſaries. Whereupon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered for that part of the yeere which yet remained.

When ſummer was come, he was counſelled to haue ciſſances offered battell vnto Vitorine, who as then was entered Gallowate: and rather to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes chance againſt him, than to ſuſtaine ſuch diſpleaſures and iniuries at the Romans hands, as by them were daily done vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the danger was great to ieopard againe in battell with the Romans, being men of ſuch ſkill & practice in the ſeats of wars, conſidering what loſſe had chanced in the two former battels. Againe, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and ſeeke to defend the borders of his countrie, ſo well as he might without giuing battell, it muſt needs come to paſſe that ſhortlie the Romane empire ſhould be brought vnto ſuch ruinous decaye, by reaſon of the multitude of enemies, which as then inuaded the ſame on each ſide, that in the end Vitorine doubting his owne ſuertie, would conueie himſelfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then ſhould it be an eaſie matter for the Scots and Picts to recover againe all ſuch countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and whole to reſtoze the eſtates of their common wealths vnto their former ciſſities.

This aduice was followed as the beſt and moſt likelie, ſo that making ſundrie roads into the borders of their enemies countries ſo to keepe them ſtill occupied, Fergus and the Scots reſuſed utterly to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortlie after alſo it chanced, that Vitorine was accuſed vnto the emperour Honorius of ſome ſecret practice againſt his maielte, as to be about to ſturpe the crowne of Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in deed by the ſouldiers (whoſe hearts he had wonne through his bountious liberalitie ſundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderſtanding at this preſent, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the ſaid information made againſt him, they did moue him with ſuch earneſt perſuaſions to take vpon him the imperiſhall dignitie, promiſing euen to liue and die with him in deſenſe thereof, as well againſt Honorius, as all other, that in the end he conſented vnto their deſires, and ſo was proclaimed emperour, and clothed in purpore, vſing thereto all the other imperiſhall ornaments, as if he had bene emperour indeed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus was

The Scottiſh men returned into their countrie.

Fergus ſiteth vnder the ſhades of the Britains.

The Scots put to the worke.

Vitorine ſiteth vnder Gallowate.

Fergus is diſſuaded to fight with the Romans.

The Romane empire inuaded by barbarous nations.

Vitorine accuſed vnto Honorius.

Vitorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of emperour in Britaine.

Heracianus
is sent against
Victorine.

Victorine is
delivered into
the hands of
Heracianus.
Heracianus
is sent into
Africa.

Placidus
lieutenant of
Britaine.

The warre
renewed by the
Scots.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the bor-
ders of their
enemies.

Placidus ga-
thereth a
power.
He encount-
reth with his
enemies.

Placidus re-
covereth the
overthrow.
He fleeth to
York.

Placidus see-
keth to haue
peace.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots,
Picts, and
Romans.

Fergus be-
siegeth the land
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Victorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernour, began to feare the sequel of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Victorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heracianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recovered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Heracianus, minding to send him into Africa against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Dursus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioin with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, ouerrunning the most part of Aile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Calloway, destroying all before them, which way sooner they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdued the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom encountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so fore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their arrie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and ioufull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto York, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their courageous intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this overthrow, but also weeling with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such means as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts indououred themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealthe into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same forth vnto his subiects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Comana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, took a new name of one Catus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting forth into the sea called Fesse: so that being compound together, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse took that name, being afore named Lugia.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthqubane, of the tribute vsed to be paid there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Buthane in the old Scottish tongue signified tribute: and Buth, a flocke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog, which runneth through the middest of it. Louchqubaber took the name of a great meare or water, into the which the riuer of Dubaber falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plenty of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a litle changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Par, for Parthea; and such like.

Fergus also repaired such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restoried againe churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chapels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbeie within the Ile of Jona, now Colmeckill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be vsed about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace he was not negligent in providing for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repaired; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their liuing now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire daily falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts took occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroye all such of the British nation as went about to destroye them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Spaine an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous manner. The Romane souldiers, after the deceasse of Placidus, ordeined one Cassius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Otaulus sometime king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aid the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in marriage. Cassius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power forth of the prouinces, which were

The names
of diuers pla-
ces in Scot-
land changed.
Cathnesse,
whereof it is
so named.

Rosse.

Buthqubane.

The signifi-
cation of the
name of Buth-
qubane.

Bogdale.

Louchqub-
aber.

Athole, Mur-
rey land.

Argile, for Ar-
gathile; and
Par, for Parthea.

Fergus re-
paired church-
es, and pro-
vided liuings
for religious
persons.

The first fon-
dation of the
abbie within
the Ile of Jo-
na now
Colmeckill.

Fergus re-
paired his
castles.

Placidus the
lieutenant of
Britaine dieth.

The Scots &
Picts renew
the warre.

The crueltie
of the Scots
and Picts.

Cassius orde-
ined lieut-
enant of Bri-
taine.
Dionethus,
or Dionotus,
as some haue
heare.

Cassius sen-
deth vnto
Fergus.

The answer
of king Fer-
gus.

Chorus rai-
seth an armie

Dionethus
joineth with
the Scots
against the
Romans.

The armies
ioine in battle

The Romans
gaine backe.

The Scots
follow in the
chase to
Fathle.

Dionethus
proclaimed
king of Bri-
taine.

Etius lieut-
enant of the
Romans in
France or
Gallia.

Marinianus
sent ouer into
Britaine.

Marinianus
causeth the
Britains to
come with him
to go against
the Scots.

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without proceeding any further in that vnlawfull attempt, either else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had bene driven out of their countries, and banished quite forth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

The answer
of king Fer-
gus.

Castus rais-
eth an armie.

Dionethus
joineth with
the Scots
against the
Romans.

The armies
joine in battel.

The Romans
give backe.

The Scots
follow in the
chase to
rashlie.

Dionethus
proclaimes
king of Brit-
taine.

Etius lieuten-
ant of the
Romans in
France of
Gallia.

Marinianus
sent over into
Britaine.

Marinianus
saileth the
Britains to
come with him
to go against
the Scots.

But here vnto was answer made with great indignation; that as for the league thus alledged, ceased by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for any, until the whole prouinces, both of Westmerland and Camberland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scottishmen and Brits, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Durdus king of the Brits, vnto whom Castus had sent a like message. Wherewithall the said Castus being not a little moued, assembled an armie, and with all speed marcheth forth toward his enemies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands laie in Wales) was alreadye ioined with the Scots.

Which newes soe appalled the hearts of the Brits, but yet being incouraged with comfortable words of their capitaine to proceed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within three daies after, they came within sight of their enemies, being ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finallye the multitude of the Scottish archers and herites so compassed in the battels of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backs, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Castus (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their array and fled. Whereupon the rest of the like followed: the Scots, Brits, and Welshmen pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselves close together, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe such of their enemies as followed more rashlie than warlike in the chase, not once regarding to keepe any order of battell, but yet by other companies that pursued more orderlie together for their most aduantage, there was great slaughter made both of Romans and Brits.

After this victorie thus achieved, Dionethus was proclaimed king of Britaine, and soe warres continued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen, Scots, & Brits, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperor Valentianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the capitaine which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one Marinianus being of kin to the emperor, to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succor the Romans, and such Brits there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Roman empire.

This Marinianus at his arrivall in the Island was most iollie receiued by the soldiers and subjects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countie resorted also vnto him, the which he felicitates most glad of his coming, & promising with what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with him against their enemies. Whereupon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioine the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he passed through the countie into Powke, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being already assembled in campe to defend the countie of Westmerland against him. Here were both the kings of Scots and Brits, Fergus and Durdus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Brits, who had brought with him, beside the Welshmen, a great number of those Brits that inhabited in the countie now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Brits acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere together, they camped for that night the one in sight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themselves to battell. Fergus first making an earnest oration vnto his people, to incourage them the more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst other things how the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of god successe in them that enterpriseth any thing in defense thereof; where contrarie all such as attempted to disquiet other by inuention and wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were other of his capitaine negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they vsed most comfortable words, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shewed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Marinianus with his capitaine and officers of bands were as buie on their side to array their battels most for their aduantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being readie to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most furious sorte, the Romans being at the first soe annoyed with arrowes and darts, which flue so thicke from each side, that their fight was in manner taken from them, the like seeming as it had been couered ouer with a pentile. So that Marinianus perceiuing this disadvantage, he caused a fresh legion of his soldiers to aduance forward to the succour of their fellows; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans soe preasing vpon their enemies: so that in the end passing quite through their battels, they caused a great disorder and feare amongst those Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting themselves in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselves together, and with maine force assailed to haue broken through the thickest pree of their enemies, but being inuironed about on each part, they were there slaine each mothers sonne. Whilist the Romans drew together to resist on that side, other of the Scottishmen, Brits, Brits, & Welshmen, found a waie to get forth through their enemies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as fast as their feet might beare them: but a great number being notwithstanding overtaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pitifullie.

Fergus the Scottish king, and Durdus king of the Brits were slaine in this mostall battell together, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being soe wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow soe dismayed both the Scottish and Brits nations, who looked for nothing more than present expulsion out of their countie, for Marinianus pursuing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruellie waisting and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and into the Brits confines, destroying all before him with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with

The Scots
and Brits al-
sembled a-
gainst the Ro-
mans.

The armies
prepare to bat-
tell.

Fergus ex-
horteth his
people to da-
untlie. Right mi-
nistre hope of
god successe.

The onset is
giuen.

Marinianus
perceiuing the
disadvantage,
prouideth to
remedie the
same.

The Scots
disordered.

The two
kings Fergus
and Durdus
are slaine,
Dionethus
escapeth.

Marinianus
pursueth the
victorie.

Camelon ta-
ken by force.

W. J. duerle

The Scots
and Brits
withdraw be-
hind the wall
of Abircoyne.

diuerſe other notable towneſ and places, as well be-
longing to the Brits as Scots. Neither was there
any end of theſe cruell doings, till both the Scots &
Brits for their refuge were generallie conſtrained
to withdraw themſelves beyond the wall of Abir-
coyne, which (as before is ſaid) a few yerres paſſed
was begun by the Britains, and ſtretched from Abir-
coyne aforeſaid, overthwart the land vnto Alcluth
now Dunbzeon.

ſparimianus hauing thus diſturb'd his enemies be-
yond this wall, cauſed them to make aſſurance by
their oath of covenant, neuer to paſſe the ſame againe
by waie of hoſtilitie, either againſt the Britains or
Romans. There were that counſelled ſparimianus
either bitterlie to haue deſtroied both the Scots and
Brits, either els to haue diſturb'd them out of the whole
Ile. But he being ſatiſfied with that which was alre-
die done, thought good to returne vnto Rome, and
there to winter, that in the beginning of the next
ſpring he might go into Wales, to chaſiſe Dione-
thus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in
aiding the enemies of the empire. But when the time
came that he ſhould haue ſet forward on that iour-
nie, he heard ſuch newes from the parties of beyond
the ſeaſ, into what ruinous decaye the empire was
fallen, without any likelihood of recouerie, that cha-
nging his purpoſe, he minded to ſurpe the crowne of
Britaine as absolute king thereof himſelfe. And to
haue the more fauor of the Britiſh nation without a-
ny impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he
tooke to wiſſe one of the daughters of Dioneſthus, be-
ing the elder of thoſe two, which he onelie had with-
out iſſue male, by the ſiſter of king Ferguſe. She
that was thus coupled in marriage with ſparimianus
was called Dithilia, & the other daughter named Vir-
ſula was profeſſed a nun in an houſe of religion, to
the intent that the whole right which Dioneſthus pre-
tended to the realme, might remaine to the wiſſe of
ſparimianus. When waſ Dioneſthus made ſecond
perſon of the realme, aſwell in degre of honor, as
in publicke gouernment.

ſparimianus
taketh vpon
him the abſo-
lute gover-
nance of Bri-
taine, with the
imperiall
title.
He marrieth
Dithilia the
daughter of
Dioneſthus,
Dioneſthus
reputed for ſe-
cond perſon of
the realme.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
created king
of Scots.

420. H.B.
760. H.B.

The bodie of
Ferguſe is
buried in the
abbey of Jo-
na, otherwiſe
Colmeſhill.

And whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in
Britaine, the Scottiſh lordſ had created Euge-
nius the ſonne of Ferguſe, king of their realme, as
due to him by rightfull ſucceſſion from his father,
who had gouerned the ſame by the ſpace of 16 yerres
per he was ſlaine (as before is ſpecified) in the laſt
mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne
(as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the
firſt beginning of the Scottiſh kingdome 767. His
fatherſ corpes, which at the firſt was ſecretlie buried,
as occaſion ſuffered, whileſt the Romans were yet
in the countrie, he cauſed to be taken vp, and conuei-
ed ouer into the Ile of Jona, otherwiſe called Col-
meſhill, where, with all ſolemne pompe and cere-
monies it was intumulat, according to the ordinance
which he himſelfe had deuifed in his life time, with-
in the abbey there.

In like manner ſparimianus, to the intent to e-
ſtabliſh himſelfe the more quietlie in the eſtate of
Britaine, and to deliuer his ſubiectſ the Britains,
which bordered vpon the Scottiſh dominions, from all
trouble of warres, was contented to make peace
with the Scots vpon light ſate made vnto him for
the ſame. After this alſo, he being once fullie eſtabliſh-
ed in the eſtate of Britaine, coueted alſo to attaine
to the tyte in gouernment of the whole empire, and
therefore aſſembling all the forces of the Britiſh
youth, ſailed into Gallia, cauſing himſelfe to be pro-
claimed emperor, and ſo diſturped that title, as in the
Engliſh and Italian hiſtorie you maie find more
largelie expreſſed. He left behind him in Britaine his
father in law Dioneſthus as chiefe gouernor there,
with one legion of Romane ſoldiours. After this did

ſparimianus
granted
peace to the
Scottiſhmen.

Etius the emperorſ lieutenant in France, ſend for
ſuch Romans as ſparimianus had left in Britaine,
who reuolting from their otheſ of allegiance giuen
vnto the ſame ſparimianus, obeyed Etius, as one
that ſupplied the roome of their rightfull lord and ma-
ſter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wiſe
was Britaine diſturbed of all maner of able men
for deſenſe, whereof the Scots and Brits toke good
occaſion to inuade the Britiſh borders, not ſparing
to purſue with fire and ſword all ſuch of the Britains
as did yet continue in obedience to ſparimianus.

They firſt browe thoſe Britains out of all the coun-
tries, which had bene taken from them by the ſame
ſparimianus, and by other of the Romans and Bri-
tains, as Midland, Wiſſe, Carrike, and Coningham,
Galloway, the ſparches, and Northumberland. This
done, they entered into Cumberland, Weſtmer-
land, and Kentall, not ceaſing till they had ſpoiled
and deſaced all thoſe countries, with the moſt part of
all Northumberland, in ſuch cruell wiſe, that they made all
thoſe quarters barren both of corne and catfell, which
waie ſooner they paſſed. The Britains perceiving in-
to what danger they were brought, if ſome good re-
medie were not found in time, ſent ouer with all ſped
vnto Rome for ſuccor to be had at the emperor Va-
lentinianſ handſ, for ſparimianus was otherwiſe
occupied. Valentinian deſirous to deliuer the Bri-
tains from ſuch cruell enemies as the Scots & Brits
thelued themſelues to be, leaſt through their meanes
all the whole Ile ſhould reuolt from the obedience of
the Romans, appointed one Gallio boyne in Hau-
na, and as then ſitoyning about Paris in France,
with a legion of ſoldiours to paſſe ouer into Britaine,
to diſturb the Scots and Brits from further mo-
leſting the ſubiectſ of the empire.

The Scots and Brits, vpon knowledge had of
this Gallioſ arrivall, drew backe into their coun-
tries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whoſe
force they doubted, and not without cauſe, hauing
had in times paſt ſo manie overthowes and ſlaugh-
ters at their handſ. But Gallio purſued them euen
vnto the water of Forth, where in ſundrie ſkirmeſ
theſe he ſlue no ſmall number of them: and for that
he knew he ſhould be ſent for ſhortlie to returne a-
gaine into France, to helpe to reſiſt ſuch barbarous
nationſ as warred in the ſame, for the better deſenſe
of the Britains againſt their enemies the Scots and
Brits (whome he knew would not be anye while in
quiet after he waſ once gone) he cauſed the wall to
be newlie made by betwiſt Abircoyne & the mouth
of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane pro-
uince from all ſudden inuafions of the enemies. This
wall waſ earli made of turffe, but now repaired
with ſtone, and ſtrengthened with great poſſe of
pileſ of wood, diſturb in betwiſt in places moſt nee-
dfull. It waſ alſo 8 ſot broad, and 12 ſot high. And in
certeine turrets caſt forth vpon this wall, Gallio ap-
pointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the eni-
mieſ approach towards the ſame, warning might be
giuen by fire in the night, and by ſmoke in the day,
vnto ſuch of the Britains as dwelled neere vpon thoſe
borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine
of death for being found in the contrarie) that eu-
erie man vpon ſuch knowledge had, ſhould reſort im-
mediatlie to the place appointed, with ſuch armour
and weapon as for him waſ requiſit.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the ſuertie
of the Britains, and deliuered them at that preſent
from the cruell handſ of their enemies, he returned
into France with the armie that he brought with
him, according to the commandement which he had
from Etius the emperorſ lieutenant there. His
departure out of Britaine waſ no ſoner knowne of
the Scots and Brits, but that with all their maine
force

The Scots
and Brits in-
uade the Bri-
taine.

The proſper-
ous ſucceſſe
of the Scot-
tiſhmen.

The Bri-
taine require
aid of Valen-
tinian the em-
peror.

Gallio Ro-
manus is
ſent ouer into
Britaine.

The Scots
and Brits re-
ſuſe to giue
battell to the
Romans.

Gallio purſu-
eth the Scots
and Brits.

Gallio cauſeth
the wall of
Abircoyne to
be repaired.

The maner
of the build-
ing of that
wall.

The ordina-
tion of Gallio
for watch to
be kept of the
wall.

Gallio return-
eth into
France.

The Scots
and Brits
determined to
inuaſe the
Britaine a-
gaine.

The Bri-
taine reſort
to the wall
of Abircoyne
deſend it.

The Scots
and Brits
proued the
wall to aſſa-
it.

Grain aſſa-
teth the wa-
ll.

The wall is
overthwart.

The Bri-
taine leaue
Midland ar-
get them-
ſelues ouer
the riuer of
Tine.

The wall o
Britaine is
repaired by the
Britains.

The coun-
tries lying
north from
the wall of
Britaine diuid
amongſt the
Scots and
Brits.

The Bri-
taine requir
aid at the
handſ of Ce-
ſar.

The Scots
and Picts de-
termined to
make the
Britains as-
gaine.

The Bri-
tains resort
to the wall of
Abercorne to
defend it.

The Scots
and Picts ap-
proach the
wall to assault
it.

Grain assault
the wall.

The wall is
overthrowen.

The Bri-
tains leave
Pictland and
get them-
selves over
the river of
Tine.

The wall of
Adrian is re-
paired by the
Britains.

The coun-
tries lying
north from
the wall of A-
drian divided
amongst the
Scots and
Picts.

The Bri-
tains require
aid at the
hands of Ce-
sar.

force they determined to set upon the Britains a-
gaine. So that assembling their powers together,
the kings of both those nations exhort their men to
do valiantlie. Eugenius the king of the Scottish
men encourageth them through hope of high re-
wards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his
part promiseth the lieutenantship of Camelon (an
office of most honor amongst them) unto him that
first should passe the wall of Abercorne. Whereupon
the Britains being advertised of their enemies in-
tentions according to the ordinance before appoint-
ed, drew in defensible wise unto that part of the
wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts
were minded to assault.

At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings
were come to the wall, and had their people ready to
give the approach, they themselves stood apart some-
what out of danger of shot: and such bands as were
appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine bat-
tels under the leading of that Graime, the which (as
ye have heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains
when they had first made the same wall by command-
ment of Alutorine the Roman lieutenant. After
ther shewed he lesse proofe of his valiancie at this
time than he had don before. For though the Britains
made earnest resistance, so far as their power would
extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was
undermined and broken downe in sundrie places,
so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts en-
tered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the
Britains on each side that went about to make resis-
tance, for none escaped their hands, but such as sa-
ved themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and
Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland,
pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the
kings did themselves. Both houses and people pas-
sed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the
Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the
countrie, not staying till they came beyond the ri-
ver of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie
which lieth betwixt Tward and Tine was deliuered
by appointment of the kings unto the souldiers,
to spoile and sle at their pleasure, whereupon follow-
ed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, coue-
tousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilst
the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied their
market, the Britains with all diligence repaired
and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said)
by the emperor Adrian, shooting overthwart the
countrie from the river of Tine, unto the river of
Elke.

Whoebeit the Scots and Picts, because winter ap-
proched, made no further attempt against the Bri-
tains at that time, but dividing those countries
which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian,
among themselves, according to the order in that
behalf appointed by their kings, they fortified cer-
taine castles and holds for defense of the same coun-
tries, as it were to countergarison such Britains
as continually kept watch and ward upon the fore-
said wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least
so soon as the spring were come, the Scots would
inuaide their countries which lay on the south part
of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as
they had done the yere before through the other wall
of Abercorne, they sent ambassadoes unto Etius the
Roman lieutenant, governing Gallia now called
France, under the emperor Valentinian, requir-
ing to haue some aid and succour at his hands,
whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enemies, as
sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and
houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged
themselves in anie manner of wise subiects unto the

empire.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather be-
cause he conveniently could not (for that he was o-
therwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the
French men) made a direct answer that he had no
men of warre in store to send ouer into Britaine,
and therefore tolled them to do what they could for
their owne defense, for aid of him they might none
haue. The messengers returned home with this an-
swere, and made report thereof in a publike assem-
bly of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathe-
red together at London to consult there for the estate
and order of their countrie. Where after long deli-
beration (notwithstanding that they perceiued they
should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was
yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole
puissance of the British nation should be mustered,
as well men as women, being able to do anie feat
of seruice available in defense of their countrie, & ra-
ther to trie the uttermost point of fortunes chance,
than to suffer themselves to be ouerrun without resis-
tance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great
authoritie amongst them, as one that was descen-
ded of the blood of Octavius sometime king of Bri-
taine, went about with earnest persuasions to re-
moue the residue of the nobilitie from this determi-
nation, aduising them to seeke for peace at the Sco-
tishmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtfull
chance of Mars his iudgement, considering the
febleness of their whole force now, ever since that
the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and
dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt
for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Cona-
nus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude
that heard him, to be greatly offended with his
words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true
man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former or-
dinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars
by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour
and weapon provided, and both day and place appoint-
ed, where they should assemble together to march
forth towards the enimie. Conanus sore lamenting
their doings, called almighty God to record, that
that which he had said, was spoken onelie for the
loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence
his aduise might not be followed, he doubted great-
lie least the ruine of the British state by some fatal
appointment drew fall upon them. The people hear-
ing him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons
fell upon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst
them: wherewith other being sore moued to indig-
nation, set upon the murderers, there to haue re-
uenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began
taking of parts, and together they went by the eares
in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them
being slaine, the magistrats had much ado to appeale
the state.

In this meane time, whilst the Britains were
thus busied in sending of their ambassadoes to the
Romans, & consulting together for defense of their
countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of
Abercorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, so
that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be
sene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull
worke, it is called now in these daies Graindike,
because that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue
hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same,
but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground
he was the greatest doer. Which being accompli-
shed, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their
powers, and overthrow all such fortresses as had not
bene destroyed the yere before, standing on the
northside of Adrians wall, the which wall the Bri-
tains

Etius re-
sisteth to aid the
Britains.

The Bri-
tains forsake
of the Ro-
mans, deter-
mine yet to
make resi-
stance.

Conanus
Camber
counselleth
the Britains
to seeke peace
at the Scotish
mens hands.

Britaine dis-
peopled of
warlike men by
Maximianus.

Conanus
counselleth
is re-
cited.

The Bri-
tains make
their appeale
to go against
the Scots.

Conanus is
slaine a-
mongst the
Britains.

The Scots
raze the wall
of Abercorne.

Graindike.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings assemble
the British
boycotters.

Britains wall
undermined
and over-
thrown.

Crueltie of
Scots.

The lords
of Britaine
take new ad-
uise.

See more
hereof in
England.

The tenour of
the letters
sent unto Ce-
sius from the
Britains, as
is written by
Hec. Boetius.

fains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set vpon the Britains with maine force, in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuered into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruellie beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

The entrie being thus twine, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was not tenderlie obetied; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scottismens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that breache made they anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make thist to escape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riuer of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord together) they toke new aduise, to rebelle the present mischiefe in this maner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadoers, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Cetus the Romaine lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Cetus here insueth.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Cetus thise consull. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by manye proofes and notable examples, that the senate was a most safe refuge and haue, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Spartianus, sending wholie to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of losing both kingdome and liues, through the force and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble suit for succours vnto the Romaine empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable manners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wealth and high displeasure of almighty God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other foren nations. But if it be so, that the fatall force of the time present doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken atwaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose crueltie we hauing long since too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our gods and cattell, which way to safe gard our liues, for the turke walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which afozetime did somewhat staye them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie one kind of crueltie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned by our houses, towne &

villages, beaten downe & rased euen to the ground our castles and towers, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decated nation, they haue giuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging floods, either else slaine most vnnmercifullie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honor of the Romaine people, if our assured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beaftlie and cruell enimies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succours and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruellie betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Geffray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these former letters. Wherevpon Cetus answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses sustained by the Britains were right displeasing vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, aswell into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romaine empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best thist they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redress of their iniuries provided, as they should thinke themselves to be better well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadoers returned with this answer vnto London from Cetus, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vntill the Britains would wholie submit themselves as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat toke such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & herevpon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forthwith rushed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the fore ward went such as came forth of Calloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Warwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choicest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and trusse of the armie, next wherevnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons closing by the back of the whole

The Britains do to loine the maine of the Scots a point.

The Britains by the Scots means re-quire to haue battell.

The fieri set giuen the Brit.

Britains thozite is dering of battell.

Those of westerne comming the succor; the force is reposed in battell.

The Britains run away.

The name of them th were slain both sides.

The Britains make humble suit for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditic of the same.

But not so large as here is expressed. The answer of Cetus.

The Scots and Picts would agree vpon no reasonable conditions of peace.

The Scots and Picts prepare against the Britains.

The order of the Scots and Picts entering into the lands of the Britains.

whole aforesaid armie.

The Britains also comming forth into the field with their whole puissance to encounter their enemies, when they understood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe discouraged in their minds, and thought god there fore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be purchased. But sending forth their ambassadours vnto the confederat kings, to that end their answer was, that except the Britains would yeld themselves, their wiues and children, with all their goods and substance into the hands of their enemies, simple without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowne abroad in the host of the Britains, what thorough kindeled ire on the one part, and soule despaire on the other, prouoking their minds to displeasure, they generallie vpon change of purpose required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

Whereof insued a most cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in defence of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths vpon their enemies, with more fiercenesse than is credible to be thought, gaue the onset, and overthrew a great number of their enemies, insomuch that those of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole, and such other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the worse: which Craime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandement of both the kings) called forth a number of the Islanders, who were appointed to attend the cariage, and sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the succors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue sought refuge by flight. But by the conuning of these Island-men to their succors, they took courage afresh, so that the battell was againe most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space with great slaughter on both parts, till finally the Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running abacke, thinking to saue themselves in certeine bogs, mosses, and marish grounds nere vnto the place of the battell: but such cofferels, and other as remained with the Scottish cariage, seeing the discomfiture of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursued them into those marishes, killing and taking no small number of them. There were slaine in this battell of the Britains, about 15 thousand, and of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand.

The Britains hauing receiued this ouerthrow, saw no helpe which waie to recouer their losses, but onelie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They sent therefore an orator vnto the Scottish & Pictish kings, beseeching them humble to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it should please them to prescribe. The kings not moued onelie with the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie with their owne, hauing lost no small number of right worthy personages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon these conditions: That the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie entinie of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what nation soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie. They should enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres with out consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and further should be readie to serue them against all manner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for. Moreover, they should remoue with their wiues, children, and whole families out of all those countries, lieng betwixt Line and Yumber, resigning

the possession of the same vnto the Scottishmen and Picts.

Also they should giue threescore thousand peces of gold then currant to the Scottish & Pictish kings, towards the dispatch of their soldiors wages, and further should yeld as a tribute twentie thousand peces of gold, to be paid yereleie vnto the seuerall bies of the victors. They should likewise deliuer one hundred hostages of such as the two kings shuld appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie yers. These conditions of peace though they seemed verie streit & greenous to the British nobilitie, yet for that they understood not how to make a better bargaine, they perswaded the multitude to accept them, and so a league therevpon was concluded amongst those people, and the publike state of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after Julius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the seventh.

In this season was the Ile of Albion soze infected with the heresie of the Delagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to preserue them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuerture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them forth among the monks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles do report. Paladius with right god and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentillish idolatrie, till those daies used amongst them, wherevpon he is named and reputed for the Scottishmens apostle. He lieth at Fordune, a towne in Aernes, where his reliques remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Moreover he instituted one Sernan bishop of the Orkeries, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Terman, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these daies also manie strange sights were scene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned ouerthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadzant figure. At Pake it rained blood: and trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if we will so tearme it) Cheapside in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finmacoell, a Scottishman borne of seuen cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and soze feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed ouer with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irreuerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupieng sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yers without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duellie paid their couenanted tribute, though soze against their wills, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yers after the conclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the aboue mentioned

60000 pound faith Balantine, after the rate of Scottish monie. 20000 pound faith the same Balantine, so that he effecteth those peces of gold to be of the value of French crownes.

The Britains tributarie to the Scots and Picts. 436. H.B.

The heresie of the Delagians. Paladius sent into Scotland.

Of this Paladius take more in Ireland.

Paladius accounted the apostle of Scotland.

Sernan bishop of Orkney, and Terman archbishop of Pictland. Unkethly sights and strange wonders appeared.

Finmacoell the great hunter.

Conanus a Britaine goeth about to perswade his countriemen to speake the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

The Britains doubt to ioyne with the maine armie of the Scots and Picts.

The Britains vpon the Scottish mens refusal to haue peace, require to haue battell.

The fierce onset giuen by the Britains.

Craime and the other in ordering of the battell.

Those of the western Isles comming to the succors of the fore ward, reioyced the battell.

The Britains run a waie.

The number of them that were slaine on both sides.

The Britains make humble sute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the same.

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blood of the Detani, sometimes kings of the Britains, soe maligne to see his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some redress, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening unto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the twaightest reasons he could imagine, to leue warre against the Scots and Picts, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kindred being in hostage would not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspacie of the Britains, preferre be vnto them new articles to be performed.

Impudent scullie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernors.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot live without helpe of another.

Where the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some aweiared with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimmes, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When eche man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadores vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delais, or else to loke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient laws they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twise so manie in number of the like age and degree, as was covenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding that was demanded by these ambassadores, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great surre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought in to such a miserable estate, that loke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiors, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadores were returned home, with answer agreeable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the vtter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloudshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselves, making railes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties awaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceiued that need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre soe decayed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, thereof ensued a marvellous

great scaritie and dearth of all things, by reason thereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left alieue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie manner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

Superfluous with occasion of vice.

311
32
from
moj
sall

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in god quiet and rest, applieng their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie foren power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing advanced the estate of his countrie vnto moze felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had ever done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that usurped the empire of Constantinople.

The Scots applie themselves to peace.

Co
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tail

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

Et
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But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of god orders and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of god fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligently foresee, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, specially nere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of fortune, thought god in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

Dongard.
Dongard king of Scots.
461. H.B.

Et
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The studie of Dongard for preservation of iustice and god orders.
The repairing of castles by Dongard.

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These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subjects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most excellently set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of revenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be inuincible and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

The boundions liberalitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

Don
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per
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About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being aweiared of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best like to deliuer themselves from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armoz the some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Wherewith was the archbishop of London appoint-

Sanctuarie.

The Britains send into Britaine Armoz the some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid.

Th
the
arm
back

He sent into
Britaine
from the
Emperour
the
Britains.

Constantine
proclaimed
king of
Britaine.

The assemble
of the
British
armie.

The great
earnestness
of the
Britains
to recover
their libertie.

The Scots
and Picts
make their
appoynt-
ment.
The Scots
and Picts
appoynt
where to
the Britains.

Dongard
exhorteth
his
people to fight
manfully.

The wings
of the
British
armie are
put
backe.

ted as chiefe ambassadoz to go on that message, which archbishop used such diligence in the matter, that Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go over into great Britaine to the aid of the British inhabitants there. Whereupon, when the men & ships with all necessarie provision were once ready, he embarked at Saint Malo, where the assemble was made, and taking the sea, sailed forth with prosperous wind and weather, which brought him safely into great Britaine, where he landed at Eotnes in Devonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of England. He was received with no small joy, and forthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, whereupon he promised to assaie to the uttermost of his power to recover againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the same according to their wished desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment hereof, commandement was first given, that all able men should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place appointed nere to the river of Humber within foote daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put in execution with such diligence, that few or none being apt to beare arms, withdrew themselves, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the assemble, and offering to go against the enemies, so that it was a wonder to consider the consent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recover their former libertie. When Constantine beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the same would haue sufficed not onelie to vanquish the Scots and Picts, but also utterly to deströe a race them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres which the Britains made, was once signified to the Scots and Picts, they likewise made their appoyntment to meet with them in the field, and thereupon raising their powers, came forth with the same into Northshire, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Constantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, understanding how nere vnto the enimie they were, they raised and marched forwards till they came within sight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft upon certeine hills, nere to the aforesaid river side. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for that night, made readie for battell against the next day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottish king getting him to a little hill, called his men together, & there exhorted them by sundrie comfortable means of perswasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, assuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashly breake forth of the same in following vpon the enemies when they fell to retiring backe.

He had scarce made an end of his wordes, but that diuers of the standing watch came in, and declared how the Britains began to auale the hills where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got forth already in order of battell, and were marching forwards to encounter them. Dongard shewing himselfe to be right iollull of these newes, commanded incontinent, that the standards should aduance forth, and euerie man to attend the same according to his appointed order. Also that no man should presume to take any prisoner before the end of the battell, nor to yield himselfe so long as life lasted. So that joining with his enemies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Britains gaue backe from the Scottishmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the hynt verie stoutly. Where Constantine himselfe stood like a valiant

chieftaine, doing his endeavour to the uttermost of his power, vpon whom Dongard earnestlie preasing, and entering into the thickest throng of his enemies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armorelike Britains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and slaine with manie a foze wound.

Diuers of the Scots discomfited with this great mishap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with more wrath laid about them more egerlie. The Picts also, for their part sought most constantlie, so that the battell continuing untill none daie with doubtfull successe, at length the Britains were constrained something to giue backe, & after taking themselves to fearfull flight, declared that the victorie remained with their enemies. There died in this mostall battell nere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and of the Scots & Picts about 14 thousand, with Dongard and the Scottish king. Constantine the day next after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots carried away with them the corpes of their dead king, and conueying it into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmeckill, there buried it in kinglie wise. Dongard was thus slaine, in the fift yere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauto 475 yeres, and about the second yere of Zeno the emperour.

After him succeeded in gouernment of the Scottish kingdome Constantine the brother of the about rehearsed Eugenius, a prince unlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For though in him there appeared some good tokens of commendable forwardnesse, as he seemed outwardlie to the world, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the god rule and gouernment of his subiects, a deflowerer of virgins, a rauisher of honest matrones, and about all, a fauourer of backbiters and flatterers; neuer shewing anie iollull countenance amongst his nobles, but amongst scoffing iesters and other vile persons he was as pleasant and merie as the iocundest man alive. Thus though he represented the British king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: for the British Constantine studieng to aduance the commonwealth of his subiects, trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them from their former euill vices vnto ciuill order and good customs: Contrariwise, the Scottish Constantine did nothing worthy praise at all, after he was once instituted king, but followed still his owne inordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarce requiring the same, releasing not onelie the tribute, but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret meanes diuers castles standing vpon the river of Humber. Whiche other things he was about to haue done to the great prejudice and hinderance of the Scottish estate, had not the nobles of the realme the sooner withstood his rash and vnadvised attempts. Such malice also was ingendred in the hearts of the most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not bene through the wholesome admonition & perswasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had leued ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconvenience that might thereof insue, restrained their wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing against him by force, so that for certeine yeres they suffered and bare with this his misordered gouernment.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scots, and againe that tokens of valiant courage appeared in the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should seeke

Dongard is
slaine.

The Brit-
tains are put
to flight.

465. H.B.
8. of Leo. H.B.

Constantine.
Constantine the
first of that
name is crea-
ted king of
Scots.

Constantine
the Scottish
king nothing
like in noble
conditions
vnto Con-
stantine king
of the Brit-
tains.

Peace gran-
ted vnto the
Britains, and
diuers castles
deliuered into
their hands.

The good
counsell of
Dongall.

The Picts
stand in feare
of the king of
Britaine.

saue to reuenge old injuries against them, they should be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now, by reason of the insufficiency of the Scottish king) they devised a meane how to rid the British king out of the waite, and so appointing certaine of his fellows to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their devised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that should worke this feat, where the Scottish writers record of diuers, which nevertheless were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a nightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appeareth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yere of Constantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing rauished a noble mans daughter, borne in the westernne Isles, he was slaine by his father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yeres.

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whose daughter he had rauished, Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The politike rule of Dongall.

Constantinus a monke elected king of Britaine.

Maximigerns treason. Constantinus murdered.

Constantinus generall of the British army

Then was Dongall his nephew, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdom and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeavour, that peace and concord thereupon ensuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Maximigern, Constantinus the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbey, where he was thorne a monke, and advanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himselfe to gouerne, Maximigern had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murder the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the guiltie as the innocent, and finally made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large exprest.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that their countreymen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantinus king of the Britains, were maliciously circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfully executed) made sundrie roades and forraides into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Maximigern by a greivous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be leued, and appointed Constantinus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enemies: whilst he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made awaie Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourne in his alone person.

Constantinus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defence

thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enemies, being advanced from the residue to fetch a bottie. These Constantinus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie aforesaid ouerture of warre was denounced. Whereupon such other as escaped by flight, and had leene their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather together their people, and haste forward with all speed toward the enemies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and British power: whereupon Constantinus their generall with comfortable wordes willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to any other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

With such and sundrie other the like wordes the Britains being emboldened, as might well appeare by their change of countenances, Constantinus thereupon remoued his campe more nere vnto his enemies, so that at the first and for certaine daies together, there chanced onelic diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore moued against the other, they ioine in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was very fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scottish king fought, the Britains hostile began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Calanus the British king quicklie perceiuing, forthwith provided remedie: for taking with him certaine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfully, and in no wise to giue ground to the enemy, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had overmatched the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintanantlie both the wings of the British armie were bitterlie discomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haste to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euerie side, they knew not whither to flee: so that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yielded themselves, most humble craving mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell about twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Constantinus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conquire castles and towines, such as stood in their waie.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what meanes they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Maximigern as one guiltie in conscience, doubted least through want of god will in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue auoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduised him to trie the bittermost point of fortunes hap, than with

causeth fine hundred of the enemies to be hanged.

The Scottish and British kings gather their people to resist the Britains. Constantinus encourageth the appalled hartis of his men of warre with comfortable wordes.

The Britains ioin in a pight field with the Scots and Picts. The Scots are put backe. Calanus king of Britains couereth the Scots.

The wings of the Britains put to flight. The campe of the Britains wonn. The Britains chased, know not whither to flee. Constantinus with twentie thousand Britains slaine. Foure thousand Scots and Picts slaine.

A councell holden at London.

Maximigern doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme.

Wh the ban was laid on him

Woztgerne is
counselled to
send for aid into
Germanie.

Hengist and
Hozius retel-
ned in service
with Wozti-
gerne.

The Saxons
together with
a power of
Britains are
sent forth by
Woztgerne
to the en-
emies coun-
tries.

The Saxons
in hope of good
successe be-
gin the warre
against the
Scots with
blow.

The king of
Picts sendeth
for aid unto
the Scottish
king.

The king of
the Picts
vanquished.
The Saxons
won praise,
and the Bri-
tains noted of
cowardise.

dishonor so to yield at the first blow of his swordward hand, considering the abundance of treasure which he had in store, wherewith he might wage souldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number sufficient to match with his enemies. This counsell as the best was followed, and messengers with commission & sufficient instructions sent with all speed into Germanie, to reuaine a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Britaine, to serue against the Scots and Picts in wages with Woztgerne.

At the same time there were amongst those Saxons two brethren, descended by rightfull lineage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant captaine, appointed with the British commissaries for a certaine summe of monie to take by their prescribed number of men, & to receiue charge of them as caponels, aswell for their conuaine ouer into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after their arriual. The one of these two brethren was called Hengist or Engist, and the other Hozius, who having their appointed numbers once filled, containing about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they bestowed them aboard in thirtie hulks, boies, and plaits, and in the same transported them ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yere after Christ, as our histories doe affirme: where they were receiued with great joy and gladnesse of Woztgerne, who trusted by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enemies.

Wherefore when they had refreshed themselves somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent forth with an other armie which Woztgerne had assembled of his owne subjects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enemies countrie, where at their first comming they passed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scots or Picts had knowledge that anie such people were come in support of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but forie shift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who to begin their enterprize with blood, slaie all such as they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of person. Great was the slaughter by them committed in all those parties where they passed, namelie about the riuer of Ene. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so into the dales about Berwike, next adioining vnto Wiltland, destroying all before them with fire and sword.

The British king in the meane time had sent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed to support him against the dreadfull inuasion of the enemies, whose force being now increased with a power of Saxons, would worke much mischief, if the same were not the more speedilie in the beginning repressed: but hearing that the Saxons and Britains dallie approached, he thought not good to tarry for the comming of the Scots, but halsted forth with his owne power to incounter his aduersaries, and rashlie giuing battell, he was ouercome, and thereby lost no small number of his people. In this conflict the Saxons won them a great name for their high baliance, where contrarie the Britains got them no small note of gillie cowardise, fighting so faintlie, that their captaine had much adoe to cause them to keepe their ground, being readie still to haue run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomack being noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small confidence that it should be an easie matter for him to conquere them at his pleasure, when time and occasion might serue thereto.

The British nation hauing receiued this grienous

ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enemies, sent againe an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, that losse had happened to them by that most cruell people the Saxons void of all religion and mercie, and that mischief by the same people was intended, aswell against Scots as Picts, vnto the great danger of the utter ruine of both nations, if the enemies in time were not resisted. They that were sent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commission, besought him of speedie succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms and losses of the Picts his friends and allies, but also much more for the likelihood of the imminent danger and perill towards himselfe and his owne people, determined speedilie to go with all his power, and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie resolu'd to prevent that mischief which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enemies were not the sooner resisted.

He sent word therefore to the British king, that if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes and incursions for a small time, he would come to his aid speedilie, with all the whole puissance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions, which were able to beare armour should by the twentieth day after assemble together at the south side of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came together at the day and place assigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and meete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the musters & betw of his whole numbers, he set forthward towards the place where he understood that the king of the Picts as then lodged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of the Scottish armie. On the fifth day after, both the kings met together, and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friendship the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout prayers vnto almighty God for their good speed and luckie successe in that iourne: which being done, they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng in campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and Picts being stricken with feare to behold so great a multitude, as the like had not bene seene in those parties manie a day before, they scale away and secretlie hid themselves in the next woods. But the kings, to giue example to other, caused them that were thus skole away, to be sought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open sight of all the armie.

The Saxons & Britains also vpon the approach of their enemies gathered their companies together, & maintenanilie herewith the Saxons encouraged with such comfortable speech as Hengist vttered amongst them, required to haue battell without delay: whose example the Britains following, shewed themselves also right willing thereto. Congall the Scottish king perceiuing the enemies to make readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks, and exhorted them in best wise he could, to play the men. The like also did Calanus the British king amongst his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both sides comming forthward to ioine, the arrows and darts flue freshlie betwixt them, but neither part minding to giue place for all the shot, at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Britains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing;

The Picts
effronies soli-
cit the Scots
for aid.

Congall promi-
sed to aid the
Picts.

Promission
made by the
Scots to aid
the Picts.

The Scottish
and British
kings assem-
ble together
with their
powers.

The Scots
and Picts
come within
sight of the
enemies.

The Scots
through com-
fort of Hen-
gists exhorta-
tion desire
battell.

The Scottish
and British
kings exhort
their people to
fight valiant-
lie.

The battell
is begun.

The Britains
tains flee.

A great tem-
pest.

The Saxons
close them-
selves toge-
ther.

The Scots
and Picts
pursue the
Britains.

The Saxons
assail the
Scots and
Picts disor-
dered in pur-
sue of the
Britains.

Hengist pur-
posed at the
first to make
conquest of the
Britains.

Hengist retur-
ned to Lon-
don.

Hengist offer-
ed to send
for more aid
into Germa-
nie.

Hengist's of-
fers misliked
of some of the
nobilitie
of Britaine.

The hono-
r shewed unto
Hengist by
Hortigerne.

Britains sent
to defend the
borders, are
distressed.

living; but the Britains not able long to indure a gainst the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shower of rainne, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there withed himselve thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnderneath see an other, so that the Scottisshmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of any present danger, closed themselves together and drew nere vnto their chieftains standard. Finally the tempest no longer began to cease, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene whole theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare vp) plainlie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there dispered about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murther of them on euery side where they found them, that pittie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staid till they were gotten into places safe enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie isfall to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enemies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, with-drew to Forke, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Twed in the enemies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, already hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselve to London, where he counsell'd Hortigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enemies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countreimen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scottisshmen and Picts, but also utterly to destroy both the nations, or at least wile to bryue them south of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie liked, as ever suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Hortigerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also shewed by the maner of his interteinement, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not do vnto him too much hono-
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for such notable seruice as he had done already, and trusted he should do hereafter. According to Hengist's aduise also, there was a cruoe of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of five thousand, who shortly after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made atwaie in sundrie skirmishes and encounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also an other companie, double in number to the first, to reuenge the deaths of their fellowes; but they finding fortune as frostward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diuers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselves deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiuing in what danger they stood, thence they

might not trust their owne countreimen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether unfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of five thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, came ouer into this land, in eightene hoies, and amongst other came Hengist's wife and his daughter the ladie Korena. Shortly after king Hortigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thong-castell. Some haue written that Hengist required of Hortigerne so much ground as he might compass with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he took a mightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which took name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it took that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scottissh histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Hortigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie foresight, he took south the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staid for the comming of the Britains. Hortigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Hortigerne, a young man of great force and valiance, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authority for the warres he commanded chieftie to be followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enemies late. The Scottissh and Pictissh kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers together, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with prouision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuer of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell with-
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out longer protracting of time: but before comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so strongly incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come south of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euery ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Between them also and the armies of the two kings there was a ballie, in the botome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scottisshmen & Picts must needs passe, yet they could find meanes to do any notable displeasure to the enemies. Wherefore at length they determined with tarfe and sagots to make passage ouer those mires, which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hills lieng right ouer against the Saxon and Britissh camps, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow or front of an hill so nere to the lodgings of their enemies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they took no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and beration.

There was growning in that place, where they were

A new power
of Saxons
commeth ouer
into Britaine

A politike
the Scots

Thwang ca-
stell, or Thong-
castell.

The Saxons
first inhabited
in Lindseie.

The count-
and seare
led in the
campe of the
Saxons.
Hyperbole.

Hengist ci-
leth his pe-
ple togither

Hortigerne ge-
nerall of the
Britains.

The Saxons
and Britains
against the
Scots and
Picts.

60000 of
Scots and
Picts come
to meet their
enemies.

Congales
hostation
the Scots

Hengist pro-
longeth time
to giue battell

Hengist ex-
teth the
ons to fight
manfullie.

The Scot
& Picts
the charge.

The Sax-
in danger
haue the on-
thow.

An ambass-
three thou-
sand men.

were thus incamped, &erie much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scottis men call hadder. At which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie together, and binding it in bundles like wots or gots, in the night season, they set the same on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the Saxons late. The wots in that instant being somewhat aloft, caused these bundles of ling to blaze and burne vehemently, and hereto standing that waies forth, drove the flame so streinable amongst the tents and cabins of the Saxons, that the fire, catching in the straw and twigs which they had couched together under them in stead of beds, increased the feare amongst the fouldoers wonderfullie, by reason that the blasing bundles of the ling or hadder, still continuing downe the hill upon them, seemed as though the same had fallen from above; and even forth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the whole campe, with such roling of beastes, and running by and downe both of them and of the horses which were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone together, there could not haue bene a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the fouldoers had done what they could to quench the fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some uprore and disorder raised on each side, they got them with their armes and weapons forth into the next field, which Hengist himselfe perceiuing (having first done what he could to stay them) inuironed with a companie of his choicest men of warre, he got him by vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his people should draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come together, he disposed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinly the meaning of his enemies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enemies to be farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended downe from the hilles, fullie determined to assaile them in their camps: but upon their approach to the same, perceiuing how the Saxons were gotten forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it best to tarry till the morning, per they made anie exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst his people, exhorting them to remember their wofull the elders, and by their example to chose rather to die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to saue a dishonest life, which (if their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe in great thalidome and miserie. The Pictish king also with like words encouraged his men to do valiantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his Saxons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie they might deliuer themselves from terror of all enemies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilist he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to giue the charge vpon him, which whilist the Saxons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on each side, that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith, had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called forth about three thousand fresh men to their succors, which he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readinesse, to come at his call, vpon that danger soeuer happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the backs of the Scots, brought them streight out of all order: for they being occupied with the other Sax-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had vnderneath come for anie advantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains: did put them to flight, and chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they leaped to passe ouer the same, and to saue themselves by swimming. On the other side, the Scots being sore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length constrained to giue ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the cruell hands of the enemies. Manie were slaine in the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue getting away, fled streight to the Picts: but Congall himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants escaped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chase, and vnderstanding how the Saxons had giuen the Scots the overthrow, and that they were now marching forward to encounter also with them, determined not to abide their coming at that time. And so night approaching per the Saxons had got sight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and sagots, should be placed and piled together before them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secretly as they might, and staid not to make awaile, till they were farre enough out of the danger of the Saxons. Hengist having thus got the victorie, and perceiuing no enemy abroad to bid him battell, mustered his men, and found that he had lost in this tourne as good as foure thousand of one and other. After this, he withdreweth to Forke, and leaving his armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where he was receiued with ioy enough by king Woxtigerne.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambrose, and Alter, the sonnes of king Constantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to them from their father: the Saxons were sent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to resist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after, for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant to inuade the British confines, & therefore was there an other power of Saxons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the same against the Scots and Picts. Deca the sonne of Hengist had the leading of these Saxons, who brought them ouer, bearing ten thousand men of warre, in fittie plaits, and fittie hies. They brought with them also their wiues and children, and settled themselves in the north parts betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which as you wold say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it doth continue.

Shortlie after, Woxtigerne forsaking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Korena or Kowen, Hengists daughter, to the high offense of God, and great displeasure of his subjects. And in the meane time, Deca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the fortresses betwixt Ene and Humber, euen from the east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he greatlie advanced, winning castles and fortresses there

The policie of the Scots.

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Saxons. Hyperbole.

Hengist calling his people together.

Congall exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfully.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.

The Saxons in danger to haue the overthrow.

An ambush of three thousand men.

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to flee.

Congall wounded, but yet escapeth through helpe of his household seruants.

The policie of the Picts to escape out of danger.

Aurelius Ambrose & Alter, sons to king Constantine.

The Saxons placed in Kent.

A new power of Saxons came ouer with their captain Deca.

Northumberland when it first began to be so called.

Woxtigerne married Hengists daughter.

Yorke in possession of Hengist.

Wortimerne, depoled by his subiecs. Wortimer chosen to gouerne the Britains. The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall R. of Scots vnto the Brittain messengers.

Upon what conditions Congall consented to support the Britains.

A league concluded betwixt Scots Picts and Britains.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betraie the countrie vnto the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death, some secretly, and others openly, as comit of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Whereupon the Britains for the Ray of such mischief as they saw at hand, depoled Wortimerne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Wortimer in his roome, which being done, ambassadoes were sent both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who fought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and utterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enemies as had bene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onelie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Wortimerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commotions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadoes were sent) for answer declared, that he was forie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to do the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnik generation, as not onelie vied the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openly among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horror and terrible offense of the beholders consciences; but also fought by all meanes they could devise, how to destroye and quench bitterlie the faith of our Saviour Christ in all places where they might get the upper hand.

He promised therefore to implete his whole puissance to recouer out of the enemies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the river of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said river of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, to haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadoes had (amongest other things) already promised in name of all the Brittain nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadoes receiued of the Pictish king, and returning therewith vnto Wortimer, declared afoze him and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance of all promises, covenants and articles passed betwixt the Scottishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had bene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agreement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge or displeasure might bee

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprisse put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Decca and his Saxons, which (as parlie ye haue heard) had nestled themselves betwixt the rivers of Tyne and Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towres, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Decca cometh into the field with an armie readie to encounter with them, but perceluing the multitude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staied a while from giuing the onser: but in the end perceluing he could not retire backe but to his great disadvantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set upon their enemies: which they fiercelie executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to suffer the force of the Scots, ouerprelling them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca perceluing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could do, feare at length ouercoming regard to their captains commandement, shame of rebuke was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Hamers. The slaughter of the Saxons upon the discomfiture was great, speciallie in the chase, for the Scottishmen calling to remembrance that they had to do with infidels, and with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eger upon them, that they saued few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Wortimer entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and encountering with them in battell, slue ten thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hastied with all speed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countrie till they had recouered their strength by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrie: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certeine vessels, they passed ouer into Saronie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Wortimer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vied not the same verie cruellie, for taking onelie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armes and weapons, he suffered them to depart into their countrie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted to tarte in the countrie with their wiues & children, as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Wortimer gaue order for the repairing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decayed, partlie through the euill example taken by daillie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partlie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spread ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Wortimer through treason of his stepmother

The Scots invade the borders of Northumberland.

The Saxons encounter with the Scots.

The Saxons vanquished by the Scots.

Decca fleeth by sea into Kent.

The Saxons vanquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

The Saxons flee out of Britaine.

Wortimer beleeueth the victorie notable.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Scots and Picts.

Hengist returneth.

Wortimerne burnt.

Millions of spirits.

A tale of a woman abused with a spirit.

About saint Barnabes day.

Stepmother Koreia was poisoned, and died. Then was Mozigerne againe restored to the rule of the kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receive by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Mozigerne then restored thus unto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigor to be executed, and provision made for the resisting of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie forreine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who so shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other manner of waies. He found meanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Picts, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Moztimer. But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; Mozlie after Hengist returned, and that by force and subtiltys, at length got possession of the more part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to flee into Wales, whither also Mozigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Mozigerne in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merlin the Britishe soothsaier had prophesied before. It is folishlie supposed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conueieng mans seed from him (and there with by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) doe lie with women, and vse them after the manner of carnall copulation.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Scots and Picts.

Hengist returned.

Mozigerne burnt.

Illusions of spirits.

A tale of a woman abused with a spirit.

About saint Barnabas day.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale of two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat abridging the same we haue here inserted. In the yere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship departed out of the fozth towards Flanders, there rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outrageous, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners wondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yere, for it was about the middell of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and tolled them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saued: and thereupon told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with a spirit, daile comming vnto hir in mans likeness, and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his filthie pleasure after the manner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vsed such wholesome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length the seeming right penitent for hir greuous offences committed, and fetching sundrie sighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witness (as should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presently fell into the sea. And suddenly ther vpon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like manner a yong man dwelling in Carroth, within a village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him to haue to doe with hir, & that by no manner of means he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remoue into some other countrie, and to giue himselfe to fasting and prayer, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

A yong man haunted with a spirit.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Spar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she promised with child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yong man used nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatly crediting hir words, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within three daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie there vpon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Here a number comming hastilie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns gospel, and comming to these words, *Verbum caro factum est*, suddenly the wicked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, leue his waies, taking the rofe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and coverings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserved, and within three or foure daies after was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not bene seene, which the midwives and women, such as were present at hir labor, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to retorne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrose. He shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Mozigerne, determined to make warres against Hengist and his Saxons, to proue if his chance might be to recover the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yer he attempted anie exploit against the enemies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also vnto one Loh a towardlie yong gentleman, and of verie comelie personage, as then reigning among the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in so necessary an enterpryse as he had in hand against the enemies of Christ and his religion. Where vpon both these kings, weighing with themselves the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of

Aurelius Ambrose purpoeth to make warres against the Saxons.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Scots and Picts to require their aid against the Saxons.

The Scots
and Picts
promise to aid
the Britains
against the
Saxons.
The league
renewed be-
tween Brit-
tains, Picts,
and Scots.

The cause of faith, and suppressing of chynike idolatrie, promised their helpe to the uttermost of their pow-
ers against the Saxons, who had in such tyrannike
foit subverted and abolished the christian profession
within the Britanny confines. And therefore the old
league, according to the articles and covenants a-
fore time concluded betwixt the thre nations, was
once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by
uerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed,
for the better expedition of this their attempted vol-
age.

Aurelius
Ambrose mar-
ries an orati-
on.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he
brought with him forth of France, & joining there-
unto a great multitude of those Britains which had
escaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing
themselves into Wales, or else by conueying them-
selves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, set-
teth forward toward the Scottish armie. But first cal-
ling together those Britains that he had about him,
and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard
of them all, he made a long oration by waie of com-
plaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practises vsed
by Hengist, against the linage of king Constantine,
and the whole estate of the Britanny common-wealth;
also of the horrible persecution made by him and his
people the Saxons, against the professors of the chri-
stian religion. All which matter he handled in wordes
so pithie, his talke yet fauouring of the Romane elo-
quence, that the minds of the soldiers being kindled
therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not
doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to at-
chieue some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing
might be done in better order, according to his ap-
pointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king.
Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in
the yeere 498, after that Vortigern with his sonne
Vortimer had reigned 17 yeeres in the whole.

Aurelius
Ambrose pro-
claimed king
of Britains.

Conranus
generall of the
Scots.

Loth king of
the Picts.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of
Britaine passeth forth with his people, and within
six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and
Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one
Conranus brother to king Congall, who was trou-
bled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe
in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himselfe
amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some
proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius
Ambrose shewed all the hono: that might be desired,
as well to the one as to the other of those two nati-
ons, promising to requite them with as much friend-
ship when time and occasion should craue the like as-
sistance. These thre mightie armies therefore being
thus assembled, marched forth towards a place called
Wapshell, where they understood that Hengist with
his power as then did sojorne. Where when both the
camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from
the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were
procured by both parts betwixt the light horsemen,
where with at length being the more prouoked to dis-
pleasure, they come into the field with their whole
maine battels, verie fiercelie incounting ech other,
so that (as it appeared) their force was not so great,
but their mortall hate was even as much, or rather
more, if the histories saie right.

Wapshell.

The Britons
and Saxons
incount in
battel.

The Armo-
rike Britains

The Saxons
discouraged.

The Armo:rike Britains with a new kind of order
in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persing
their battels, with their men arraid in certeine
wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgethwise.
The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings
of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of
all the thre nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains,
were at point almost to meet, hauing made waie
thereunto through the middell of their enemies.
Where with the Saxons (being sore discouraged) be-
gan to giue backe; and finalie, notwithstanding all

that Hengist could saie or doo to haue staied them,
they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which
when he thought he saw, & perceived that there was
no recoverie, he himselfe (in manner the last man
that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field,
with an ambushment of horsemen about him, but
being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was
run through the bodie by him with a speare, and so
was there slaine out of hand, in the 488 yeere of
Christ, and 40 after his coming into this Ile. How-
beit the other of the Saxons conueied his sonne De-
ca (being also sore wounded) awaie with them by in-
to the next mountains, whither they fled for their re-
fuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengist
in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled
and abused of his enemies.

He more here
of in England

Hengist is
slaine by Au-
relius, as the
Scottish chro-
nicles say.

Aurelius ha-
ving marcht to
London.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the upper hand
of his enemies, halted forth with all speed unto Lon-
don, where hauing both the citie and towne deliuered
into his hands, he recovered the whole Island from
the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as
were apt men, able to beare armes, and to serue in
the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the
land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind
their fellows that were thus forced to depart, be-
came subiects to the Britains, and covenanted to be-
come christians. Thus much haue I written tou-
ching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of
the Scottish writers, but more hereof ye may read
in the historie of England, where ye shall find this
matter set forth more at large. For that which we
write here, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish
writers make relation of the warres which their na-
tion had with the Saxons, when they began first to
set foot here in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aureli-
us hauing thus recovered the land out of the Sax-
ons hands, and now remaining at London, did all
the hono: he could imagine, both unto Loth the Pic-
tish king, and also unto Conranus generall of the
Scottishmen, acknowledging how that by their aid
chieflie he had got the upper hand of his enemies, and
so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects.
Hereto he caused the league to be renewed betwixt
the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance
for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed
to remaine vnto the Scottishmen and Picts: also
that the Saxons should be reputed common eni-
mies to all the thre nations, and that upon inuasion
made by anie foren power, the Scots, Picts, and
Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

By support of
Scots and
Picts Aureli-
us conferreth
he got the vic-
tory of the
Saxons.
The league
betwixt
Scots, Picts,
and Britains
is renewed.

This league being concluded with these articles
of covenants, was the more strongly confirmed,
by reason of such amitie and alliance as then also
inued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the
one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both;
Anne being the elder, was giuen in marriage vnto
king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had
issue two sonnes, Spordred, and Galtwan; Cal-
wan, with a daughter called Themetes: Ada being
the younger sister was married vnto Conranus, ge-
nerall (as is said) of the Scottish armie. Howbeit she
liued not past two yeares after, but died in trauell of
child, which also died with the mother: and so en-
ded the alliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The
Britains being deliuered through the victorie and
means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the
Saxons, inioied sofull peace certeine yeares after,
but in the meane time diuers of those Saxons which
were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeit-
ing to become christians, vsed nevertheless to
make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the manner
of the gentiles, wherof their priests being accused
and condemned, suffered death by fire for that of-
fence.

Anne the
daughter of
Aurelius gi-
uen in mar-
riage vnto
Loth king of
Picts.
Ada married
vnto Conra-
nus.

Diuers Sax-
ons idolaters
are burned.

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The death of
Congall.

Conra-
nus.

Conranus
created king
of Scotland.
501. H.B.

The earnest
diligence of
Conranus
for mainte-
nance of god
orders among
his subjects.

A goodlie or-
dinance deu-
ised by Con-
ranus for re-
liefe of his
commons.

The king pre-
sent at assises.

Aurelius
Ambrose fell
sicke of a con-
sumption.

Deca and
Pascencius
returne into
Britaine.

sense, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whil实现 these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being twome with long sickness, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, otherwise called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scottisshmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with a great reioicing of all the Scottissh nation was admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Sau- our 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperor Anastasius. This Conranus otherwise called Co- ranus, being established king, first toke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Span, vnder the gouernance of certeine wise instructors & schole- maisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance there- of made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raising some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouerne- ment within his realme, he rode as it had bene in circuit round about the same, making inquirie of all maner offendours, on whome he caused due pu- nishment to be executed, without respect either of kith or kin.

And amongst other enormities which he vnder- stood to be vsed in maner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was most grieuous, that the husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, be- ing euill intreated and misused at the gentlemen's hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redres; by reason whereof, when they were oppressed, or suffe- red anie manner of wrong or iniurie, they were with- out remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all such offendours, with the maner of their offenses, should be secretlie regi- stred in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisi- tors thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced that those which were thus accused, might after- wards be found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie proued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called indictments, continueth euen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to see the lawes duellie ministred, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forrest or chase, nere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whil实现 Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the god gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sick of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; whereof Deca and Pascencius sonnes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie power of Sarons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

After the brother of Aurelius late also at the same time foze sick of a sir in the parties of Wales, so that to auoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go a- gainst the enemies, Aurelius euen sick as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that incounting with the Sarons they wan the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure mo- neths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Winchester, and sent ambassadours vnto the

Scottissh and Britissh kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things readie for the warres a- gainst the appointed time of their assemble. Deca also sent his brother Pascencius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was driuen by con- trarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out 10 of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Sarons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a mischievous monke, a Saron borne, named Copa or Copa (as some booke haue) that toke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke, and a monke by profession. His death was soze lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Sarons re- ioiced greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Deca with his power inuadeth the Britains, bring- 20 great crueltie in all places wherefoer he came.

In the meane time the Scottissh and Britissh armies were come forthward towards Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinlie known amongst them, the capteins and leaders of both those armies, resolved to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Am- 30 brose, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more frelie, he ceased not to pursue hir husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused him to be executed, furnishing mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capteins called Pa- thaliad, in battell against the Sarons. By the wife 40 of this Gothlois, Uter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succede him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Britissh king was not a little moued, disdaining that Arthur being a bassard, and begot of another mans wife in adul- terie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the Britissh kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade U- ter from making anie such ordinance. But when he 50 saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter and Deca the Saron king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Sarons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Auxer, as the Scottissh writers make mention. Which battell as the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it 60 touched the state of the Bids, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Sarons with the Bids on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Sarons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such god sermons as saint Germane preached amongst them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Fi- 70 nallie when both parties were readie to giue battell,

A. ii.

saint

Aurelius
Ambrose de-
parteth this
life.

The Scottissh
armie returne
home againe.

Uter begot
Arthur.

S. Germane.
preacheth vnto
the campe.

S. Germane
leadech the
foze ward.
Their drie
was Alleluia.

S. Germane
beareth the
kings stan-
dard.

The Sarons
miraculouse
discomfited.

Hyperbole.

*Beda differ-
eth from
Hector Boc-
cius and his
author Ver-
remond.*

*The Bri-
tains gine
themselves
vnto all kinds
of vice and
abominati-
ons.*

*The theat-
ring of ben-
equence to suc-
ced vicious
living.*

*The Bri-
tains receiue
a great over-
throw.*

King Decca
slaine.

*The younger
Decca nephue
to the former
Decca by his
brother Dis-
cus.
Loth contrarie
to his oth of
credence
aided the Bri-
tains against
the Sarons.
Colgerne or
Colgerne a
Saron is
sent for by
Decca.*

saint Germane toke vpon him to haue the leading of the foze ward, wherein he had all the priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandement, that when he should drie Alleluia, they should all answer him with one intire voice.

Thus proceed they forth to the battell, saint Germane beareth the kings standerd in the foze front, & vpon the approach to the enemies, he with the rest of the priests crying with a lowd voice thrice together Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, uttering and crying the same drie so whole together, that the verie sound thereof caused such an echo on each side by reason of the hollow mounteines and cliffes hard by them, that the Sarons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onelie another powder of their enemies to be hidden priuile among the hills which they saw on each side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteines should haue fallen downe vpon their heads together with the frame of the element, readie (as it seemed to them) to breake in sunder, they toke them to their feet in such dreadfull hast, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Panie of them made such hast, that running to the next river in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victorie remained with king Aler and his Britains, without anie bloodshed.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first coming of S. Germane into this land, where as Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his coming hither, which was in the daies of king Aler. But at what time soeuer this victorie thus chanced, certelie it is, the Britains waring proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Sarons, nor toke anie heed for provision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Senerus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excess, in following onelie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceased not most earnestlie to reprove, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leauing their wicked living and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Neither were they deceived herein: for within few yeares after, Decca efflones began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gane them a notable ouerthrow, sleaing of them to the number of fiftene thousand, with their generall slaughter. But yet this victorie was not greatlie pleasant to the Sarons, for in the chase they lost their king the foresaid Decca, being advanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with five hundred horsemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enemies, which was the onelie cause that as then the Sarons attempted no further exploit against the Britains, and yet for that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Decca to be their k. the nephue of the former Decca by his brother Discus: and then turned all their force to make warres against the Brits, for that Loth king of the Brits, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Britains in the last battell, as by certelie prisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

Decca therfore being fierce of nature, to the end to indamage his enemies the more, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne or Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongst the Sarons, to come ouer with a powder vnto him into England, promi-

sing for recompense of his trauell and aid against the Brits, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recovered out of the hands of the Brits, to insay vnto him and his for ever. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed hostile after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and sword. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Brits, which held diuerse castles in that quarter, to come forth into the field to defend the countrie, and joining battell with their enemies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the coming of Decca at vniuares vpon them. For he first taking truce with Aler king of the Britains, basted with all speed to ioine his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march forth with towards the Sarons: but being come within sight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and terro: of both their hosts, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there before their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots & Brits against the Sarons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Sarons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alleged, that they were able to put their enemies to flight euen with their grim looks and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terro: was spread through both the whole armies, that if shame had not partlie wrought amongst the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies before anie battell had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceiuing such discomfiture amongst their men, caused them to assemble together, and appointed one such as was thought meet for the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalves, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriors throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capitains, as there was no reason why to be doubtful of victorie, before they had seene some trial and iust occasion of disadvantage. For as touching the Sarons, they were no such men but that they might be overcome well enough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by proofe of such victories as Alostimer the British king had obtained against them; and also Aurelius Ambrose, who had vanquished them in such sort, that when they durst not efflones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him atwaie.

When sith the Britains (whome the Scots & Brits so often had subdued) had at sundrie times vanquished the Sarons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their countrie, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was hnted amongst them, that the Sarons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withstand them, it was certelie knowne, that the Scots & Brits were inued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Sarons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne slouthfull cowardise, & not in natures weaknes, hauing done hir part in bestowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in such plentiful manner,

*Colgerne lan-
deth in North-
umberland.*

*The king of
Scots and
Brits raise
their powers
to resist the
Sarons.*

*The Scots
and Brits are
put in feare of
the Sarons
valiance.*

*The kings
cause one to
make an ora-
tion vnto their
people to re-
moue all feare
out of their
hearts.*

*The
through
forfeitable
Sarons
operation
uer new
rages.*

*The
and
put to
die*

*Colgerne
stedd
North-
land.*

*The
Britains
on
shown
battell
by
Sarons
Aler
dreadeth
waies.
London
ered by
Sarons*

*The
Aler
pol
by
drink
water of
well.*

52

*Loth
req
eth the
dome of
Aler.*

*God
Saron.*

*The
Britains
re-
ceiue
ther
Aler
of his
lonnes
to
reigne
on
them.*

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies surmount them.

Spanie other arguments were alledged and last forth to remoune feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, inso much that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallie required battell, offering to liue and die at their capteins feet, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, forth they march towards their enemies, whome they found readie to receiue them, and that with such rigozous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Brits were put to flight, the Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scottish king with the residue of his armie hastied away with all speed towards Gallo way, and the British king withdraw into Picland. The Saxons using the victorie most cruellie, slue all such of the British and Scottish nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tived. Then did Decca create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who repairing all such castels and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to defend the countrie against all maner of enemies. After this, Decca turned his power against the Britains, which in the last battell had aided the Scots and Brits, as before is partly touched. The Britains receiving a great overthrow in battell, after the British king was glad with such as might escape the enemies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leauing the residue of his countries vnto the Saxons, who thereupon recovered not onelie the citie of London, yelding it selfe vnto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countries and prouinces which hengist the first of the Saxons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at a nie time, had holden or inioied, and ceased not after recouerie of the same, to bere and disquiet the Scots, Britains, and Brits, with continuall incursions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occupied. In the midst of this trouble after A. of the Britains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue written) by drincking water taken out of a fontaine which the Saxons had inuenomed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 521, and in the eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his deceasse,

The Scots through com- fortable hopes of an opinion reco- ner new coun- sages.

The Scots and Brits are put to flight.

Colgerme cre- ated duke of Northumber- land.

The Brit- tains ouer- throwen in battell by the Saxons. After with- draweth into Wales. London reco- nered by the Saxons.

The death of Aiter poisoned by drincking water of a fontaine.

521

Loth requi- reth the king- dome of Bri- taine.

Whored and Cowan.

The Bri- tains refuse to receiue ei- ther Loth or anie of his sonnes to reigne ouer them.

Loth king of the Brits sent his ambassadours vnto the lords, and other the states of the British dominions, requiring them, according to the accustomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, sith he had married the sister and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Aiter, their two last kings, being as then both deceas- sed, without leaving behind them anie lawfull issue, by reason whereof their estate was fallen vnto him, to inioy the same during his life, hauing married (as is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the deceasse of him and his wife the said sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all realmes and countries to descend vnto such issue as he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one named Whored, and the other Maluan, or Catuan, as some doe call him.

The Britains disdainfullie using the British am- bassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come vnder subiection of Loth, but also de- nied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Aiter, should haue anie rule or gouernement amongst them, as those that were no Britains borne, but strangers vnto them, being

both borne and bred in a foren countrie. These ambassadours then hauing their answer, and be- ing sent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur, being a bastard borne, king of their realme, and forthwith assembling their powers vnder his leading, march- ed on against the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Brits (which was doubted would shortly come to passe) should ioine with them.

Wherefore hauing procured aid of the Armoike Bri- tains forth of France, they fought with their enemies within ten miles of London at the first, where the Saxons being at two severall times vanquished, were constrained not only to pay tribute, but also to receiue magistrats to gouerne them by the said Ar- thurs appointment, with other grievous articles of agreement, to the great reioicing of the Britains, for these so luckie beginnings in the first exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London castile won by the Britains, wherein Arthur remaining for a season, toke aduise with his nobles how to proceed in his warres against the rest of the Saxons. Finallye hauing prepared a mightie armie, he determined to go against those which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whome (as he had certaine know- ledge) the Brits were ioined: for Loth comming to agreement with Colgerme, concluded a leage with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another against the Britains, as common enemies and ad- uersaries to them both.

The Britains at their comming into Wokeshire pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies, who were already ioined together and incamped a- broad in the field. The next day after, knowledge be- ing had that they should haue battell, Arthur ap- pointed Howell leader of the Armoike Britains to in- counter with the battell of the Brits, and he himselfe to march with the Saxons. Thus they met together on both parts verie fiercelie, and a sore battell was fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it was doubtfull whether part should haue the aduan- tage of the day, but at length the Brits were put to flight, which aduanced the Britains to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceiued how the Brits were discomfited, deading to abide the whole hunt by themselves, betooke them also to their heeles, and made their race towards Wokke, as fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost three moneths together, but the Saxons de- fended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues forth vpon the Britains, that till hunger began to constrain them, they cared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yelded vp the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an huge armie of Brits and Saxons newlie assembled, and readie to come forward to their succours, also that king Decca (escaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and flee- ing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arrived within the mouth of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Britains should short- lie be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the sudden.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like maner, and iudging it no wisdome to tartis the comming of his so puissant enemies, considering that a number of diseased and sicke persons he had already in his host, by reason of their lying abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdraw himselfe so speedlie as was possible with his whole armie into Wales,

Arthur pro- claimed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth forth against the Saxons.

The Armo- ize Britains in aid of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquished, are constrained to pay tri- bute to the Britains. London is won by the Britains.

Arthur rais- eth a power against the Brits. A league con- cluded be- twixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armo- ize Britains

The Brits put to flight.

The Saxons chased, made their race to- wards Wokke.

York besieged

Decca return- eth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur rais- eth his siege.

Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur himself cometh to the Saxons twice in battell & then againe laithly siege to York and winneth it.

Arthur besteth the victorie with gentleness.

The Britains sorrowing for the winter time within York, give themselves unto banquetting & voluptuousness.

Christmasse banquets resembling the feasts of Bacchanalia.

The Britains through rest and ease became vnapt to susteine the paines of warres. A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Scots.

Wales, where he appointed the Armoike Britains to forgoe for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his chosen souldiers: whilst he toke the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries nere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Decca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrey with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereupon encountering them twice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging York, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enemies, which were content to yield themselves, but used them very gently, therby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his worthy victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of York, manie seats of armes were daily practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrey thereabouts. But the Britains lying in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banquetting, drincking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such exesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the space of thirtene daies together, according to the custome used still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euē vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles used to keepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beaustie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vze. But thence forer, by whome soeuer this insatiable gouernment came vnto amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almighty God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselves in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessive filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of such exesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they sojourned in York, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certaine yeeres after, till finally Arthur ioined in league with Loth king of the Scots. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordeus and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Scots should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Mordeus should marrie the daughter of Catwolan a notable man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Catwolan the brother of the foresaid Mordeus, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and British kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Tinnmouth, whether he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Saxons.

Loth king of the Scots, and Contranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they vnderstood to be already in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Decca, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approached nere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euē hard to the face of the Scots, where they stood in their order of battell right stoutlie, and there uttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons, declared that he trusted shortly to see full punishment light vpon them for this falsehood and vntuths sake, in thus ioining with their former enemies against their most trustie friends and steadfast allies.

The British king not greatly moued herewith, commanded his forwards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise halloed apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Scots let flie their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a rate, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so loone as he perceived that the fraie was begun by the Scots, he in semblable wise comandeth the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there ensued a sore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & leading Chelbricke one of the chiefeest captains amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons encountering (as is said) with the Scots, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first encounter he overthrow the same Loth: but immediatlie thereupon two British horsemen running at Colgerme adelingwise, bare him quite through.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that straightwaies thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiving, the more earnestlie pressed forth vpon them, so that in the end Decca being constrained to flie,

Mordeus married the daughter of one Catwolan a Britaine.

Catwolan or Cawen in seruice with King Arthur.

Arthur sendeth ambassadors vnto the kings of Scots and Brits.

Scots, Brits and Britains ioine together against the Saxons.

Colgerme reproacheth Loth.

The opinion which Mordeus had conceiued of Mordeus, for his forwardness.

Colgerme is run through by his aduersaries.

The Saxons are put to flight.

Decca constrained.

Upon condition that they should be upon the submission.

Arthur churches repaired.

Arthur's power to drive the whole race of the Saxons in Briton.

The opinion which Mordeus had conceiued of Mordeus, for his forwardness.

Arthur's badge.

Arthur's baptism his proph.

An offer by the Saxons vnto Arthur.

Decem-
breined to flee.

Upon what
condition Ar-
thur receiveth
the Saxons
upon their
submission.

Arthur caused
churches to be
repaired.

Arthur par-
polety to de-
stroye the
whole race of
the Saxons
in Briton.

The opinion
which men
had conceived
of Mordred
for his trait
toward himselfe.

Arthurs
badge.

Arthurs ex-
hortation to
his people.

An offer made
by the Sax-
ons unto king
Arthur.

flie, and receiuing a sore wound, had much ado to be conueied awaie by some of his horsemen, the Britains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being brought vnto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus achieved, constrained the Saxons to yeld vnto king Arthur, simple submitting themselves vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, vpon condition they would become christians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains, Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agree herevnto, then leauing their goods, armes, and weapon behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within 13 daies next ensuing.

Panic of the Saxons that could get passage, sailed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themselves to become christians, remained in the land, looking one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were not able by meanes of pueritie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set forth for the same purpose, so that in comparisson berie few amongst them receiued the christian faith sincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur toke order for the repairing of churches abroad in the countrie, which the Saxons had ouertholone or defaced; & namelie in the cite of York he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

In the yere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, joining with the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & sleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being sore moued, he drey to wards London with his armie, purposing vterlie to destroye all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not prouide for the suertie of his subiects, being still in danger to be murdered and robbed, so long as anie of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongst them.

By meanes also of the league, he had with him in this iourne ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephue to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Mordred the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, gouerning the Picts, a lustie yong gentleman, verie wittie and towardlie in all his doings. Further more, Arthur vnderstanding what hurt rest and ease had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this iourne, and passing by London, lodged them a little beside the riuer of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the cite, causing supplications to be made vnto almightie God thre daies together, for good successe to followe against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine seruice celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgine, whose image in stead of a badge he bare in his shield continuallie from that day forward, as diuerse heretofore haue written. After this, issuing forth of the cite, he willed all his men to be of god comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against Pagans, and enemies of the faith. Mordred and his father in law Gwalolane passed on before the battels with fife thousand horsemen, and being come within fife miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur ambassadores, requiring him to stae his iourne, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie so

to doe) to depart out of the land with their goods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one meanes or other.

Arthur would neither consent herevnto, nor yet grant a truce for thre daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but had them depart for that time, onelie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue answer what the chiefeest gonernors of his host thought touching their request, by whome he would haue the matter more throughe debated. In the meane time, whilst the Britains were busied with hearing of these ambassadores, and taking aduise what was best to doe touching their demand, the Saxons marched forth with all speed, and comming vpon Mordred and Gwalolane at vntowares, they gaue the onlet freshlie vpon them, and that verie much to the disaduantage of the Britains and Picts, who notwithstanding, through the earnest exhortation of their capteins, receiued their enemies verie fiercelie, in doing that which was possible for so small a number to doe, holobest in the end oppressed with multitude, they were forced to flee, and so did, not resting till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which flight, Mordred and Gwalolane by helpe of their souldiers, being mounted vpon their horses, escaped without hurt, though they lost no small number of their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons ambassadores being not yet departed out of the British campe, were herevpon staid till the next morning, and then had answer giuen them, that from thenceforth the Britains were not minded to heare anie messengers of the Saxons comming to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough, they ment nothing but falshood, as well appeared in that they had against the law of armes, whilst their ambassadores were in communication, distressed part of the British armie, and therefore they should assure themselves to haue at Arthurs hands nothing but cruell war to the vttermost of his power, in reuenge of such their great vntruths and cloked dealings. They had scarce receiued their answer, but that there came from the Saxons forthie other ambassadores, being men of great authoritie amongst them, to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in laeing the fault vpon a sort of vndiscreet persons, nothing praiue vnto that which the gouernors of the armie had done, touching the sending of their ambassadores, and therevpon had without their aduise made that skirmish.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new subtiltie in hand, vnder pretense of this new ambassage, commanded as well these that came last, as the other which came first, to be kept in the marshals tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilst he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he diuided into thre battels, and hauing marched thre miles forward, he was vpon his enemies per they vnderstood anie thing of his comming, inso much that the Britains had slaine and chased the watch of the Saxons campe, before it was certeinlie knowne what the matter ment. Hereof also ensued such a tumult and noise amongst the Saxons, running by and downe, calling and crying one to another, as it happeneth in such cases of extreme feare, that the best aduised amongst them wist not well what to doe. Wherevpon Mordred desirous to reuenge his last ouerthrowe, brake in also vpon his enemies verie fiercelie.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their armes, stood at their defense awhile amongst their carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on that

The Saxons
comming vpon
Mordred
and Gwalolane
put them with
their people to
the worke.

what answer
the Saxons
ambassadores
had at Ar-
thurs hands.

The excuse of
the Saxons.

The sudden
invasion made
by the Bri-
tains vpon the
Saxons.

The great tu-
mult in the
Saxons
campe.

Mordred de-
sirous to be re-
uenged.

The Saxons
are put to the
sight.

The crueltie
of the Brit-
tains in deas-
ing the Sax-
ons.

Arthurs mar-
tirdome.

A conspiracie
praesented a-
gainst Con-
rane.

In euill offi-
cer.

A presumptu-
ous act.

The determi-
nation of the
murderers to

that side for a season: other of the Saxons hauing no
leasure to arme themselves, nor to draw into anie or-
der of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of
the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contra-
rie side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them.
But being pursued by the British horsemen, and
beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the
next river, and there were drowned, choosing rather
that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murdered by
the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed
no mercie that day, for so manie as came within
their danger, died without redemption. And this
bloudie battell made an end of such an huge num-
ber of Saxons, that it was thought they should ne-
uer haue recovered againe anie puissance able to
haue indamaged the Britains in anie manner of
wise.

Arthur hauing thus banquished his enemies, gaue
licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as
is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambas-
sadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing
the residue of such Saxons as were men of no de-
fence, to remaine still in the land, yelding a yerelie
tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition
that they should become christians. The Scottishmen
and Picts which had aided the Britains in this tour-
nie, sojourned a while after at London, where Arthur
feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shew-
ing them all the honoz that might be deuised, and af-
terwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded
with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilste
such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand be-
twixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Sco-
tish common-wealth was gouerned by great wise-
dome and policie, without anie notable trouble or
disorder. But finally, when king Conrane began to
waraged, and that such as had the chiefe doings br-
der him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their
owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multi-
tude, the people began to repine thereat, and to prac-
tise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against
Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of
bale birth, assigned by the kings commission to be
chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the admini-
stration of the lawes in Murray land, a person pas-
sing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudge-
ments of life and death, and in gathering vp of all
manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did
onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching
of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard
either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of
somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent
doings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchant-
men of the towne of Forres in Murray land (as then
the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused
of treason by a light information, and in the end ex-
ecuted without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a
couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, be-
cause they were men of great wealth and substance. Di-
uerse noble men of the countrie there abouts, and
namelie of the towne of Forres, being partlie of him
vnto those merchants, were soze offended with this
act, and hereupon they first came vnto Concet, and
reuelled him with manie high reprochfull words, and
afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudge-
ment where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, &
there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp in-
to the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they
knew impossible for them to escape, if they should
happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase
their heinous deed and bold enterprise with an other
farre more horrible and notable, which was to slea

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such
mischiefe that then reigned in the realme through the
vntowardly government of his vniuersall ministers and
couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the
fauor of some of the noble men, whom they knew to
maligne the king and his counsell most extremitie,
and thereby in short time to be assured of their par-
don. Shortly after it chanced that one Donald also
gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust
with the king, had vnderstanding that these out-
lawes intended, and thereupon praesented with them
by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret
manner vnto Emmerlochke, where the king sojourned,
promising them by most assured meanes of oths and
vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he
could deuise towards the atchuing of their enter-
prise.

Whereupon these outlawes, according to their in-
structions, came in secret wise vnto Emmerlochke,
and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedcham-
ber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had
knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quick-
lie out of the waie when he saw them once entered
within the doze of the chamber. Conrane the king
perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his eni-
mies were got into his chamber readie to murder
him, slept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon
his knees besought them to take pittie of his age, and
not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall
lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if
they had bene anie waies wronged. Whobest they
doubting nothing but least he should escape their
hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and
withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king
Conranus, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the
16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the first
of the emperors Justinianus, and in the yere after
the birth of our Sautoz 531. But his corps was bu-
ried in the abbey of Jona, otherwise called Colme-
kill, with such funerall pompe and exequies, as in
those dates were vied.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the
sonne of his brother Congall, the which Euge-
nius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last
mentioned tourtie against the Saxons. There were
that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne
(which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon
the chaire of marble) that he should see in anie wise
the authors of his uncles death duly punished, to the
example of others, that they should not attempt the
like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned
king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgie the
offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald
with other the murderers into his seruice, and made
them of his priuie counsell, which caused manie men
to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell
with them in committing that murder. The talke
thereof was so common in all mens mouths, name-
lie amongst the common people, that the queene
Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not
onelie the suretie of hir owne life, but also of hir two
sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one na-
med Reginan, and the other Aldan) fled with them
ouer into Ireland, where within few yerres after, she
died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Regi-
nan: the other Aldan was honorable brought vp by
the king of that countrie, according to his birth and
degre.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win
thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most
gentle in all his proceedings, doing nothing that
tasted in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes
sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected
least anie man had wrong, he would licence them to
plead

dispatch the
king also.

Donald go-
uernor of Ath-
oll conspi-
red with the
outlawes to
murder the
king.

The outlawes
enter into the
kings bed-
chamber.

Conrane is
murdered
within his
bedchamber
by traitorous
meanes.
35. H.B.
20. H.B.
535. H.B.

Reginella
king quellers
ought chieflie
aboue all othe-
rs to be punished.
Eugenius is
suspected of
his predeces-
sors death.

The queene
Dowager fled
with hir two
sonnes into
Ireland.

The humane-
tie and fauor-
able friend-
ship

hop of his
Eugenius
wardship
people.

Continu-
ble ordin-
ces.

The bid-
dons con-
sidered in
Arthur.

This can
no small
to anie of
great bich
described in
Arthur.

Ceffrey of
Monmouth

The Brit-
tains repe-
themselves
the league
concluded
with the
Picts.
The reque-
st of the Bri-
tains to ha-
ue one of their
owne nation
appointed to
succeed kin
Arthur.

Constantine
proclaimed
here appa-
rant & princi-
pal Brittain.

Ship of King
Eugenius to-
wards his
people.

Commenda-
ble ordina-
ces.

The victori-
ous conquests
ascribed to
Arthur.

This conflict
no small doubt
to one of the
great victories
ascribed unto
Arthur.

Geffrey of
Monmouth.

The Brit-
tains repent
themselves of
the league
concluded
with the
Picts.
The request
of the Brit-
tains to have
one of their
own nation
appointed to
succeed King
Arthur.

Constantine
proclaimed
heir appa-
rant & prince
of Brittain.

plead their case anew. And such as he perceived were not of abilitie to follow their sute in any cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasurie. He ordeined also, that no orphan should be compelled to answer any action, or otherwise be vexed by sute of law. Moreover, that no widow should be constrained to come past a mile forth of her owne doores for any matter in controuersie betwixt hir and any other person, to be heard afore any iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receiueurs he caused to be duly punished, to refrain other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did achieve all those worthy victories, which are ascribed unto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Pictish, and other northerne people. Moreover it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germany with the low countries, Brittain, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authors. Whelie it is certaine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Iustinianus the emperor, about which time the Gothes, Vandals, Burgundions, & Frenchmen did invade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, pitifullie wasting and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. Therefore letting all doubtfull things passe, I will proceed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scottish chronicles as he followeth touching the Brittain, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namely Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthy to be noted here, to the end that euery man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to wax wealthe, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, speciallie for that they could not in any wise be contented to haue any stranger to reigne amongst them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, that he himselfe had no illue to succeed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his decesse. Arthur not gainesaying their request, willed them (with their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne over them) to name one themselves, being descended of the blood roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceiued some towardlie prooue of wisdom and valiance: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioicing of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the Brittain nation, at length agreed vpon Constantine, the sonne of Cadogan duke of Cornuall, a goodlie young gentleman, both for his person and other his worthy qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the peeres of the realme into the counsell chamber, and there presented vnto King Arthur, as one most meetest to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclaimed heir apparrant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Brittain, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorable, and with such a shew of gentle demeanour, that he won him much praise, with an opinion of high worthinesse amongst all the

Brittain nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts deceased, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath bene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Godfred, succeeding him in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heir apparrant of Brittain, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto King Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie King Loth, wherein it was agreed amongst other things, that there should none succeed in the kingdome of Brittain, after Arthurs decesse, but the children begot betwixt him. Loth and his wife quene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the Pictish people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadogan was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heir apparrant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agree vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was metelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had sollemnlie taken vpon him, and to moue his subiects to do the like, least for the contrarie, they should provoke the wrath of almighty God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and covenanted pactions. Herevnto answer was made by consent of the nobles of Brittain, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to cease by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to any pact or promise made, but according to the due tie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his decesse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Picts loued the suretie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens liuings, they might happilie within short time perceiue, what doth inue offentimes vpon such rash and vnadvised attempts.

The Pictish ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such discourse therewith, that immediatlie they resolved to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such injuries as they had in like maner lately receiued at the Britains hands. Moreover, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons likewise to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to maintaine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Godfred vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incursions into the Scottish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enemies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

Theobald te-
beth th means
of Loth the
Pictish king.

Godfred suc-
ceeded Loth
in the king-
dome of Pic-
tland.

Godfred
complained
vnto King Ar-
thur, for that
Constantine
was created
his heir ap-
parent.

The answers
made to the
Pictish am-
bassadours,

The Picts
purpose to be
reuenged on
the Britains
by open war.

The Picts
solicit both
Scots and
Saxons to
make warre
vpon the Bri-
tains.

Eugenius the
Scottish king
agreeable to
the request of
the Picts.

Arthur set
forth toward
the Scots and
Picts.
Humber a fa-
tall place for
the Britains
to be vanqui-
shed in.

Bishops tra-
uell betwix
the parties to
bring them to
communica-
tion for a
peace.

Porzbed and
Eugenius
were persua-
ded into
peace.

The Bri-
tains would
not consent to
haue anie
peace talked
vpon.

The battell
began.

A cruell bat-
tell.

A cruell po-
lice.
This was
one of the
Picts.

The Bri-
tains put to
flight.

Twentie
thousand of
Scots and
Picts slaine.
Porzbed is
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie inuasion. What done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, nere to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Britains to be vanquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the oijer, there were certeine bishops of those three nations that toke great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, considering that mischief and great bloodshed should ensue, if vpon wilfullnesse they would seeke to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendlie agrement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their incountering together in battell, they should so infect their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie means and occasion offered to execute their greedy desires to conquer the whole Ile. Porzbed and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest trauell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with king Leoth should in euerie point be observed. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would haue bene contented for his part to haue agreed here vnto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance vnto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded therevnto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vntimelie sute, seeing the enemies readie ranged in battell at point to giue the onfet, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, unless they went about to betraye the armie, vnder pretense of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agrement. These of such like words were vnneth ended, when suddenly the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed together right fiercelie. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (nere vnto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the middell of the fight, there was one with loud voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted therevnto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer vpon victory, but rather were it wisdome for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediately herevpon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtil practise of the enemies deuised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfite them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euerie mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquished, there died in that mortall battell about 20000 men, together with Porzbed, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, there were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whom was Arthur himselfe, with Gawain or Caluan (as some booke haue) brother vnto Porzbed, who bare such good will and intire loue vnto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Porzbed. Also there were killed Caine and Catwolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found quene Guainoze Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equallie diuided by lot betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certeine faire charets laden with rich stoffe and iewels, also horses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion quene Guainoze, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines thereof. In which castell they were detained vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness therof there be remaining vnto this day, the graue, and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Megill, not past 10 miles from Dunbarre: but amongst the residue, that of Guainoze is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue more than the said Guainoze did. But whether this be true or not, certeine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that graue, nor onelie eschuing it themselves, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to reconer againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations incountred thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Saviour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yere before the battell, were seene manie strange sights in Albion. Grassie and heards in Pockeshire appeared to be all stained with blood. A ree vnto Camelon, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwixt crows and pies on the one side, and rauens on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and next kinfolke of such as were

Arthur with
30000 Bri-
tains slaine.
Gawain is
slaine.

Caine and
Catwolan are
slaine.

Quene
Guainoze ta-
ken.
The spoile of
the Britains
camp diuided.

Dunbarre in
Angus, not
that in New-
thian.

The fable of
quene Guai-
nozes graue
buried in In-
gus.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange and
vnderly won-
ders.

Eugenius re-
wardeth his
scaldiers.

Eugenius
uerneith bi
people toll
clemencie.

Constanti
crowned h
of Britan

The cruel
of the Bri-
tains in mu-
sling the
necent chil
of Porzbed
Ch:linag
Porzbed
clearly exp

The Sax
returne in
England,
dine the 2
teins into
Wales.

Constanti
for sake h
cathlie li-
dome in ho
of the heau-
lie kingdo
Constanti
entereth in
religion.

Constanti
sent forth
Ireland in
Scotland
there mur-
thered.

Armistice
Iurmiri
king of the
English
Iurmiri
concludeth
peace with
Scottish
and Picts.

Eugenius
th: Scotil
king dieth.
568. H.I

Conuall
Conuall el-
ten king of
Scotland.

Conuall's di-
uotion to th
people.

same, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of lands & livings, that they inteing the same, might be a witness in time to come of the good service of their ancestors, shewed in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the same upon their issue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he won him such loue amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed how he gouerned the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by any rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie upon knowledge had that Arthur was slaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them aloue to make any claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruelly murdered thousands of children, in most pittifull wise running vnto their mothers lap, beseeching him to saue their liues, according to his motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Galloway their fathers grandfathers house, and being thus made a waile, the familie and linage of their father the foresaid Arthur was bitterlie thereby extinguished.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertisement what losse the Britains had sustained, not onlie by the death of their most valiant king and chieftaine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepared a mightie naue of ships, and passe ouer the same into England, where being landed, they easilie beat downe the Britains, and driue them with their king Constantine into Wales, so recovering all that part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. Some haue written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certaine yeeres in Wales, his wife and children died, whereupon wearing wearie of this world, he forsake his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and secretlie departed into Ireland, where applying himselfe for a time in ministering to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perswasion of a monk he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocese ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdom by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yeeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene even vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was driuen into Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one Iurmirike the first (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Iurmirike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inviolate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish king Eugenius also lived in peace the residue of his life, without any trouble either by forren enemies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 569.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colmekeill, where he lieth buried amongst his ancestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iustlie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he took it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is reported) he had the same borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reuerentlie kissing it. This crosse was of silver with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the stasse, containing these two words: *Christianum gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set vpon the tops of steeple, and on the highest towers of the gates of castles & towne. Moreover he forbade the crosse to be grauen or painted vpon any pavement, least any man should vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yielded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the grieuous punishment of all such as in any wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should lose his hand for it: and he that slue any of them, should forfeit his goods, and be burned quicke. Again, he bestowed manie rich felwels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, ppointing the ministers of sufficient livings, and appointed that they should haue their houses nere vnto their churches, to be readie to execute that which appertained vnto their offices, when any need requized.

The king being thus vertuouly disposed, caused the whole number of his subiects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the advancement of religion. The report and fame thereof moued that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer south of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of sundrie houses of monks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monks, being here and there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderly in such houses, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, took great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Louthlan vnto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earnestlie traouelling to instruct both him and his people in the right beleefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigern, otherwile called Mungo, gouerned the church of Glasco, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigern was descended of the blood royal, all of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous woman Themetes or Thameu, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a young lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scottish king rauished by force, and begot of hir the said Kentigern. He was greatlie in fauour with the foresaid Brudeus the Pictish king, as one that was nere of his blood. For the same Brudeus was nephew vnto the foresaid Loth by his brother called Spelethor, and therefore succeeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Arthur was slaine,

Crosses set vpon the tops of steeple.

Conualls deuotion towards church men.

Conualls liberalitie towards churches.

Saint Colme cometh ouer south of Ireland into Scotland.

The heresie of Pelagius in Britaine.

Kentigern bishop of Glasgow, otherwile called Mungo, bishop of Glasco.

Thameu or Themetes rauished by Eugenius king of Scotland, of which rauishment the Scottish king Kentigern was borne.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

Constantine crowned king of Britaine.

The crueltie of the Britains in murdering the innocent children of the English.

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Britains into Wales.

Constantine forsake his earthly kingdome in hope of the heauenly kingdome, Constantine entereth into religion.

Constantine sent south of Ireland into Scotland to instruct the people.

Iurmirike or Iurmirike king of the Englishmen. Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scottishmen and Picts.

Eugenius the Scottish king dieth, 568. H.B.

Conuall. Conuall elected king of Scotland.

Conualls deuotion to the crosse.

with his

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see his

The castell of
Calidon now
Dounkeld.

The bishops
see of Doun-
keld.

Saint Colme
returneth into
Ireland.

Saint Colme
cometh againe
into Scot-
land, bring-
ing with him
Aidan sonne to
king Conran.

The death of
Conuall.
578. H.B.

Saint Colme
present at the
buriall of king
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
ceiued by
Kinnatill.

The prophesie
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill.
Kinnatill li-
eng vpon his
death bed, sur-
rendereth his
kingdome into
Aidans
hands.

laine, as before is exprest. Kintigerne went with
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise
called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths
in a monastrie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto
them, to heare their godlie instructions. There is in
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-
monlie called Dounkeld, indowd with manie faire
reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without
shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kintigerne
returning into Glascow, and saint Colme into Ire-
land, where reporting manie things, touching the
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with
that deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of
diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into
Scotland, taking Aidan on²⁰ with him thither, by
commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugentius, fled
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to be
made away by the same Eugentius. Saint Colme
taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land
on the coasts of Scotland, was no longer there ar-
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,
and after the birth of our Saviour 579.

Saint Colme then being thoughtlie certified of
his death, and that the corps was forwarde on the
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at
the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefest
there in executing of the obsequies. Which being ex-
cuted, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-
uall was incorpized king in Argile, by the free elec-
tion of all the estates, he neuerthelesse kept on his
former purposed iourne, and came vnto Kinnatill,
bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrary to most mens
expectation: insomuch that embracing Aidan, he bad
him be of god cheere, for it should shortly come to
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should
succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these words,
it is vncertaine, but sure it is that his purpose was
to haue given ouer the gouernement of the king-
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a
right thereto. Holobest being prevented by death,
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for
within twentie daies after his coronation, being
surpassed with a grievous disease of a catarrhike
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Herevpon follo-
wed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike hu-
mor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his
death, he rendred in most deuout wise into the hands
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it
were by deliuerie of seisin, even there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble
stone, after the custome in those daies used, by the
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his
crozier staffe, made a brieue exhortation, as well
to the king as to his people, admonishing them
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all
things to remember to walke in the waies of the
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and
prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with
all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either
the people forgot their duties towards God, or that
the king regarded not dutie to execute or fulfill his
office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious libe-
ralitie and high benefits bestowed vpon him, it
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspi-
racies, and other mischiefs should rise among them,
to the irrecoverable losse of the realme, by bringing
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes
& ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these
or the like his wholsome aduertisements, all the peo-
ple reioicing thereat, promised with one voice, and
therewith bound to follow the same, and to be euer
readie to obeie the commandement of their pynce,
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and
there deliuered the countrie of certeine British rob-
bers that had inuaded it. After this, studing to
mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his do-
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefest
peeres of his realme, to be holden yereleie in thre se-
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Loughaba-
ber, and Cathness, there to heare and determine all
sutes and quarels of his subjects, & to giue order for
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-
quired also S. Colme to be present euer with them,
that matters touching religion might be the bet-
ter prouided for, and that the people might take all
things done in those publike sessions in right god
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest
authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-
teine yeeres together, till it chanced that diuers of
the nobles being together on hunting, fell at vari-
ance, and therevpon making a fraie, sundrie of them
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the
arrest, strooke and beat the officers verie sore, and im-
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Buidcus king of the
Picts, so by willfull exile to safe gard their liues. King
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accus-
med, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according
lie as they had deserued. Buidcus taking pittie
of the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length
he procured warre to himselfe and his countrie,
for Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people,
first to fetch a great bodie of cattell and prisoners
out

Aidan.

Aidan recei-
ueth his im-
mune-
ture of the
kingdome at
the hands of
saint Colme.
S. Colmes
exhortation to
the king and
the people.

The promise
of the people.

The kings
iourne into
Galloway.

Aidan appoin-
teth sessions
to be kept
yereleie in thre
parts of his
realme.

Saint Colme
present at se-
ssions and
sessions.

A fray among
the nobles be-
ing a hunting.

King Aidan
requireth to
haue certeine
Scottish out-
lawes deliue-
red at the
hands of Bui-
dcus king of
Picts.

Buidcus by
denying to de-
liuer the Scot-
tish outlawes,
procureth
warres to him
selfe and his
countrie.

The be-
peace to
the Sc
and Pi
A field
betwix
Scotts
Picts.

Saint
reprou
Aidan.

The re-
tance of
Aidan.

Saint
goeth to
king of
Picts.

An agri-
betwixt
Scotts
Picts
by the
saint C

Saint
returne
the well
Picts.

Englan
ended in
uen lease
kingdon

Edreire
of North
berland

Edreire
purpose,

A league
clued be-
twixt the
Scotts &
Picts, for
the article
the same.

out of Angus.

The breach of
peace betwixt
the Scots
and Britons.
A field fought
betwixt
Scots and
Britons.

Saint Colme
reproueth
Aidan.

The repen-
tance of king
Aidan.

Saint Colme
goeth vnto the
king of the
Britons.

An agreement
betwixt the
Scottish and
British kings
by the sate of
saint Colme.

Saint Colme
returned vnto
the westerne
Isles.

England be-
uiled into se-
uen feuerall
kingdomes.

Edelfred Is.
of Northum-
berland.

Edelfreds
purpose.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt the
Scots & Bri-
tains, with
the articles of
the same.

Wherewith the Brits being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finally the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Pentsteth, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkelde, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatly at the gaine. That holie man saint Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grieuoully he had offended almighty God, in procuring such mischief as had insued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto his repentance for his trespasse, that he wholie submitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance fore offended, the king got him by the sleue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffered himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Brudeus the British king, mouing him by way of diuerse goodlie aduertisements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did so much by travelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subiects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Isles vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole some documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements. In this meane time the Sarons hauing bytten and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and countreies, they diuided the same into seuen parts, ordaining seuen feuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioining next vnto the Brits, one Edelfred reigned, a man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuise, to persuaue Brudeus the British king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make against them, not onelie for that he knewe the Scots to haue bene euer enemies vnto the Sarons, but also for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathyses, of the which the Brits (as was thought) were also come. But the cause why he wished that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Brits, was not for any god will he bare to the Brits, but onelie for the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie preie of their countreie, the which he purposed vpon occasion to inuade, and soine vnto his owne kingdom of Northumberland.

Brudeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelfreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged informations of the Scottishmens daile attempts against the British nation; he determined to ioine with the Sarons against them, and caused therupon warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitie betwixt them. The Scottish king Aidan perceiving the practise of the Sarons, and together therewith the vntruth of the Brits, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioined in league with the Britains: this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

uenant: that if the enemies first inuaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countreie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable manner come ouer to their aid.

The Sarons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countreie, and so to haue them at more advantage, procured the Brits to ioine with them: and so both their powers being united together, entered into the British confines. Aidan according to the covenant came straight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelfred and Brudeus refused to fight for certaine daies, as it were of purpose, thereby to wearie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked daile to haue Cenline king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge thereof, first thought it best to encounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus understanding that their onelie refuge remained in their arms and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Sarons, that at the first, sleaing Cutha Cenlines sonne, with a great number of other, they cast lie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a trumpet, who being assembled herewith about their standards, made such loy and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dancing, singing, and plaieng on pipes and other instruments, according to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenlie appeared the Sarons and Brits, which were with Edelfred and Brudeus, appoaching towards them in god order of battell, with whome were also the residue of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains amazed with the sight hereof, were suddenlie stricken out of countenance, inasmuch that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how valiantlie they had already put to flight the other of their enemies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Many other words he vied in admonishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset giuen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Sarons laid about them so frontlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelfred faile in that occasion to encourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Brudeus with his Brits likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he encountered; so that finally the same Scots perceiving the Britains beaten downe and sore distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to running a waite. There were slaine in this battell on the Scottishmens side, Breninus lieutenant of (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungan the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen beside. The king himselfe escaped by helpe of his sonne, who stateng to get his father out of the preece, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Sarons side, there was slaine Theobald Edelfreds brother, and Cutha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelfred himselfe lost one of his eyes. Brudeus the British king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people. Thus Edelfred hauing got such a notable victorie

The Brits & Sarons enter into the land of the Britains.

Cenline of
Ceolun.

The Scots and Britains put the Sarons to flight, and slae Cutha the sonne of Cenline king of the Westsaxons. The triumph made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Sarons and Brits.

The sudden feare of the Scots and Brits, after all their great top & triumphing.

Aidan exhorted his men to manfullnesse.

The Sarons fight frontlie, Edelfred.

Brudeus Is. of the Brits maketh slaughter of the Scots.

The Scots run adwaie.

Edelfred lost one of his eyes. Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

R. f. at

Defflstone
the place wher
this battell
was fought.
Galloway in-
uated by
Welfred.

Certaine com-
panies of Sax-
ons over-
throwne.

Passages thro-
ugh Shulle-
way sands.

The diligence
of king Aidan
in providing
to resist his en-
emies.

The Scots
and Britains
dislodge.
The Scots
and Britains
enter into
Northumber-
land.

The fight be-
twixt Scots
and Britains
on the one side,
and Saxons
and Picts on
the other.

The Saxons
and Picts dis-
comfited and
shated.

at Defflstone in Britaine, he could not be so con-
tented, but eslowes assembling his people, and is-
ning againe with Wudeus and his Picts, the next
summer after invaded Galloway, and began to rob
and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either
inforce the inhabitants, with other the countries
next thereunto adjoining, to yeld unto him; either
els to bring them into extreme pouertie in waisting
all afore him. But Aidan being aduertised hereof,
sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and
comming forward with his owne people which he
had assembled together, ouerthrew certaine compa-
nies of his enemies, as he found them dispersed a-
broad in seeking for preies: then passing by their
maine armie, he commeth into Annadale, where he
ioineth with the Britains, being come so farre for-
ward on their waile to meet him. The Saxons and
Picts hauing knowledge of their enemies doings,
wan such a place of aduantage, as they thought it
an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to dis-
tresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping
vp the passages, by the which they must of force passe,
if they minded to come forth on that day. These pas-
sages laie through certaine quicksands, and by a ri-
uer which had but few fords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiuing how they
were thus inclosed, with all speed trenched their
campe about, raising certaine bulwarks and turrets
in places where they thought expedient, as though
they had ment still there to haue continued. Aidan
himselfe toke such pains in seeing euerie thing done
in due order, that his people moued more through
his example than by anie exhortation, were most di-
ligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as
to haue occasion ministred, to shew some proofe of
their worthie valiances. At length, when the eni-
mies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) no-
thing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the
Scots and Britains in the night season, leauing a
great number of fires in their campe, they sudden-
ly dislodge, and passing the water by secret fords,
they entred into Cumberland, and so after passing
into Northumberland, they wasted and destroyed
with fire and sword all that came within their reach:
the report of which their doings brought Edelfred
and Wudeus backe into that countrie to resist their
inuaſion, neither resting day nor night, till they had
got sight of their enemies.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring
battell, together they go with great noise and din-
both of men and instruments. So much hardinesse
in the Saxons caused no small number of them to
be slaine, rather choosing to die with reputation of
manhood, than to giue backe neuer so little ground
to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a space,
verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline.
On the Britains and Scottishmens side, there were
four chief rulers amongst them, beside Aidan him-
selfe, as Constantinus and Alenctinus Britains, Cal-
lan and Morbach Scottishmen. Each of these taking
a severall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their
uttermost indouors therin, incouraging their bands
to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to
sticke to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope
of eternall fame, beside suertie of life, and aduance-
ment to the common-wealth of their countrie;
where otherwise they might looke for nothing, but the
contrarie mischance, as shame, rebuke, and importable
seruitude. So that the Scottishmen and Britains in-
courageed herewith, preailed vpon the enemies so
fiercelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts
were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine
running awaie: the Scots following so rgerlie in
the chase, that more of their enemies were thought

to die in the fight, than before there had done in the
battell.

S. Colme as yet being alive, and within his mo-
nasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by di-
uine inspiration (as the Scottish chronicles make
mention) of all these matters how they went: and at
the verie time that the battels were in fight toge-
ther, he had assembled a companie of verie vertu-
ous and godlie disposed persons, making intercessi-
on for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid
Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne
after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which
had the ouerthrow) that holie old father shewed great
token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring vnto his bre-
thren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophesie,
how Aidan had the better, and that his enemies were
discomfited, willing them thereupon to giue vnto
God thanks for the same. There was an huge mul-
titude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death
of Ceuline king of the West Saxons, with other two
worthie capitains of that nation, made the slaughter
more sorrowfull on that side, the one of them was
called Calaine, and the other Whitelline.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the
field being gathered together, all that which was
knowne to haue bene taken out of Galloway, and
other countries of the Scots, was restored by the
kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The resi-
due which remained was diuided amongst the soul-
diers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was di-
stributed vnto priests & curats, to bestow the same
vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners
and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie
other rich offerings, king Aidan sent vnto the abbeie
of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monu-
ments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yeare
next ensuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost
wasted through age, and hereto also sore troubled
with a rheumatike humour, fell sicke and died. Some
saie he ended his life in his house amongst his bre-
thren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwaie called Col-
mekill, but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Island
called Ihen; where againe the Irish writers affirme,
that he decessed in a towne in Ireland called Dune,
& that his towne is there in verie great veneration
of the people: vpon the which are these Latine ver-
ses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

Hicres in Duno, tumultu tumultantur in uno,

Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pium.

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Neither did Aidan the Scottish king liue long
time after, for hearing (as is said) that saint Colme
was dead, thortlie thereupon, more through grieve
than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world,
after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement o-
uer the Scottishmen, he died about the yeare of our
Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was
sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome,
diuers learned men (amongest whome were Augu-
stinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people
in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not recei-
ued. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these
instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons
was baptised with all his people. The British priests
nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide,
because (as is supposed) the one nation through a na-
tural hatred, still sought the destruction of the other.
The South and East Saxons moued with the exam-
ple of the Kentish Saxons, thortlie after also re-
nounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and like-
wise receiued the christian faith. Edelfred king of
Northumberland moued into displeasure herewith,
sent word vnto these Saxons of the south parts (as
then

S. Colme in-
duced with
the spirit of
secret know-
ledge.

Ceuline king
of west Saxons
slaine.
Whitelline
or Whitelme;

The diuision
of the spoile.

S. Colme de-
parted out of
this life.

which beides
Brigiden
translateth.

Aidan king of
the Scottish-
men, depa-
reth this
world.

606.

Augustinus
and Mellitus
sent into Al-
bion.

Ethelbert is
baptised.

The Saxons
hatred toward
the British
priests.
Dunfer and
Dunfer receiue
the christian
faith.
Edelfred his
displeasure.

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Alon
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dicer.

Waldered other
wife called
Waldered does
for of the
Picts.

A miracle if it
be true.

Kenethus
Keir.
Kenethus
Keir crowned
king of Scots

Kenethus
Keir died of
the cough of
the lungs.

Eugenius the
fourth of that
name.

Eugeni-
us.

S Colmes
prophetic of
Eugenius the
fourth.

A lover of
peace and
quietnesse.

A sharpe in-
dicer.

Then all of them generallie known by the name of Englishmen) that sith they had forsaken the old institutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, he would suerlie from thenceforth be no lesse entie into them than into the Scots and Britains. There lived in these daies that holie man Waldered a Scottis man borne, but dwelling amongst the Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Wasse, lieng about two miles off from the maine land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the same Ile, and an other called the Spaie. There were three parishes sell at contention for his bodie, as Aldham, Liningham, and Preston, so far forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by counsell of some discret persons amongst them, it was ordeined that they should continue in praiser for that night, and in the next morning stand to the order of the bishop of the dioces, who was come thither the same time to be present at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found three beires with three bodies decentlie covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no man might perceiue anie difference. Then by commandement of the bishop, and with great ioy of all the people, the said seuerall bodies were caried severallie unto the said three seuerall churches, and in the same buried in most solemne wise, where they remaine unto this day, in much honoz with the common people of the countries nere adjoining.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme assembled together in Argile, about the election of a new king. Where, by the generall voices of them all, Kenethus Keir the sonne of Contwall (sometime king of the Scottis men, as before is mentioned) was now proclaimed king, and crowned according to the manner; but he liued not past foure moneths after, but died of a catarrhishe rheume falling down into the windpipe, and so stopping vp his lights and lungs. He deliuered as it were the possession of his kingdom, by way of surrendering the same, into the hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it was known he had a right thereunto after the deceasse of Kenethus.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, which had ruled over the Scottis men. As it is said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king long before his fathers death, for when all the sonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that Aidan demanded of him which of them should reigne after him, he ouerpassing the residue (which he understood by secret knowledge should die in the wars) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also Buidus, declaring that it should be onelie he. This Eugenius then being placed in the kinglie seat, for got not such holisome lessons and vertuous precepts, as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his youth, so that studieng how to defend rather than to seeke anie waies or means how to enlarge it, by wrongfull incroching vpon other mens possessions, he grew into such fauour with all good men, as greater could not be desired. Unto all offenders he was a sharpe iusticer, not sparing anie transgression of his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or other wise, but rather those gentlemen which misused themselves in breach of god orders, he chiefelie gaue order to see them punished; where if they behaved themselves worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them unto honoz.

By these and the like his princelie doings, he was both beloued of his people and also feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethnike, persisted in their infidelitie, and the other called not by all manner of means to support them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmelie caused the same to be obserued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Edwige king of Westsaxons & Edfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, vanquished Cadwalla king of Britains, and chased him into Scotland, where he remained not long, sailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchasing aid of the king there named Cadwall, returned into Wales, where vanquishing his enemies the Saxons, and slaing manie thousands of them, he was restored againe unto his kingdom. About the same time was Edelfred king of Northumberland slaine in battell, at a place called Winttingham, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbret, the one being king of the east Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of such injuries as the same Edelfred had done unto the Saxons of the countrie called Mercia, containing (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare) all those shires from the riuer of Thames unto the riuer of Mersey in Lancashire. Then was one Edwine a right christian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the assignement of the two foresaid kings Redwald and Ethelbret.

Whilist these things were a doing, there were seuen sonnes of the aforesaid Edelfred, that detesting the untrue dealing of the Picts, which refused to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwine, got them to Eugenius the Scottis king for more suertie of their liues. Their names were Eustred, Oswald, Oswald, Edwin, Othas, Omond, and Olike. Ebba the onelie daughter of Edelfred being taken amongst other prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculously got a bote in the riuer of Humber, and with the same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath bene reported) she sailed forth, & at length safely arrived at the point of land which stretched forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen unto this day after hir name, saint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the bishop of that diocese, she was professed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectnesse of obseruing that profession, she was instituted abbess of hir house, shewing still in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

Eugenius the Scottis king did longlie receiue the sonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer bene a cruell enimie against the Scottis nation; and within a while after their comming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and preachings of the bishops and monks (who in those daies continuallie gaue themselves unto that exercise) they finallie abhorred their superstitious idolatrie, and receiued baptisme, that salutiferous signe and sacrament of our christian religion. Those churches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had ouerthrowen and destroyed in Gallotway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be repaired; moreover also he reedified sundrie castles in those marches, and placed in them garisons of soldiers, to defend them against all inuasions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space of fiftene yeares or thereabouts in honozable peace, to the great aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongst his elders in the Ile of Iona, with in the monasterie of Colmekill.

Cadwall ban-
quished.

Cadwall is
restored into
his kingdom.

See more
herof in Eng-
land.

King Edel-
fred slaine.

Edwine.

S. Ebbes
head.

*Bonifacius a
goddie prea-
cher.*

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Aduinus came south of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning by the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Sabinianus, it is not certeinlie knowne; but certeinlie it is, as the Scottish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Taie, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which diuideth the countrie of Gowrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots euen vnto this day, for that he travelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, another at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundee, and the third at Kessennoth, where afterwards an house of canons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Kossle, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Kosslemarken.

*Apolocke a
preacher.*

*Apolocke were
preachers in
those daies.*

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient godlie man named Apolocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Spar and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flee and forsake their vicious lining, and to inducure themselves to embrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Apolocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died also in Kossle, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his reliques rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

*Ferqu-
hard.*

*Ferquhard
king of Scot-
land.*

*Fiacre gaeth
himselfe for to
live a solitarie
life in France*

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald, these being appointed by their father to be brought up with Connane bishop of Sodor (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteine vnto their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents deepe in his heart, determined to forsake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more freelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharaos the bishop of Meaux gaue vnto him a pce of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doe, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, pntation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enemies; but his subtleties among themselves fell at such diuision, that euery part of the realme was full of murder, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any suertie either of life or goods: all the which misorders sprong, were now

risht and mainteined through the kings otone diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather helpe to further such discords amongst them, than toke order for to appeale it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken by & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priuite therevnto.

*Ferquhard
mainteined cō-
uill discords.*

*Ed-
and
for*

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erronious opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he used to haue sundrie British priests in his companie: the which nation had bene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him.

*King Ferqu-
hard infected
with the Pel-
agian error.*

*Do
Dor
of S*

But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consult together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

*The king is
summoned by
an herald.
He is taken
prisoner.*

*King
is t*

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his prayers desired feruentlie of almightie God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the hermitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldly preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, sith his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sirra, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champagne in France, where she with hir fellows remained in great holinesse of life, leaving in those parties a worthie memorie not forgotten amongst them there till this day.

*Ambassadors
sent into
France to
Fiacre.*

*Fiacre his
prayer.*

Ent

The foresaid ambassadors returning south of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose south foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that

age,

*Dist
good.*

The desperat
end of king
Fergushard.

632

Donwald.
Donwald k.
of Scotland.

King Edwin
of Gaile.

Custred.

Oriske an
foch.

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as seemed them good in all points. In the meane time Fergushard remaining still in prison, and vexed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, due himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne, and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens lives in time of the ciuill discord, that he had euer nourished. After this wretched end of Fergushard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselves together in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with great joy and triumph.

This Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall administration, transforming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as appertained vnto the common wealth, and had bene anie wise decaied and misgouerned by the slothfull negligence of his predecessor Fergushard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great fauor of his subjects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, joining their powers together against Edwin king of Northumberland, depriued him both of life and kingdom. After this, passing through the whole countrie, and entring into the confines of Midland, they toke a great part of the same by force of arms from Byrdens king of the Picts, who in baile had sued for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntruth had bene notified more than enough in times past. But Donwald being certified of Edwin's death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambassadours, that Custred the son of Eadelfred might be restored vnto his fathers kingdom, which Edwin had wrongfullie vsurped.

This being granted, Custred leauing his brethren still in Scotland, came into Northumberland, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inuested king of Mercia, that is, of the countrie which is now called the marches. For at the same time they had diuided the kingdom of Northumberland into two kingdoms, appointing Custred (as is said) to reigne ouer the one called Mercia, and one Oriske ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie appeared. For certaine yeares after his advancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters vnto the foresaid Custred, perswading the same Custred to consent with him in restoring againe the heathenish religion throughout their whole dominion, & bitterlie to renounce the christian faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline. But they intioed not long felicitie after so wicked and most diuillish a purpose, for the princes of Albion vnder the leading of Cadwallo k. of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie assembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring into Northumberland, and incountring in battell with Oriske and Custred, discomfited their power, and toke them prisoners, who being put into a common prison, due each other to auoid sharper tortures, which by due execution they daile looked for.

Then was the kingdom of Northumberland giuen vnto Oswald brother to Custred, both in respect of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale which he bare to the advancement of Christs religion, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an earnest enimie to his brother Custred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell, he was one of the forwardest captiues against them. Vnto this Oswald was sent a Scottishman called Cozman, to instruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie ye may read more at large: finally he was slaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scottish king, who soze lamented the same, as of that prince whome he loued right intirelie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long time after the death of his deere friend; for that in the fiftenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fish in the water called Lochtaile for his recreation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason the bote sank vnder him. Certaine daies after, his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

About the same time there liued in France thre brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto Hylltan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Balghetes, descended of the linage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which thre brethren were as followeth, Fursus, Foilan, and Altanus. Fursus professing himselfe a monke of saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being receiued of king Clovis, began the foundation of a monasterie there called Latine, in the which he placed monks of that order, and began to sow in those parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Iohn Bale saith in the 14 centurie of the British writers. His two brethren Foilan and Altan followed him ouer into France, and both by word and example instructed the Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed themselves to be monks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise prayer and thanksgiving: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were conuerted to the christian faith. Foilan at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops and some of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelates of the west: but at length through persuation of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

After the deceasse of Donwald, his nephew Fergushard the sonne of his brother, the other Fergushard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuertheless rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie after he had attained the crowne, in so much as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenly changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redeme his lands engaged, or to bestow in dower for the marriage of his daughter, but if he had therewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other devout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieved

12. H.B.

Donwald
the Scottish
king drowned
645. H.B.

Anno 844.
Sigebertus.
Folsenle monasterium.
Scrie about the celebrating of the feast of Easter

Fergushard.
Fergushard the second of that name created king of Scotland.
Fergushard being king was courteous before he was king, he showed liberallitie.

to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthy of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kingle seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offences, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affecti-
 ons. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vn-
 courteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alledg-
 ing that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie ex-
 cuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hee
 understood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had pi-
 ked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his cof-
 fers, that neuer might be filled.

Gifts are re-
quired as a
loan.

No, what a
pretense coue-
tousnes hath.

For their
goods sake
prelates are
troubled.

The king is
excommunic-
cated.

The king is
hunting.

He was a
glutton.

A drunkard
he was also.

A prophesie.

The king is
sicke.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two re-
uerend fathers, Colman and Finnian, perceiving
such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie
sundrie times for the same: and at length because
they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he
was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little
passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare
diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and
forests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Nei-
ther were such wanting as were willing to keepe
him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all
times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, con-
trarie to the custome of his countrie, to eat three
meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and a
bundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene
vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme:
and all to serue his greedie appetite, togither with
theirs that followed his companie.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would parti-
cipate abundantly at all times and places, without
regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen
vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customeable
used to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night,
hauing his banquetting dishes and cuppes to come in
one after another, till he were so mistempered, that
being laid to sleepe, he would straight vomit out such
beauie gozges, as he had in such most gluttonous
wise receiued. Wherevnto he was so drunken in the
filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne
daughters: and for that his wife was about to dis-
suade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his
owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse
certeine yeeres, at length the nobles began to con-
spire against him, so that they would haue deuised a
meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop
Colman had not forbidden them that practise, pro-
phesing as it were by diuine inspiration, that Fer-
quhard soe detestling his owne wicked doings,
should thorowly be punished by the hands of almighty
God, according to his deservings.

And sure his words proued true: for within a mo-
neth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase
of a wolfe, the beast being all enraged by the pur-
sute of the hounds, slue backe vpon the king, and
snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore
in one of his sides, immediatlie wherevpon, whether
through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasi-
on, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and
wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight
it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet,
and priue parts, there issued filthie corruption and
matter, with so vile a sauour, that binnetly might any
creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though
he had bene infected with the dyspse, and thereto was
it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundan-
tly in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid
of cleaneed of them.

At length, when he had bene bered in this sort for
the space of two yeeres togither, or thereabouts, he
began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to con-
sider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon
him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop
Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about
20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe
of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent
for the same. Colman reioicing hereat, did not onelie
release him of the sentence of excommunication, pro-
nounced against him: but also willed him to be of
comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of
almightie God, who was readie to receiue all such
sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts:
so that being put in hope by these & the like words of
Colman to haue forgiveness of his sinnes, with
bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon
him: and humble receiving the sacrament, got him
into simple clothing of heare and sackecloth. Then
causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, hee
there yelded by the ghost in the presence of Colman,
who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father)
was still about him, in exhorting him to commit
himselfe wholie to the mercie of God, & not to doubt
but he should be sure to attaine the same. Thus Fer-
quhard ended his life, in the 18 yeere after he began
his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yeere of
Grace 664.

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan depar-
ted this world, and then was Finnian sent for forth
of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of
the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Nor-
thumberland as then had their see. This Finnian
was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his
vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died a-
non after the decess of Ferquhard, and then was
Colman removed vnto that see of Lindesferne, who
with his vertuous instructions and examples of ho-
lie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto
the true worshipping of the liuing God. And a-
mongst other was Penda sonne to the former Pen-
da, king of Mercia. There be that write how Pen-
da the father also was baptised by this Colman: and
that the same Colman trauelled through the most
part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the
word of life amongst the people, purchasing him
great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the
church of Lindesferne in the daies of Maldwin that
succeeded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

This Maldwin was the sonne of king Done-
wald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and
buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which
functon he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to
mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Sax-
ons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to
be followed of his subjects. Hereto he had a speciall
care for the administration of the lawes in due forme
and order, causing offenders to be punished, that o-
ther harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that
by this meanes all things in the beginning of his
reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there
fell no small discorde betwixt them of Lennox and
Argile: for first through bralling among the heard-
men, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such
deadlie

The wester
Ales take
part with
Argile, & follow
with Lennox

Maldwin
went about
for to punish
the author of
this commo-
tion.
The captiues
became friend
togither, and
shed into the
Ales.
The Mald-
men appe-
hend the cap-
tains of the
Picts.

He buildeth
the church of
the abbey of
Colmekill.

A great pest
lence & death
vpon earth.

He sent for
his confessor.

The king be-
ing excommu-
nicated is
released.

Ferquhard
yeldeth by
the ghost.

664
Finnian
bishop.

Holie Island.

Bishop Col-
man conuerted
the Saxons.

Penda king
of Mercia.

Scotland
was free of
the pestilence
and plague.

Whorenesse
the mother of
sicknesses.

Colman ere-
cted a monast-
rie.

Maldwin in-
uested king of
Scots.

A lover of
peace & iustice

Lennox and
Argile are at
variance.

Maldwin the
Scottish king
strangles his
bees.

The westerne
Iles take
part with
Argile, Galloway
with Lennox.

Malcolm
went about
for to punish
the authors of
this commo-
tion.

The captiues
became friends
together, and
led into the
Iles.

The Island-
men appea-
red the cap-
tains of the re-
bels.

The buildeth
the church of
the abbey of
Colmekill.

A great pesti-
lence & death
upon earth.

Scotland
was free of
the pestilence
and plague.

Riotousnesse
the mother of
sicknesses.

Colman erec-
ted a monas-
tery.

Malcolm the
Scottish king
strangled in
his bed.

deadlie enimitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the westerne Iles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of those countreies.

The king at his arriuall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their capitains, but rather the capitains and authors of this tumult themselves. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being inforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise took them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were safely conueied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserved execution. Thus that commotion vnadvisedlie begun, was speedilie appeased, and the name of Malcolme by reason hereof so feared amongst his subiects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbey church, wherein his ancestors had their sepulchres, to be in decaye, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Saviour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and greivous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceased) than there were left alive: for it continued the whole space of three yeeres togither. At length, through common prayer, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous workes, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that such great mortalitie by his mercifull appointment did cease and giue ouer.

The Scottishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yeeres after. Yetther were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe fevers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome sparienesse of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banquetting and excessive feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing therupon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing wonderfull numbers of Englishmen perish daile of that contagious sickness, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne Iles, he erected a monastery there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrey joining with the Brits, made sundrie roads into the Scottish borders: which iniurie when Malcolme reuenged with more displeasure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scottishmen had receiued, it caused the Brits and Northumbers to prepare themselves with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Malcolme died, being strangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after she was apprehended with those that were

private to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as she had most iustlie deserved. Malcolme was thus murdered in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 684, and in the 20 yere of his owne reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, nephew to Malcolme, as sonne to his brother Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadores vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadores which were thus sent, feined as though he had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so soone as his prouision should be once readie, and hereupon granted to them a truce for the space of 11 moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing some secret knowledge of Egfreds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the occasion, he secretly commanded that none of his subiects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, sent a companie of his men of war into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bootie, where by the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but also slue diuers of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Immediately hereupon were sent ambassadores from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not without much adoe, after certaine daies attendance, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred their message, receiued for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deserved farre more damage than as yet they had receiued, whereupon he minded not to continue friendship with them that knew not how to keepe their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he should looke for open warre at the hands of him and other his allies.

Eugenius receiuing this answer from Egfred, besought God, with the other onelie sought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Wherewith gathering his power togither, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enemies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come already into that countrey, and had besieged a strong castell called Downsk, the chiefeest fortresse in those daies of all Galloway. And per Egfred might winne the same, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter with Eugenius, who hastened fast towards him. They met nere to the banks of the water of Aelwis, as then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which lately before had fallen, where they fought a verie sore and bloudie battell: for the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the enimies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great advantage perceived on either side, the kings, according to the duties of valiant capitains, exhorting their people to stick to it manfully: but in the meane time, certaine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without coming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of some

Eugenius.
Eugenius the
fifth.

Egfred king
of Northum-
berland.

A truce gran-
ted.

Eugenius
his compun-
dement.

The truce
broken.

Ambassadors
sent by Euge-
nius vnto
Egfred for
restitution.

Egfreds an-
swer.

Eugenius
gathereth an
armie.

The castell of
Downsk be-
sieged.

King Egfred
slaine.
See more
hercol in
England.

Twentie thou-
sand Saxons
slaine.

Widens
king of the
Picts.

Inuasion in-
to Northum-
berland.

Cuthbert bi-
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
first died.
688

Eugenius the
first succeeded
Eugenius the
first.

A league be-
tweene the
Scots and
Northumber-
land men.
A truce taken
with the
Picts.

some treason denised against them, and thereupon began to shrink backe. Egfred aduised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be anie waies able to shew or do them. But whilst he was thus buslie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so soze, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the riuer so to escape the enemies hands, of whome the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armor and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other sho, but those that made their course by land, being cumbzed in mirres and mosses, also amongst freets, rocks, mounteins and clifses, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie above six thousand. By this ouerthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie soze diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that tournie.

Widens the Pictish king hauing knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing soze, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, soze afflicting the inhabitants, in so much that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els bitterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout prayers of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) preferred the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Berwicke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after insuing.

Here is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Ferquhard, and by persuation of bishop Adannan (with whom he was brought up) & of S. Cuthbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subiects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Hotobett, through the earnest prayers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adannan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable encounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmehill, amongst their predecessors.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Yumber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noyse, as it had bene the clattering of armor, spilke was turned into blood in diuers places in Scotland, and cheefe conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Cozne, as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthestmost parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hearts, imagining some great alteration to insue.

Ambriskeleth the nephew, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first in the gouernment of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, shortly changed therewith his manners and god disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men iudged that he would haue proued a patron of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excellencie of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he toke nothing in hand worthie of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessity the forme of the publike gouernement must needs thorough his negligent slouthfulnesse fall into decay and ruine: whereupon Garnard king of the Picts, supposing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former injuries receiued at the Scottishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verie pittifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambriskeleth (being soze blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subiects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie together, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, do euer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namely when anie present danger beginneth to appeere) forth he goeth without anie great god order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was so ouerwhelmed with all kind of excessive gluttonie, immoderate surfeting, insatiable lecherie, and deliting altogether in slouthfull ease, and sluggish idleness, the root from whence all such filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no manner of regard to that which chiefly appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was becomfull, of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done.ouertheless marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was occasioned to

warre with-
out anie no-
table incon-
ter.
The death of
Eugenius the
first.

697

wonderfull
visions seene.

Ambriske-
leth.

Ambriskeleth
succeedeth
Eugenius the
first.

The king
turneth from
vertue vnto
all licentious-
nesse.

Garnard king
of the Picts
inuaith
Scotland.

Ambriskeleth
gathered an
armie against
the Picts.

Idleness the
breeder and
nourisher of
sensuall lusts.

to go forth of his lodging to doe the necessities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his seruants that were groomes of his chamber, he was suddenly shot through the head with an arrow; but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongst his noble ancestors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the seventh is called king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

The king is crowned.

The queene slain in bed of her husband.

The king is suspected of the murder.

The murderers are hanged.

An example of a good prince.

The king causeth his ancestors histories to be written.

The lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, because the armie for want of a gouernor should not fall into anie danger, they elected Eugenius the seventh, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honozable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enemies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Britissh king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redress to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them. The Britissh king returning home, and the Scottish armie dissolued, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he received his inuicture of the kingdome, sitting upon the stone of marble, according to the custome and manner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of alliance, Spontana the daughter of king Barnard being coupled in marriage with Eugenius: she in the yere following being great with child, was murdered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in stead of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murder the king, and had slaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap laien forth of his owne chamber the same night. Eugenius being suspected of the murder, and euill spoken of for the same amongst his subjects, was at length with great danger of life and honor enforced to make answer by waie of arraignment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloued was Spontana amongst all the degrees of the Scottish nation. But in the end being found guiltie of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioicing of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were condemned and hanged by naked on gibbets by the hailes, together with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so deuoure them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue bene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the goodlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adamnan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subjects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancestors should be writtten in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserued in the abbey of Iona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue living there in the abbey. Moreover, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be to meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He

concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeres, whereof the last fell in the yere after the incarnation of our Sauer 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons; as they that interlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

A little before his death, he betooke the possession of his kingdome vnto Morbadke that succeeded him. This Morbadke was the nephew of Eugenius the seventh, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberal nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; so he shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the same. Aboue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English kings, he firmelie kept euery article therein contained. In those daies (as S. Beda doth testifie) soute severall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His words are these that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselves with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though for the most part through a familiar hatred doe impugn the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church, obseruing not rightlie the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie vices, yet both the diuine power and humane force viterlie resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to attaine vnto their purposed intentions; as they which though partlie free, yet in some behalfe are thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the Englishmen: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manie amongst them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laing away armour and weapon, apply themselves to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yere 734, in the which yere Morbadke the Scottish king ended his life.

He repaired sundrie churches and religious houses, which being defaced with violence of the enemies inuasions in time of warre, had not bene re-edified by his ancestors. But amongst other, he bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie of S. Pinian lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Dhuitterne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pitiminia, and the bishop which at the same time held the church there, he nameth Aca, auouching how he was the first that was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Pinian. Which if it be true, it must needs be that afterwards some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it is notified in the Scottish histories, that the westerne Isles, Galloway, and other regions nere adjoining, were subiect vnto the bishop of Sodor (whose see is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops see in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as before is specified.

Eugenius the seventh departed out of this life. 716. H.B.

Mordack, Morbadke succeedeth Eugenius the seventh.

A tower of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The testimony of Beda.

734. Morbadke ended his life the same yere that saint Beda made an end of his historie.

Candida Casa now called Whitterne.

But

Ethfne.
Ethfne suc-
cedeth Mor-
dake.

A peaceable
prince.

Four govern-
ors vnder
the king.

Trust go-
uernement.

Donald of the
Ales mainte-
neth robbery.

The oppres-
sion of the
commons of
Galloway.

Mordake the
kings lieut-
enant beareth
with offen-
ders.

The deceasse
of Ethfne,
762. H.B.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
the eight im-
mortal king of
Scots.
Donald of the
Ales appea-
red.

Donald and
his complices
put to death.

But now to retorne touching the gouernement of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the deceasse of Mor-dake last remembred, his nephew named Ethfne, the sonne of the seuenth Eugenius, succeeded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Mor-dake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Scots, he duellie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowen to be open barretors and offenders in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable exam-
ples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to do, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appoint-
ed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe go-
uernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of
Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mor-dake of Gallo-
way his lieutenants, and Contrath the thane of
Murrey land. These hauing the procuracion of all
things touching the gouernement of the realme, be-
sed not themselves to vprightlie in manie points as
they ought to haue done; but winked now and then
at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks
and allies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according
to their old accustomed maner of licentious liber-
tie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other in-
feriour states. Donald of the wessterne Ales, a man
of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclined to
all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of
robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie
vpon raine. For loke what they wanted, they
would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place a-
broad where they might laie hands on it: so that all
the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in
which countrie they most haunted, were brought in
to wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Neither did Mor-dake the kings lieutenant there,
go about to chastise such insolent misdemeanors,
either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either
else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile.
The people hereby bered with continuall iniuries,
brought manie pitifull complaints before Mor-dake,
who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and
supplications, but the more they complained, the
worse they were handled. Neither was there anie
hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the
eight was admitted to the kinglie administration
after the death of king Ethfne, who in the latter
end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased,
could not attend to take order for the publike go-
uernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers
insued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, af-
ter he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottish
men the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being bu-
ried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight
that was the sonne of king Mor-dake, was in-
uested king in Argile with such pompe and cere-
monies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie
therevpon he halied forth to catch Donald of the
Ales, not resting till at length he had caught him,
though that came not to passe without some losse of
his people. After he had taken both him and his chie-
fess complices, he put them openlie to death; neither
so satisfied, he caused Mor-dake to be arraigned, who
confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as
were laid to his charge for mainteining of the fore-
said Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his
goods being valued and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, in re-
compense of such losses, as through his contriued
fallshood they had sustained. Also he did put Donald,
Collan, and Contrath to their fines, for that they did
suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be execu-
ted, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him won-
derfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through-
out all his realme; and therewith were offenders put
in such feare, that they durst in no place commit a-
nie such misdoers against the simple and meaner
people. And for the more increase of his subiects
wealth, he also continued the league with the Scots,
Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his
late predecessor had done. But yet, as the nature of
man through licentious libertie is euer readie to of-
fend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this
worthy prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is be-
fore exprest, reigning in peace and quietnesse a-
mongest his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile
lust to accomplish his insatiable fleshlie concupis-
cence, seeking all means he could deuise to deflower
young virgins and honest matrons, and that as well
those of the nobilitie as other. And such companions
as could best further his purpose in that behalfe, and
deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie,
those he set by, and greatlie made of, deliting altogi-
ther to haue them in his companie.

Thus being drownd in lecherous lust, and filthie
concupiscentie, he fell dailie in more greuous vices,
as into excessiue couetousnesse and beastlie crueltie,
consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to
the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednesse
remained not long unpunished, for the lords and
peeres of his realme, perceiving how he proceeded
dailie in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings,
not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertise-
ments either of God or man, they slew him one day
amongest them as he sat in iudgement about to
haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie
in the crime whereof he was accused. They cau-
sed also a great companie of those mates to be ap-
prehended, which had bene of his counsell, and pro-
uokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which
to the great contentation of the people were han-
ged, as they had well deserued. And such was the
end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the king-
dome about thre yeares: his bodie was buried in
Colmekill amongst his ancessors, though the peo-
ple thought it little worthy of that honor, which had
misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme
vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Eth-
fne, in the yeare 767, who being established in the
same, began frelie to practise all kinds of vices,
which most abundantly reigned in him, hottest till
that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert.
He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessors in
all points of wickednesse. He toke no regard at all
to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe
to excessiue gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate
meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a num-
ber of vile strumpets in house with him, whome he
used as concubines, that his wife was no better es-
teemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchen-
maid. Who being a woman of great modestie,
and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take some
grafe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie
times assailed by way of wholesome persuasions, to
turne his mind from such sinfull vices and filthie
trade of liuing.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to con-
uert his depraued mind, nor by anie meanes to re-
forme him, but that the more she laboured to do good
vpon

Mordake
lieutenant of
Galloway is
put to death.
The com-
mons recom-
pensed.

A righteous
king.

Offenders
put in feare.

Eugenius is
perverted
with sensuall
lust and con-
cupiscentie.

A filthie de-
light.

Couetousnesse
linked with
crueltie.

Eugenius is
murdered.

The end of
Eugenius
the eight.

Fergus.
767.

Fergus the
third created
king.

A wicked
prince.

He
the
strang
his
son

Must
person
robbed

The
confessi
murder

She
gitt
her
own
sentence

The
qn
take
tion
of
h

*Mr. Fergus
the third
strangled by
his wife.*

upon him, the worse he was, through verie displeasure of such injuries as the bailie sustained at the hands of his concubines, the found meanes to strangle him secretly one night as he lay in bed, choosing rather to be without a husband, than to have one that should dectue hir of the right and dutie of marriage; and that in such sort, as she must be faine to suffer the reproch daile before hir face, being misbused of them whom he kept as paramours in most despitefull manner. The day after the wrought this feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in funerall wise, and brought forth into the place of iudgement, where inquisition was freidlie made what that they were that had done so heinous a deed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet some of his friends were verie earnest to have the matter tried forth, that such as had committed the murder might suffer due punishment.

*Suspicious
persons are
racked.*

Spanie were apprehended and had to the racke, but yet could none be found that would confesse it. The quene was void of all suspition, as she that had bene taken for a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet, when she heard that a number of innocent persons were tormented without desert, soze lamenting (as should appeare) their miserable case, she came basilie into the iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft upon the bench, there, in the presence of all the companie, she had these or the like words unto the whole assemblie. I know not (god people) I know not what god moueth me, or what diuine reuengement bereth me with sundrie thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and morning preceding, I haue had neither rest in bodie nor mind. And verelie when I heard that certaine guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented here in your presence; had not wath giuen place, partlie unto modestie, whereof I must confesse there is left but a small portion in me, I had forthwith rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conscience constraineth me (setting apart mine owne safegard) to confesse the truth, least the guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therefore vnderstand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue examined are pinnie to the offense. I verelie am she, that with these wicked hands haue strangled this night last past Fergus, about whose death I see you in trouble, moued so to doo with two as sharpe prickes as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient for bearing of carnall lust, & irefull wrath. Fergus by his continuall vsing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the husband oweth to the wife: whereupon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertisements, vehement force of anger rising in my hart, droue me to doo so wicked a deed. I thought rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than (being destitute of my husband, & defrauded of all quene-like honoz) to liue still subiect to the perpetuall injuries of such lewd women as he kept & vsed in my stead. Those ye therefore those that be accused of the kings death, & as for me ye shall not need to proceed against me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accordingly do execution upon my selfe even here incontinente in presence of you all: what honoz is due to the dead, loke you to that. ¶ Having thus made an end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke hir selfe to the heart with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the ground. All such as were present wondered greatlie at hir stout and hardie stomack, speaking diuerlie thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of these hir monstrous doings. The bodie of Fergus was caried forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buried in the third yere after his entring into

*She giueth
hir owne
sentence.*

*The quene
taketh execu-
tion of hir self.*

the gouernement, and in the yere of our Lord 769. The quens corps was not buried in sacred ground, for that she slue hirselfe.

Soluathius the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scottis estate next after the death of Fergus: a prince suerlie bozne to the accomplishment of high enterprises, if through hap of froward destinie he had not bene hindered. For in the third yere of his reigne he began to be vered extreimelie with the gout, which ingendered by cold in leng abroad in hunting; and so continuing with him during his life, staid him from manie worthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as abroad in time of warres. Thus he being in manner impotent & lame of his limbs, there were some commotions and misorders the more boldly attempted: and first amongst them of the out Isles. For Bane Spakedonald, gouernoz by the kings appointment of the Island called Tire, got all the castels and fortresses of the Isles into his owne hands, & strengthened with a rout of vnrulie and mischeuous youthfull persons, toke possession of all the said Isles, causing himselfe to be proclaimed king of the same.

Soluathius.

*Soluathius
admitted king
of Scotland.*

*Soluathius
an impotent
man.*

*A rebellion.
Spakedonald
proclaimed
king of the
Isles.*

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ships together, wherein transporting himselfe with a great armie ouer into Lozne and Cantire, made great waiste and spoile of those countries, till Duthguball gouernoz of Athole, and Culane of Argyle, being sent with a chosen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to encounter with him, and putting him with his people into flight, chased them to such a streit, as there there was no way to get forth, save onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Lozne, with a streit passage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large and broad, inutrone about with craggie mountains, chained together with a continuall ridge, a deepe river compassing them in beneath in the bottom, with such steepe & steelelong banks, that there is no way to passe forth of the same, but by that through which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his folks being entred at vntwares into such a streit, and perceiving there was no way to issue forth, but by the same where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the passage closed from him by his enemies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what shift to make to escape. Finallie, falling to counsell with the chieffest of his armie vpon the danger present, and so continuing for the space of two daies without anie conclusion auailable, on the third day diuine of necessitie through hunger, they requested of their enemies to be received as yelded men vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onelie hauing their liues assured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they rushed forth vpon their enemies, to trie if by force they might haue passed through them. But such was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duthguball & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebels might take example by such their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

*He invaded
Lozne and
Cantire.
A power from
the king is
sent against
him.*

The kings capteins after this passing ouer into the Isles, brought all things there into the former state of quietnesse. Yet after the appealing of this tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway: for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered together a great number of vnglattering scape-thriffs, & did much hurt and mischief in the countrie. But shortly after, being banquished by the same capteins that had suppressed the other rebels of the Isles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death for their offences. In this meane while, the Englishmen

*The kings
power passeth
ouer into the
Isles.*

*Gillequhalme
the sonne of
Donald.*

Solunathus
departeth
this life.
788.

Achatus.
Achatus crea-
ted king of
Scotland.

He maketh
the nobilitie
to agree.

The Irish-
men will
revenge.

Irishmen
take a preie
in Fla.

Irishmen doe
take peace.

men & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leisure to attempt any enterprise against strangers. Neither were the Scots free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by any foreign enemies. And so Solunathus having continued his reign the space of 20 years, about the end of that year departed this life, in the year of our salvation 788.

Then after Solunathus was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, Achatus the son of king Ethine (a man highly renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and upright dealing) was advanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectly understood what grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the common wealth stood in, if the same were not by some good means qualified: and therupon calling them together, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexterity, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being utterly extirped and auoided, they were made friends on each side, and promised in his presence to continue. Thus having laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reign, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achatus hearing thereof, sent over an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken by before any further force were used: alledging how there was no cause therefore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene giuen but by a sort of rousers on either side, without commandement or warrant obtained from any of their superiours. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chanced) moued altogether with indignation for the slaughter of their countymen, made a direct answer, that they would surely be reuenged of the reproch which they had received, before they would common of any peace. And therefore whilst the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craters passed over into Fla, where getting together a great preie, and franghting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were smitten by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seeke for peace shortly after vnto Achatus. Those also that were sent over to treat of the same, found him at Enuerlochthee; where having declared their message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almighty God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserved it: Achatus answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborn, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were thoroughly scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Wherefore he, setting apart all injuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (having inioied peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and understanding how the Englishmen did not onlie by daily routing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his peeres, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Irish, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprise or invasion into France, the Scots and Irish should be ready freightwaies to invade them here at home; and when they should make any warres against the Scots or Irish, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to invade the west parts of England.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achatus certaine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriving in Scotland, and comming to the kings presence, declared effectually the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should be no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and inturious enterprises, as they daily toke in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the advancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louingly of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the there and honorable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtful, the king thought it necessary to haue the aduise of his counsell: and thereupon calling them together, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilst he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Spar (a man of great authority amongst the Scottishmen for his approved wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who thereupon standing forth, began as followeth.

No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achatus, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are perswaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant

Carolus
Magnus in
league with
the Scots.

Ambassadors
sent into
Scotland.

The ambassa-
dors are hono-
rable inter-
tained.

Due conside-
rations.

An entrie at
hand.
Friends
farre off.

God counsell
of Colman.

Due conside-
rations.In enemie at
hand.
Friends
farre off.Gods counsell
of Colman.is
us in
with
ota.adoys
o
nd.balla-
hona-
tera

pleasant to almighty God; than to ioine in league
and friendship with a nation of greatest power and
wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds
of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottish
name be highlie renowned and spoken of through
the whole world. But trulie these considerations con-
taining so well at the first, are not so much to be re-
garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-
upon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of
this determination shall euidentlie teach vs (though
to late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of
reason in establishing this league, if we once con-
sent to conclude the same. Is it anie other thing (I
beseech you) to make a league, and to ioine in socie-
tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the
Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expe-
dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a
nere and in maner a domesticall enemie at hand,
whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from
vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and
large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make wars
against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-
guards, putting our bodies in hazard of death and
wounding for their cause, which diuelli nothing nere
vs; yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome,
goods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruc-
tion: I would thinke it good therefore to take better
adulment and deliberation herein, least whilst we
seek for baine glorie and counterfeited honor, we do
not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next
neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much
trauell by our elders, for the which they so often
fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-
lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more
pernicious vnto a free nation, and people bozne in li-
bertie, than to measure labors of peace, chances of
warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-
sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)
into bondage: for the auoiding whereof, not onelie
men, but also all other lining things are ready to
fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in
the chiefest heat and most earnest hzunt of the warre
(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according
to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake
vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league
with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-
ger; shall we haue anie iudge afoze whome we maie
bring them to answer for their default, and by whose
authoritie they may be constrained to see vs satisfied
for such losse and injuries as we shall haply susteine
at the Englishmens hands: Are we of that force
and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after
we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter
confusion by those warres which we shall enter into
for their cause: If euer we be brought vnto that
point (as God forbid we should) that through want
of substance, and decaye of force, the Frenchmen
shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall
not bee able to resist the English puissance: afoze
whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-
king of this league: We shall daillie haue to do
with our enemies after the conclusion of the league
(if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with
our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be
still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we
haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to
our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there-
vnto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,
France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but
onelie such as the Englishmen do permit. Againe,
when our merchants shall passe into France, what
hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of
dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such
as be sailing: Either must they perill and be cast a

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the
hands of our enemies together, with all their goods
and freight. What discommodities hereof shall rise,
your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-
cumspet counsellors, do well inough perceiue. I
therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should
continue in the former peace concluded with the
Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cus-
tome of our late predecessors, who saw well inough
that was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-
tish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an
vnknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing
as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue
in suspicion, with they seek for amitie so farre off) ex-
cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to
imploie and leopord both life and libertie for the safe-
gard of the French, without regard of our owne.
¶ Spanie in that assemblie shewed themselves sore
offended with Colmans words, supposing the
league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable
and necessarie.

When one Alban, a man of great nobilitie (whome
the king had latelie befoze instituted his lieutenant
in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-
ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-
sent amongst those foure people, which at this daie
haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,
or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand
and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we
would not denie but that those considerations and
aduaices which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be
followed; bicause that then there should be no occasi-
on at all, why we should conclude anie league with a
nie foreign nation. But forsomuch as there was ne-
uer man that found more vntruth and breach of pro-
mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these
Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are
now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and
Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-
pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we
must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against
the Englishmen, ready to assaile vs both with open
force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with
such allies and confederats, as by their support we
maie be the better able to withstand the malice of
such vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I
prate you: The Saxons in times past being reque-
sted of the Britains to aid them against their eni-
mies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie re-
warded for their seruice: but they contrariwise in re-
compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in
stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destruc-
ters: turning their weapons points against the Bri-
tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their
aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-
ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spoil-
ed them of their kingdome & libertie. What league
or trace haue they at anie time kept (you your selues
are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either
they saw occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to
gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they
that haue neuer bene ashamed so to do, where hope
to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie
hand bene offered. Into what sunbrie and most mi-
serable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons
brought the illie Britains: How oftentimes haue
they broken the peace established with vs, and also
with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon
anie such thing: Yea and that more is, amongst them
selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-
gainst another, more with craftie traines than with
open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so
manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene
traitorously murdered and made auaie, that scarce

Colmans
counsell is
mislike.Alban his ex-
plication.The English
Saxons brea-
kers of pro-
mise.

A. J. map

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casual hap, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

" may there be anie found that will take vpon him the
supreme gouernement of that countrey. It is not
manie yerres ago, since Edwin king of that coun-
trie was ridd out of the waite through treason of Os-
wite that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was
after deppriued both of life and kingdome by Osrike,
whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found
meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert
was slaine by Osollo, and Osollo by Alfred, which Al-
fred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethel-
bert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in
the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne sub-
iects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murthe-
red. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises
do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all
places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The
reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other goodlie
men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth
of Gods word hath bene committed, wearie of and
abhorring this woad madnesse, rage and wicked mis-
demeanor of that nation, haue left their bishopps, ke-
lles, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue
remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the
Englishmen do absteine at this present from ma-
king vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reue-
rence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of
the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vn-
to such ciuill sedition and discord, as now doth reigne
amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to
doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will
immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, not
withstanding all leagues or covenants of peace con-
firmed to the contrarie. To repress therefore and a-
bate their subtill practises, I can find no readier
meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a
league with that people, which being ioined with vs,
may chastise such outrageous furie of this wicked
nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. For-
tune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and oc-
casion hereunto. For here be at this present the
French kings ambassadoys, offering that vnto vs,
which being so great a benefit we might scarce wish
for. What is, they require to haue vs to ioine in
league against the Englishmen, with their king,
whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Ger-
manie do acknowledge for their souereigne. Dought
this to be despised of men that haue their perfect sen-
sles? Dought the societie of the French nation to be
refused of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermost parts
of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them,
vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God
and man, the large empire of the world is granted?
So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most no-
table benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the
friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Ger-
mans, and all those nations which acknowledge king
Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Herevpon
also free passage for merchants shall be open, to
passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchan-
dize and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that eu-
rie one of you (so that he wele the thing with him-
selfe thoughtlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship
and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both
by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and
stedfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed,
and is more beneficiall to the Scottishe common-
wealth, than the vnstedfast promises and great disol-
altie of the Sarons. To which of you is it unknowne
that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs
vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welsh
men, if their force might answer dreath to their
wills? Therefore if we desire to avoid the violent
power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to a-
void their craftie practises, if we regard the christi-
an

The French-
men in those
daies posside
not onelie that
part of Gallia,
which we
now call
France, but
also the most
part of the
countreies now
inhabited by
the Dutch-
men or Ger-
mans, ne-
me-
lie on this side
the riuier
Rhene.

religion, for the which the Frenchmen are contin-
allie in armor, if we set more by vertue and constan-
cie than by vnfaithfulness and breach of covenants
and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of
our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrey, our
owne rest, and quietnesse; and to be brieue, if we passe
vpon life and libertie, the most deere things that
may happen to man, let vs with iofull harts esta-
blish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie
continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confi-
dence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and
renoume to vs, both for the safegard of our realme,
and restraint of the Englishmens vnlawfull attempts
and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either
shall or may at any time enterprise against vs. By
this oration Albion drew the multitude easilie vnto
his purpose.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of
all his subiects were in manner wholie inclined to
the league, commanded all the companie to be there
in the same place againe the next day. And so be-
king vnto their assemble for that time, the king made
the French ambassadoys that night a coslie supper
with a banket, and after hauing conference with his
nobles and lords of the counsell, it was agreed by ge-
nerall consent amongst them, that for the solemne
ratifieng of this league with king Charles, accom-
pning as he had required, there should go with his am-
bassadoys at their returne the lord William the
brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable
and learned personages, being men of perfect know-
ledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet
for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure
thousand men ouer with them to serue against the
infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where
and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Herevpon the next day going first to church, and
there making their common supplications vnto al-
mighty God, according to the rites and ancient cu-
stomes, they after resorted vnto the counsell cham-
ber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the
French ambassadoys all that was concluded by him,
and other the estates of his realme, touching the mes-
sage which they had brought from king Charles. Who
reioicing (as should appere) greatlie hereat, gaue
most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue
for their beneuolent wills herein shewed towards
king Charles their maister, and all the French na-
tion. After this, remaining certeine daies with Achai-
us, who made them all the chere that might be ima-
gined, they departed towards Hungus king of the
Danes, vnto whom at their comming to his presence
they made the like request on their maisters behalfe,
which they had made before vnto Achaius.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most
hartie thanks for their good wills, but yet he would
not grant to conclude anie league with them at that
time, for that (as he alledged) the matter bring
weightie and of great importance, required no small
time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution
therein. The ambassadoys herevpon returned vnto
Achaius without speed of their purpose with Hun-
gus, and the second moneth after, all things being
readie for their returne, and the passage of those that
should go with them, the lord William the kings
brother, together with the same ambassadoys, & such
foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst
all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names
were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and also
hauing with him those foure thousand men of war,
which were at the first appointed to go with him, pas-
sed forth towards France, where he with all the
whole companie landed within few daies after in
safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At
their

The league
with the
Frenchmen
agreed vpon.

The league is
concluded.

Hungus king
of the Danes.

Hungus re-
sisteth to con-
clude anie
league with
the French-
men.

The French
ambassadoys
returne home.

Claudius,
Clement,
John, Raban,
bell, Raban,
Vicarius.

The Scottis
men are hono-
rable receiue
of Charles
the French
king.

The league
is published
by heralds.

The articles
of the league.

The armes of
Scotland.

The valiant-
nes of wil-
liam.

Florence is
recedified.

William lieut-
enant of
Culcane.

The Scottish men are honorable received of Carolus the French king.

their comming into France Charles the emperor receiued them in most glad some wise, doing them all the honoz that might be deuised, and the soldiers which were come to serue him vnder the leading of the foresaid William, he reteined in wages, vsing them after the same sort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

The league is published by heralds.

Shortlie after also at the request of the Scottish orators, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie published by heralds at armes, according to the manner in those daies vsed, the same to indure betwixt those two nations and their posterities for euer. The chiefe articles compiled in this league were as followeth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme, to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which the Englishmen should attempt against either nation, should be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of soldiers, hauing their charges bozne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise aid the Scots in time of wars against the Englishmen at their owne proper costs and charges. What soeuer he were, priuat person or publike of these two confederat nations, that against either of them should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell, vittels, or in anie other manner of wise, the same should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the consent of the other. These were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingrossed in parchment, and referued as a monument in both realmes, for a witnesse vnto such as should come after of this friendship thus begun, as the Scottish chronicles affirme.]

The articles at the league.

And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace fawned with floure delices, signifieng thereby, that the lion from thence forth should be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie, libertie, religion, and innocencie, which are represented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds do interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement, and John, remained still with king Charles, but Roberd and Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards made against anie of his enemies, the said lord William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his fame and authoritie dalle grew in all places where he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable stead in his expeditiōs against the Saxons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his estimation in Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Luscane, and to haue the chiefe charge for the reedifying of the said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that within short time the same was not onelie fortified with new walls, repaired and replenished with great numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie citie and towne thereabouts for that purpose.

The armes of Scotland.

The valiantnes of William.

Florence is reedified.

William lieutenant of Luscane.

The citie being thus reedified to his former estate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieutenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew themselves thankfull, deuised for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling one of those which the kings of France giue, saue that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that their citie (after the destruction therof by the Goths) was reedified and reedified to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did institute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerie yere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there should be kept vpon the charges of the treasure within the citie certaine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue a lion for his cognifance) and thereupon as the Scottish chronicles affirme, those beaſts grew to be had in such honoz amongst the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of chualtrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of those twelve martiall warriors, which are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotelgillmoze.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer married, whetupon growing in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he builded diuers abbies and monasteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he were a Scottishman bozne. In witnesse of which ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the first order or institution. Before the accomplishment of these things, by the foresaid lord William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and Pavia were instituted by king Charles, chiefele by the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered Scottishmen, John and Clement, inſomuch that Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the students at Paris, and John of the other at Pavia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye shall vnderſtand, that about the same time, or not much differing from the same, Adelfane the sonne of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastſaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) desirous now to enlarge his kingdom, entred into that part of the Britiſh dominion, which ancientlie bight Deira, and contained the marches about Berwicke, alledging how the same appertained to his kingdom of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulentlie taken from his ancessors by the Brits: but forſomuch as there was a commotion raised the same time in Mercia, he was called backe to appeale it, and hereupon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, ſlaueing such prisoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Britiſh king ſore ſtomaching this inſolent enterpriſe of the Englishmen, determined to reuenge the same in all poſſible haſt, and therefore made inſtant ſute vnto Achaius (who had married his ſiſter) to haue his aid against them.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to do the Englishmen a diſpleaſure, ſent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With which, and with his owne power, king Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, ſetching from thence a great bootie of goods and prisoners; but yet he forbore ſlaughtering of men, and burning of houses,

The armes of Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

Scotelgillmoze.

William unmarried; he left Christ his heire. Monasteries of Scottishmen in Germanie.

The vniuersities of Paris and Pavia.

Adelfane entred into Deira.

Deira wasted by fire and sword.

Hungus aided with Scottishmen; inuaded Northumberland.

He warred without slaughter and burning.

Athelstane
purfueth
Hungus.

houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was upon their backs where they lodged by a broke side, not passing two miles from Whaddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approach. Athelstane upon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wished desire, and herewith comming upon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane his
cruell procla-
mation.

The Picts
are amazed.

The Picts
enter the
campe.

Athelstane
doth challenge
his enemies.

The Picts
prepare them-
selues vnto
battell.

The English-
men are put to
fight.

Athelstane is
slaine.

Wilsone sword.

A Dzeame.

The crosse of
saint Andrew.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wondrously amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Whereupon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done; the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so hereupon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen upon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, spectallie incouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their foie impression; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there bineth escaped fure hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this date, being called Athelstans fozd. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: whereupon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them that vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, with there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie scene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patron and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of ioining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliques of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout prayer after the accustomed manner. They bowed there also at the verie same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well

they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruic, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his inturious enterprize.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings & needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreover, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and silver, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the reliques of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spirituallie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme; and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answer before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answer for secular crimes afore secular magistrates; and that living vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus, had so frelie bestowed vpon them.

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortly after followed. Where be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether about

Saint An-
drew the
Scottish
patrone.

Saint Reule.

why Scottis
men vse saint
Andrews
crosse in war-
fare.

Athelstan his
buriall.

Hungus repara-
reth saint An-
drewes church.

Images of
gold and sil-
uer.

Tenths to be
giuen to the
clergie.

Feredeth tak-
eth from the
clergie their
priuiledges.
And why not.

Priests to be
tried afore se-
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about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in most of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the account of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And for that we meane not to presume wholie to derogate the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dissented from him, but rather followed him in most places, leaving such doubts as may be worthlie put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the consideration of the diligent reader, sith it is not our purpose to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admonish the reader of some vnlikelihoods (as the same doth seeme to vs and others) and happilie not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achatus king of Scots, after the overthrow and death of Athellane, liued with their people in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen attempted nothing against the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achatus, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongst his predecessors. In the daies of this Achatus (beside Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued bishop Geruadius a notable preacher in Spurrey land, also bishop Glacian with Spidan and Spedan two brethren, all doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect whereof they were had in great credit and estimation with the people.

Achatus departed out of this life.
819.

Conuall.
Conuall succeeded Achatus.
Loue and amitie.

Hungus fell in a consumption.
Conuall drank also.
802. 10. Ma.

Dongall.
Dongall succeeded after Conuall.

A severe punisher of malefactors.

Alpine constrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king.

Alpine binuiling to receiue the crowne fled.

Alpine was forcible receiued of Dongall.

house of Achatus. Such (saith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preservation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, praising God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within thre yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselves also, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such speed towards the place where he understood the said rebels were assembled together, that he was vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his setting forwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Dongall maketh an armie against the rebels.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorsologus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and though support of some of the nobilitie he attained to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmitie in the estate, he franklie bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his lords and chieftest peers of his realme, and toke to wife Bzenia the king of Spercia his daughter, whom his brother the foreramed Dorsologus had married, that thereby he might assuage the said king of Spercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should happilie haue conceived for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorsologus. His feare was great on each side, and therefore had small assistance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a gard of men of warre about him, whome he had woone & made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge his former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asleepe, hauing dronke a little too much in the euening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Eganus lieth in feare.

Eganus is strangled of his queene.

Thus both Eganus & Dorsologus being made away, without leauing anie issue behind them, for so much as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succeed in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephue to the said Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime therevnto, and ther vpon sent his messengers vnto the lords and peers of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well understood: and that if they throughlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the prouision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succeed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall

An ambassador sent vnto the Picts.

L. ij. warres,

warres, as by discorde and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their better ruines.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadoys come into the court.

King Feredeth has answer vnto the Scottish ambassadoys.

Dongall his displeasure with the Picts answered. Ambassadoys sent againe.

Ambassadoys are not received.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The Scots willingly giue themselves vnto the war.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortly come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelton the Scottish ambassadoys, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therfore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed any further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe took vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadoys: and therbyon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpore the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordnance decreed, that if any man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therfore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclaimed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make any further claime or demand vnto the kingdom.

Vpon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therbyon the second time he sent his ambassadoys vnto them, requiring them either to doe him reason without any further furnished cauations; either else within three moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadoys passing forth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Camelton, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

The ambassadoys being terrefied with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. When did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time late in Carrike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilest Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be brotton in the riuer of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmeckill, with all funeral obsequies.

930.

Feredeth buried.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefest studie was vpon his first entring into the estate, to follow his sute touching his title to the Pictish kingdom: and herebyon with all diligence preparing a mighty host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed forth towards Angus, not straieng till he came to the castell of Forfair, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subiects arranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, wherbyon immediatlie nere vnto the towne of Keskennoth they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand ouerthrowne; but Feredeth lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succors with 400 of his countiemen, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: wherby ensued a right fore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by means wherof it seemed doubtfull for a long space vnto whether side the victorie would incline.

Alpine. Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

Alpine with an armie inuaded Pictland.

Feredeth the thane of Athole.

The Scots determine warre with in lions.

Brutus cadeth ther f.

The Picts sue their full king Kenneth I of the Picts. The king off armie: si he was by a plot

At length Feredeth perceiving the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrink, speedilie pressed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entring thus with great violence amongst the thickest prease of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by any other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiving their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, wherbyon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herebyon did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, so long as any daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small joy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

Feredeth is slaine.

The night parted the armies.

Brutus of the Picts

Brutus vnto the Scots for reuenge their leag

Alpine reith anie tie of pen

The captiues of the Picts weeing with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherfore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Wherebyon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment any deceit by their departure, as by laying of some ambushments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knowne how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

The Picts fled by night.

The Scots vnto the spoile.

Brutus with an ambassadoys. Dowine of Engla for aid, si thame o me.

The mon received: and prouisi

The Picts doe not take, and l withratt

Alpine

Englishmens
assistance.
The Scots
take Angus.

Wardus sen-
deth vnto Ed-
wine for aid.

Edwine defer-
reth his aid.

Wardus be-
ing deceived
of the English
men, called his
owne subiects
to the warre,
assembling
them at the foot
of Calidon
wood.

Wardus en-
treth into An-
gus with an
armie.

A wonderful
politic used by
Wardus.

The incam-
ping of Alpine
his armie.

Rashlie the
Picts begin
the battell.

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this meane season the Scots take and seise vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mounteine of Crangebene vnto the riuer of Taie, wherof Wardus being certified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to send to his aid a powere of Englishmen, to helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present invaded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with ciuill war made against him by other Englishmen, but also had bene requested by Alewes surnamed Pius, as then French king, in no wise to indamage the Scots his confederats, so that for that yere present he might not conuenientlie send to him anie succours, but if he would defer the warres till the next yere, he should haue the best helpe that he were able to shew him.

Wardus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and de-
luded by the Englishmen, commanded by solenne
summons, that all such of his subiects, as were a-
ble to beare armoz, should assemble in nether Cal-
don within eight daies after, with conuenable pro-
uision of vittells, there to know his pleasure. His
commandement was obeyed: so that a mightie ar-
mie of men at the day and place appointed came to-
gether, which being mustered, they freitwaies re-
maue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunkeld,
where they passe the riuer of Taie, and so enter into
Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once
gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place
where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Wardus
the night before the day in the which he thought they
should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert
warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the
hofes that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to
be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and coi-
strels, part of them being clad in armoz, and part in
white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to
speares and ianelins. Amongst them also he ordeined
an hundred hoftemen to be placed, whome he made
prize as then to his intention, by whose leading that
feat which should be wrought in this behalf, was to
be achieved. These he caused to lie couertlie within a
wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be
fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew
themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell
which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being
now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be
sene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, there
lieth a great large plaine, compassed on eche side with
mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now
for the most part bare and without anie trees or bu-
shes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Al-
pine beholding forth of the castell, how the Picts ap-
proched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & ex-
horting his people to shew themselves valiant, pla-
ced them in arrie. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight
than their gouernors would haue wished them, be-
gan the battell before they had commandement, with
such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was
sore disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came
speedilie to their succours, greatlie repprouing them
for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so
much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight
was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that
those which before were put backe, began to winne
ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies
verie sterrelie.

But herewith did the counterfet troope of hoftes-
men, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth,
and shewed themselves vpon the backe halfe of the
Scottish

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his eni-
mie Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre
from Fozfair. After this causing the musters of his
people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third
part of his armie in that mostfall and cruell battell,
and therevpon brake vp his campe for that time, li-
cencing those that were left aloue to returne vnto
their homes. This battell being fought in the first
yere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weak-
ned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the
Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of
vtter ruine (if they should commit their whole puis-
sance effones to the hazard of another foughten
field) determined to pursue the warre by making of
incursions and inrodes onelie vpon their enemies,
so to ver the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if
it were possible. And so much verely the Scottishmen
did by such their continuall rodes & incursions which
they made into Angus, that the countrie was left
void and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Wardus the sonne of Feredeth,
(whome the Picts had chosen to succeed after his fa-
ther in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to
withstand those daillie inuasions thus made by the
Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was
but a slothfull person, and verie negligent in his of-
fice, wherevpon he was had in derision of his owne
people, who in the end due him amongst themselves
before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole
yere. Then succeeded Keneth, the second sonne of
Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother.
For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and
comming with them into Angus, he came no soner
within sight of his enemies, but that casting off his
armoz, he fled incontinentlie, leaving his people in
the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plow-
man that met him by chance, and knew him not, but
yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie,
and therefore deserued not to haue anie other fauour.
His people seeing themselves destitute of their head
capitaine and gouernor, retired from their enemies,
keeping themselves in order of battell without anie
further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts
chose to their king one Wardus, a man of a stout and
manlike stomack, who immediatlie vpon his entring
into the estate, comming into Angus (which region
the Scots had made waste) caught there certeine
Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp vpon
gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadozs
vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and
wrongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the ar-
centine league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the
Scottish lords, hauing quicklie aduised what to an-
swer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadozs plaine-
lie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace,
till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the
right heire. Wardus vnderstanding by this answer,
that the Scots would still follow the warres against
the Picts, to be the better able to withstand their ma-
lice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the
Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots.
He sent therefore his ambassadozs with a great
summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northum-
berland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue
some number of his people for his wages to serue
him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come
himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place
Wardus should appoint, to go against the Scots in
defense of him and his subiects the Picts. Spantie of
the Picts reioiced greatlie, that they should haue
aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue
assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrust

Feredeth is
buried.

The Scots
determine to
sware onlie
with incur-
sions.

30.

Dime,
ne crow-
ning of
tland,

ne with
mie in-
the Pict.

edocht
hane of
is.

Wardus suc-
cedeth his fa-
ther Feredeth

The Picts
due their sloth
full king.
Keneth king
of the Picts.
The king ca-
sting off his
armoz, he
was slaine
by a plowman.

deft is

right
to the
is.

Picts
p night.

Wardus king
of the Picts.

Wardus sent
vnto Alpine
for renewing
their league.

Alpine re-
fusa-
th anie trea-
tie of peace.

Wardus sen-
deth an am-
bassadoz vnto
Edwine king
of England
for aid, with a
summe of mo-
nie.

The monie is
receiued and
aid promised.

The Picts
some do re-
ioice, and some
mistrust the

Scots
the

The Scots
being deceived
with a coun-
terfeit troupe
of horsemen
died.

King Alpine
taken by his
enimies and
after beheaded

Kenneth the
sonne of Al-
pine inuested
king of Scot-
land.

834.

The Picts
giue thanks
vnto God for
their victorie.
They make a
bow to conti-
nue the warre.

The good
counsell of
graue men is
despised.

The Scots
are animated.

The Picts
fall at vari-
ance with in
themselves.

Wydus died.

Dzulkan K.
ouer the Picts

The head of
king Alpine
as stolne, and
solemnlie bur-
ied with the
bodie.

Scotishmen, appearing in sight to be an huge num-
ber, & farre more than they were in deed: with which
sight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare,
least they should be compassed about with multitude
of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their ar-
mor, and took them to their feet, so to escape and saue
themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the
battell, but a great number died in the chafe, & were
beaten downe on ech side as they were ouertaken by
the Picts. Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing
his hands bound behind him, was led to the next
towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the
name of him vnto this day, being called Palsapine.
His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto
Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest
turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from
this sorrowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed in-
to Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of
Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere
of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine
entred first into the estate.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and iustfull
victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement
of their king, where causing a solempne procession
to be made, in rendering thanks to almighty God for
their good successe in their passed iournie: they take
a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from
thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots
war, till they had utterly destroyed the race of them:
and herewith ordeined a law, that if anie man made
mention of anie peace or league to be had with the
Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were in-
deed some ancient personages amongst them, that
spake against this insolent outrage of the people, al-
legging that in time of prosperous successe men
ought to vse a modestie: but certeine youthfull per-
sons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the au-
thors thereof out of the church, within the which they
were as then assembled. The Scots being certified
hereof, were nothing herewith discouraged, but ra-
ther put in good hope of better successe, sith the eni-
mies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their
powler together, and setting forward towards the
Scots, though a light occasion they fell at vari-
ance amongst themselves, and fought with such ha-
 tred together, that the king was not able to appease
the fraie, till night parted them in sunder. Then cal-
ling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue
agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be,
in the morning he gaue them licence to depart eu-
rie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie
for that time. Wydus liued not past thre moneths af-
ter, for though griefe that things went not forward
as he wished, he fell into a greivous disease, and fi-
nallie thereof died. After whose deceasse, the Picts
chose his brother named Dzulkan, to succeed in go-
uernment of the kingdome, who applied his whole in-
dewour vpon his first entring into the estate, to ap-
pease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whilst he was thus buslie occupied about
the same, there were certeine Scots, which soe dis-
dained to vnderstand that the head of their late king
should remaine vnburiel, in such reprochfull sort a-
mongst their enimies. Whereupon hauing perfect
knowledge of the Pictish tong, they feined them-
selves to be merchantmen of that countrie, & com-
ming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they
found means in the night season to scale to the
wals, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped
with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended:
and so now the head of king Alpine being recou-
red, was closed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his
nobles, went with it ouer into Colmickill, where he
buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchures of his
elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie
solempne wise, as appertained. And further, those per-
sons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch
the same head from the wals of Camelon, were by
Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in per-
petuitie, to remaine to them and to their heires for e-
uer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his
subiects, furnished all the holds and castles on the
frontiers of his enimies with men and munition,
according as he thought expedient: and moreover
tooke order, that all the youth of the realme should be
in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go forth
against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inua-
sions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take a-
nie enterprisse in hand against the Picts, re-
membryng how infortunatlie they had sped the last
time: so that for the space of thre yeres there was
no great exploit atchiued, saue certeine roads and
incursions, which both the nations continuallie vsed
to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion ser-
ued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous
to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father
king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and
attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth
yere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chie-
fest nobles of his realme, trusting to perswade them
to aid him in all such enterprises as he ment to take
in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to
pursue with open warres, till he had them at his
pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus as-
sembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie a-
bout to moue them to the warres, he could stir them
no more to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand
to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise
had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke
of stomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuise
a pretie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblee for the
same day, he commanded that they should come to-
gether againe on the next morow, to consult further
for the state of the realme, as they should see cause.
The same euening also he had them all to supper,
which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was
late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwa-
ched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were
sone brought into a sound sleape. Now had the king
appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man
apparelled in garments prettie deuised and made of
fish skins unskaled, bearing in one of their hands a
staffe of such rotten wood as shineth in the night, and
in their other hand a great ore horne, to the end that
battering their twords through the same, the sound of
their voices should seme farre differing from the
small speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they en-
tered the chambers to ech of them assigned, where (as
is said) the lords laie fast asleepe, who being at the
first as if were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie
amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting
whether it were but a dreame, or some true and unfe-
igned vision.) Herewith also were heard certeine se-
uerall voices, far greater than those of men, decla-
ring that they were messengers sent from almighty
God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them
to obeye their king, for his request was iust: the Pic-
tish kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage,
& ought to be recovered from that people, which for
their great offenses and sins towards almighty
God, should shortly come to utter destruction: such
was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maie-
ste, in deed.

Kenneth for-
tified the
realme.

Kenneth cal-
led his nobles
to reuenge his
fathers death.

A pretie shift
devised by the
king to per-
suade the no-
bilitie.

Of such
lights there
were manie in
those daies:
and oftentimes
no doubt estee-
med to be hea-
uenlie visions
etc, in deed.

ieslie, against the which might neither counsell nor puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus made an end of their words, they silie hid their fauces under their innermost garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures made of fish scales (as I haue said) into their bosoms, in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these visions had suddenlie banished a waie. Those lords that had seene these sights, laie still for that night, greatlie musing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they declared to ech other what they had seene and heard in the night passed. And for that all their visions which they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleued verelie it was some celestiaall oracle & message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had bene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars with all their forces against the Picts.

The lords declare their vision vnto the king.

The answer of king Kenneth.

The king told them he had seene the like vision, but they ought to keepe it close, least by glozing too much in the fauour thewed by almighty God toward them, they might happlie displease his diuine maiestie, which other wise they might perceiue was readie in their aid. When finally might the vision be published, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all manner of provision should be prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to provide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered their men in all parts, so that there was leued a greater host than had bene seene in those parties of long time before. When the whole power was come together, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entring by great violence into the Pictish borders about Sterling.

Kenneth entered into Sterling-shire, Drusken haue thus invaded his enemies.

Drusken the king of Picts aduertised hereof, and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts and such Englishmen as he had retained, to serue him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and passing by the Scotish armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, in such sort that the day did no sooner appeere, but the one part desirous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of capitaine, they rushed together most fiercelie. The hastie speed of the Picts to ioin, put them to no small disauantage; but the departure of the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them: for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, declared themselves to be highlie recomforted with that sight. Drusken in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a messenger, willing them with large promises of reward to returne to his aid; but the Englishmen answered, that their vse was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like vnskilfull men had cast a waie themselves to be slaine by the enemies hand, where it appertained vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appeared.

The Englishmen fled.

Drusken sent to the Englishmen.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs; whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their ground and defended them, they began to shrink: which the Scots perceiuing, strooke on the more fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to withstand their force, fell to running a waie. They made their course towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being overtaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

The Picts are vanquished.

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Englishmen whilst the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward with all speed; and by reason of the mountaines which they had to passe, that toke a waie the sight of them from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie without anie pursute. Drusken himselfe so soone as he perceiued how the field went against him, got him to his horse, which he had appointed to be readie for him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Englishmen escape.

Drusken escaped by flight.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in the place of the battell all night, keeping strong watch about their campe, for doubt least the Englishmen had bene lodged in some secret place nere by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue seene anie aduantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pictish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the soldiers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in this iourne so manfullie imploied. Within few daies after, the Pictish king Drusken sent his ambassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promised to grant a peace, so they would surrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdom due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that the warre was afresh renewed with more crueltie than before.

The Picts sue for peace.

The yere next insuing this battell, Kenneth got Bernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing all the castles and holds with men, munition, and vittels. But whilst he went about to subdue the countries about Sterling, word was brought him that such as he left thus in garrison in those countries, were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he had in hand with the people of Kentish and Sterlingshire for their submision, and returned in great hast towards Fife, where being arrived, he put all to the fire and sword, not leauing one aliue of the Pictish nation within all those quarters. The like crueltie was thewed through the whole countries of Bernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of allegiance.

Kenneth getteth Bernes, Angus, and Fife.

Fife is put to the fire and sword.

Bernes and Angus is crucilie punished.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots raged in such wise through those countries, Drusken assembling all the power of his countries, came forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning either to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, either else to die with honor in the attempt thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a famous abbey of chanoins of saint Augustines order, and here he found Kenneth with his armie already incamped. The next day, when both parties were ready to haue giuen battell, Drusken wishing rather to aske peace whilst his power was yet in safetie, than after he were once vanquished (if such were his misadventure) to intreat for the same in vaine, sent an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before he ioined, for that he had to say certaine things, which being folloved, might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of both the Scotish and Pictish nations.

Drusken cometh to rescue his people.

Kenneth

The persuas-
ion of peace
by Duskien.

Hernes, An-
gus, and Jife
is required of
the Picts to
release.

Kenneth his
answere.

The order of
the battell.

King Dusk-
ien embolden-
eth his pro-
ple the Picts.

The women
were a cum-
brance to the
Picts.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse a
nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a
communication, and so thereupon both the kings in
presence of both their armies arranged in the field
readie to fight, came together in a place appointed,
either of them being accompanied with a like num-
ber of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accor-
ded. Here Duskien with manie reasons going a-
bout to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the
same was betwixt the two nations: and againe, how
doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted to
much in hir unstedfast fauour: at length he grew to
this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant
a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title
and interest as they had in the countries of Hernes,
Angus, and Jife, vnto him and his successors the
Scottish kings for ever, so that he should make no
further claime vnto anie other of those countries
which the Picts as yet possessed.

Here vnto Kenneth answered, that he well vn-
derstood how unstable fortunes lawes were, but si-
thens the Picts sought in an vniust quarell, as to
defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus,
who latelie reigned amongst them, of the rightfull
inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had
lust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots
hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at-
taine that by warre which by other means they could
not ataine at the hands of the vniust possessors, they
had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if
the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause
a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his
hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was rea-
son they should. And what commoditie might there-
of inssue to both nations, being by such means once
ioined and vniited into one intire kingdome, he doub-
ted not but they understood it sufficientlie inough.
And as for other conditions of peace than this, he
told them plainelie there would be none accepted.
Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie
agreement concluded: and being returned to their
armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint
of sword.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew
themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether
the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the
Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effec-
tuall wordes when he had encouraged his folks to the
battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two
wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he
set first archers and arcuballisters; and next vnto
them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with
such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude
with all kind of weapons, as was thought most
expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea-
ding of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike
knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and
the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The
king himselfe with a troupe of horsemen followed
them to succour in all places where he saw need.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to
the battell, which the Scots began with such a chere-
full shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset
were so amazed, that if Duskien had not with com-
fortable wordes relieved their fainting stomachs, the
most part of them had fled without anie stroke stric-
ken. But being encouraged through the presence of
their king, shewing himselfe with cherefull counte-
nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them
to stand by him at that present, there was fought a
right fore and cruell battell betwixt them. The wo-
men that were amongst the Picts, of whom there
was no small number, speciallie in the right wing,
made such a woofull noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumbzante
to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of
seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortly
beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken-
neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the
backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus
away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring
in amongst them, disordred their arate in such wise,
that by no means they were able to aid themselves,
or come into anie order againe: so that in the end
they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and
take them to their sate, thereby to escape the dan-
ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons
laie here & there streued in the place of the battell,
that the Scots were forced in following the chase
to breake their arate, so to passe the more speedilie: by
means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of
the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, comman-
ded to sound the retreat, and so gathering his peo-
ple about their standards, he appointed certene
companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of
the enemies, whilste he himselfe with the residue a-
bode still in the place (where the field was fought)
all that day and the next night following. The Sco-
tish captiues that were sent to follow the chase,
earnestlie executing their kings commandement,
made great slaughter of Picts in all places where
they might ouertake them. Duskien the Pictish
king himselfe being pursued to the riuer of Tait,
for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine
with the whole residue which he had about him. It
is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the
Picts that day at seven sundrie times, and in seven
sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the
Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed
the chase returned to the campe; where they presen-
ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other
spoile of Duskien the Pictish k. which they brought
with them, besides great abundance of other pil-
lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enemies
that were slaine. Duskens armour and other things
belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to
saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name
within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a
monument of this victorie to such as should come
after.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered
and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was
counsellled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue
departed home; but he purposing now to make an
end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for-
wardnesse, called together the multitude, and in
this wise began to utter vnto them his mind and
purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when
he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres
not ended, if he mind the preservation of himselfe
and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought,
not to cease from pursuing the enemies once van-
quished, till he haue either made them his friends,
or else vtterlie destroyed & rid them out of the way;
for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the eni-
mie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened
and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he
shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro-
cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap-
pilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake
somewhat of this danger now present, the state of
the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is foze infiebled,
their power being diminished by force of warre, is
brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vt-
terlie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation.
Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for
vs by anie meanes to draw them (our honoz saued)
vnto

Kenneth with
the horsemen
disordred the
Picts arate.

The right
wing of the
Picts is put
to

Ken. with cau-
tely the re-
treat to be
founded.

The co-
allowt
kings

I true
commu-
the Sc-
upon it
Picts.

The king of
the Picts
slaine.

Pictan
ted vnto
scots m

New n
are gise
to cuerie
region,
Angus
Hernes

Jife.

An oration of
king Kenneth

Louthi.

I reman-
uen vnt
which i
the fort
of Dun

The fa-
of Dun

into our friendship. But the Picts are of such a
stubborne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that
so long as there remaineth anie one of them alieue,
they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge
all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by
this warre. Wherevpon I doe verelie beleue, that
there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth,
will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the
Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts,
thus latelic scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke
it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) vt-
terlie to destroie the whole nation, by putting to the
sword not onelie both men and women, but also all
their youth and young children: least they being de-
scended of that linage, hereafter in time to come,
arme themselves to the reuenge of their parents
deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter losse
of our countrie and kingdome.

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cru-
ell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to
stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it
most expedient for the suertie of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them
all. Such crueltie herevpon was forthwith thewed
throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was
not one liuing creature of humane shape left alieue,
saueing such as saued themselves within the walles
of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortres-
ses, and also about two thousand of those that fled in-
to England: for all the residue were most unmerci-
fullie murdered and slaine, without respect either
of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth ha-
uing dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie
into his owne hands, making partition of the same
as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles,
according to the merits of euerie of them dulie
loved and considered, he added new names vnto eu-
erie quarter and region (either after the name of
the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or
other notable water or place, according as was the
ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of
the Pictish names might end together with the in-
habitants.

The countrie ancientlie called Horestia, was gi-
uen vnto two brethren, Angulian, and Pernan, by
reason whereof the one part of the same countrie
was called Angus, and the other the Pernes. The
linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this
day. The region which till then was named Ohol-
nia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, af-
ter the name of one Fife Duffe: whose valiancie
was thoughtlie tried in these last warres with the
Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old
ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Leuin
and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth)
was fenced about with seuen rampires, and as ma-
nie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthie
man after his deceasse had their habitation by the
space of manie hundred yeres. Louthian retained
still the former name, so honozable was the remem-
brance of that famous prince king Loth amongst
all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie,
Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine na-
med Bar, whose counsell and forward seruice stood
the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which
the Picts were thus subdued. That fortressie of
thence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar,
that is to say, the castell of Bar.

There descended of him a noble house or familie,
bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great
fame and honoz, euen vnto our time, of the which the
earles of March had their beginning, and continued
long in that dignitie from one to another, with sun-
dry branches of right famous memorie. The names

of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some
kept their old names still. Sydolucia thortlie after
began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer
of Annan that runneth through the same. And so
likewile Tweedale toke name of the water of
Tweed. And Cludedale of the riuer of Clude. In
like manner manie other countries, townes, and ca-
stels had their names changed at the same time, af-
ter they came into the possession of the Scottishmen,
vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their
victorious acts achieved against the Picts. Further-
more, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawne
the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the
Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie
in the same, as well by reason of strength of the
place, as also of the strong garison which was appoin-
ted to defend it.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure a-
broad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie
armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto
them within, to know if they would yield, he was an-
swered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots
could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter
of all such as fell into their hands, as well of women
and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they
were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life.
Wherevpon the siege continued by the space of ma-
nie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got
together a great number of sagots, and other such
bushy and stiffe to fill the ditches withall, which were
verie deepe and broad, at length when they within be-
gan to want vittels, they required a truce for three
daies, in the which meane time they might take ad-
uise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrus-
ting no deceit, granted their request, and therevpon
commanded his people to ceasse from all manner of
annoiance of the enimies, for that terme.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared them-
selues of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon
the Scots. There was also an old gate forlet and
stopped by with earth and stones vpon the one side of
the citie, so that of a long time before there had bene
no way forth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of
the night the Picts ribbing away the earth and ra-
mell wherewith it was closed vp, about the third
watch they passe forth at that gate in god order of
battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the
standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse
than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means
whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the
other that kept the inner watch, in somuch that the
slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent
with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene
in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the
night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts
withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie
they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small
number of them slaine at the entring. The citie al-
so had bene taken at the same time, but that the
Picts out of the turrets and loopes of the walles,
discharged a wonderfull number of quarels, barts,
arrows, stones, and other things vpon the Scots,
as they approached nere to the gate, where their fel-
lowes (that made the issue) halted to enter againe
into the tolowe. There were slaine of the Scots at
this bickering aboue six hundred, wherewith Ken-
neth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the
falschod of the Picts, he vowed by open oth that he
would not depart from the siege, till he had put the
citie and them within to fire and sword, without
sparing of anie, either one or other.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wonne the
citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended
their

The chan-
ging of the
names of the
dales.
Annandale.
Tweedale.
Cludedale.

The gentle-
women are
preserued in
Camelon.

Kenneth sen-
deth vnto Ca-
mclon, coman-
ding them for
to yield.

They of Ca-
mclon require
truce for thre
daies.

The Picts
issue vpon the
Scots with
great fortune.

In extreme
dow made by
king Kenneth

The constan-
cie of the
Picts when
they were be-
sieged.

th Smith
flem
red the
waie.

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spit

th can-
e re-
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men

The commo-
allow the
kings raising.

A cruel act
committed by
the Scots
vpon the
Picts.

Pictland par-
ted vnto di-
uers men.

New names
are giuen vnto
to euerie
region.
Angus,
Pernes.

Fife.

Louthian.

Forward gi-
uen vnto Bar
which was
the fortressie
of Dunbar.

The familie
of Dunbar.

their walles so frontlie, that he could not atchieve his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths together. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittells still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend unto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft
bled by Ken-
neth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, joining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should give the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and having their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them up, and swifflie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten together to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and coming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their uttermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to drive them out of the citie againe.

The Scots
enter the
citie.

The Scots
are miserable
slaine, with-
out regard
of person.

Ladies and
gentlewomen
desire the king
to be pardoned
of their
lives.

All the Pictish
nation
destroyed.
The citie of
Camelon is
throwne
downe.

The castell of
Maidens is
left of the
Picts.

The slaughter therefore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euery passage & corner of the streets, insomuch that the Scottish lords and other captiues in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, though the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slaue all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded upon all estates, as well religious as other, and likewise upon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pittie upon their twofull estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. When were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings as well private as publike, with churches and chappels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pavement and foundation of some part of the walles.

At the same time the castell of Maidens, now called commonlie Edenborough castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell void, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 839, from the first coming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the first coming into this Ile, as well of the Scots as Picts, is somewhat doubtful, and that as well by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable coniectures, we haue in the historie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, unto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking upon vs so frankelie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, through want of such helpees in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were seene the same yere two comets or blasing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in haruest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also seene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running together with burning flames, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at seruice holding his crozier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About none daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with braying of horses, as though two armies should haue bene together in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These vnconth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerlie: some of them affirming the same to betoken top and happie prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and viter calamitie.

Prodigious
tokens seene
in the aire.

The
Iude

839.
1421. H.E.
6038. H.R.

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Law
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cept.

Will
be ha

The interpreta-
tion of these
tokens.

Our
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So
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But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth having thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, together almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligentlie kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scorne upon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were used to sit, when they receiued the inuesture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine verses were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the aforesaid Fergus the first his coming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

The marble
stone is remo-
ued from Bre-
gile into Cour-
rie, in the
place called
Scorne.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer in-

The residue
of the Picts
were disper-
sed.

to Portway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse other of them remained still in England, where they got their living either by some manuell occupation, either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of A. Kenneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the enlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he made the same well nere the middelt of his kingdome. Other things he did also touching the politike gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no lesse worthis of praise than his noble and famous conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers should proceed in the administration of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to rehearse part as yet being vsed, that aswell the auctor, as the time of their first establishment, maie the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this historie.

The Chapters of those lawes which yet remaine to be obserued, are these.

The Scots liue in quiet.

Kenneth maketh lawes & ordinances.

Lawiers necessarie.

The tables of the law to be kept.

Robbers to be hang'd.

Punishment for theft and murder.

A woman condemned to be drowned, or burned quick.

Blasphemers haue their tongues cut out

The punishment for a liar.

A man accused to be condemned by an odquest of men.

Robbers to be put to the sword.

Bagabonds to be whipp'd and burnt in the chaire.

The wife shall not suffer for the husbands offense.

The concubine and hir maie to haue a liars punishment.

He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it, vnlesse she require for safeguard of his life, to haue him to hir husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, the consenting vnto him therein, they shall both suffer death for it. But if she consent not, but be forced against hir will, then he shall die onelie for the same, and she shall be released.

If the child hurt the father either with tong, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall.

A murderrer, a dumbe person, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not inherit his fathers patrimonie.

Juglers, wizzards, necromancers, and such as call by spirits, and vse to seeke vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent slouth, suffereth his arable ground to be choked by and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first fault let him forsaite an ore, for the second ten oren, and for the third let him forgo the same ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being slaine, see him buried, but let the enimie lie vburied.

Anie straie cattell that commeth into thy grounds, either restore them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the searcher out of thæues, commonlie called *Tonoderrach*, or to the parson or vicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the space of thre daies, thou shalt be accounted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him cause it to be cried in the market, or els he shall be iudged for a felon.

He that striketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuersie, shall be iudged guiltie of the action, and the other set free.

If oren or kine chance by running together to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hornes shall be iudged the occasion of the death; and he that is owner of the same, shall haue the dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to whome it belonged.

If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned to death, and buried, so that no man eate of hir flesh.

A swine that is found eating of cozne that groweth in the field, or wroting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the same without danger.

Other kinds of beasts, wherein other men haue anie proprietie, if they breake into thy pastures, or eate by thy cozne, impound them, till time the owner haue satisfied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

These were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, or ther there were, which apperteine to religion:

Rauish'rs of maids shall die.

Adulterers shall die.

A child hurting his father shall die.

Who are not to inherit.

Juglers and wizzards, &c.

Sowing of graine.

Small husbandrie.

Buriall of friends.

Wailes and straics.

Things found.

Doneraries in suite of lawe.

Oren or kine hurting each other.

A sow.

Swine.

Beasts damage faultant.

Articles touching religion.

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratozies, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of holie daies.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, bigis, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinaunce of man, in the honoz of our S. Chyist & his saints.

Priests.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthe of death.

Ground to be left vntilled.

That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for seuen yeres space.

Graues.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Buriall of noble men.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning lost & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face covered shall ride vpon a blacke horse; who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and there with the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place fro whence he came: the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer vp vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister dooth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in stead of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Keme his church, now called S. Andrew.

The bishops se, which befoze had bene at Abirne, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Keule.ouer since which time the towne hath bene called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the se of Myrthlake, now called Abirden: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge met for the office, vsed the authoritie & rowme of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Yet such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue bene about the number of fortie bishops resident there, since the first institution of that se: manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbed according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Isles of Orkney on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yeres in great renoume and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Forthuiot, in the yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmeckill, and there honozable buried amongst his ancestozs.

The bounds of the Scottish kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life, 855. H. B.

After his deceasse succeeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuerthelesse he had continued scarce two yeres in the estate, but that he had subverted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banqueting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, thereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue bene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe the frontiers of his realme, were imployed on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntsmen, falconers, cokes, batwodes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

Donald. Donald the fourth of this name succeeded his brother Kenneth; The king is of dissolute behauiour.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembryng what appertained to their duties, spared not but freely admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauiour, if he reformed not his manners, nor restrained the licentious doings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceived that their wordes were not regarded, but for the same they themselves ran into displeasure; they sorowed not a little, to see so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without anie feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that thoztie, through want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in stead of right, and contempt of Gods honoz embraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

The king is admonished of his nobles.

In this meane while, the residue of the Picts remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the recouerie of their dominion out of the Scottismens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seates. At length Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded through instant sute to take that enterprise in hand, the rather vpon trust of god successe, for that they vnderstood that lacke of politike gouernement then remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the kings naughtie demeanour and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both Britains and Englishmen ioined their powers together, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the countrie of Mers. From thence immediatlie king Osbert (being appointed as generall in that iourne) sent

The Englishmen and Britains ioined their powers with the Picts.

Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland.

The Englishmen and Britains ioined their powers with the Picts.

In herall sent vnto naid.

Osbert is to fight at Jedburgh.

Osbert his provision of water is taken by the Scottismen.

A great disorder in the Scottish campe.

The Scottish campe induried.

20000 Scottishmen slay King Donald taken with the nobilitie.

The campe raised.

The whole realme of Scotland distressed.

In herald he sent unto Donald the Scottish king, commanding him either to surrender by unto the Scots all such regions as the Scots had taken from them; either else to looke to haue the Englishmen and Britains no lesse their enemies than the Scots; whose cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these newnes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he took a good hart vnto him; and in defense of his realme caused ministers to be taken throughout all his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to encounter his enemies, whome he found at Jedburgh ready to giue battell: where after some fight, in the end Shert with his people was chased to the next mounteins.

Donald hauing thus obtained the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had bene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at anchor certaine English vessels, laden with provision of vittels and all other things necessarie for the furniture of an armie.

Donald setting vpon these ships, with small resistance took them, spoiled them of all such things as were found aboard, and after set fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to small vse or commoditie: for all the pouth of the armie, through example of their prince, was so corrupted in vicious customes, that the campe was replenished with hoies, balwds, stews, and dicing tables, in such wise, that all such provision as should haue serued for sorce and staple of vittels, was spent in riotous banqueting without anie order or measure: & oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouernement lacketh) there happened amongst them in the armie, discorde and variance with sundrie murders and slaughters.

When the enemies were aduertised how far out of order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want of good and discret chieffains, they might with all speed got a mightie host together againe, and before his approach was looked for of the Scots, he cometh vpon them one morning in the breake of the day, and assaileth them in their lodgings, wherein he found them so vnsupplied of all helps to make resistance, that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appeared amongst them: some of them running vpon their enemies naked without all discretion, other breaking forth of the campe to saue themselves by flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie way to escape the enemies hands, though it were with present danger of breaking their necks downe the sliding banks and craggie rocks, being forced thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and Britains, who most eagerly pleased vpon them in all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboute twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fast asleepe at the first assault of the enemies, as he that had drunken ouer night more than inough, was taken before he could make anie shift for himselfe, with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this overthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided amongst the Englishmen and Britains. But when the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once through the realme of Scotland, how the king was taken prisoner, his campe wonne, the armie discomfited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre slaine, those few of the nobles which were left alieue remaining prisoners in the enemies hands; there was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without re-couerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, other bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are euer sundrie opinions. Panie ran vp and downe the streets and high waies, to inquire the certentie of all things, and whether there were anie hope at all left to resist the enemies, also which way the enemies held, whereabout they went, and what they purposed to do.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowne that the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks) stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into the womens; that a greater hath not bene heard of in anie region. So that all provision to defend their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor. The Englishmen hereupon took all the countrie euen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains seized into their hands all that which lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, finding no resistance in their way at all. Herevnto as well the Englishmen as Britains vsed the victorie verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their hands; but priests and all passed one way, that is, by the edge of the sword.

King Shert purposed to haue passed the water of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so ouer this into Angus: but hearing that the Scots had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he staied certeinie daies. At length vnderstanding that the enemies were nothing of that puissance or number, as at the first they were reported to be; he determined to set ouer in certeinie boats ten thousand of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind and weather, that rose in that instant, there were five thousand of them drowned, the residue being constrained to land againe on the same side from the which they lofed, hauing lost through violence of the weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their vessels. Shert being also admonished with this misfortune, thought god to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by land to go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so invade other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his coming thither, certeinie Scottish ambassadors came vnto him to sue for peace, which they humbly required at his hands in name of the whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the state of the case as it stood, and not to trust to much on brittle fortune, the which sheweth hir selfe neuer stable; but commonlie vseth to call backe againe hir grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanquished seemeth to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As for the Scots, though it might appeare that their force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should little auail them: yet were they minded to die in defense of their liberties, rather than to submit themselves vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The words of these ambassadors being thoughtlie noted (though some took them in great disdain) yet in the end it was supposed that after victorie thus had against the enemies, honorable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Whereupon answere was made to the ambassadors, that both the English and British people with

The English men made Louthian, the Britains Galloway.

The Scots left comfortlesse.

The Britains as yet kept possession of Cumberland, and those other countries it eng by the coast of those west seas. The victorie vied cruellie.

A great manie Englishmen drowned.

A great manie Englishmen drowned.

Ambassadors sue for peace.

Fortune is brittle.

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Shert is put
to flight at
Jedburgh, or
Jedburgh.

Shert his
provision by
water is ta-
ken by the
Scottishmen.

A great dis-
order in the
Scottish
campe.

The Scots
campe in-
distinguish-
ed.

10000 Sco-
tishmen slaine.
King Donald
is taken with
the nobilitie.

The campe is
rifled.

The whole
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Scotland dis-
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Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbarton. It was called before Caer Arcluth, that is, the citie upon Clud, as H. Lhoid holdeth.

Hosages are required.

The Scots dislike the articles of peace.

Calene his grave counsel taketh place.

The multitude consented unto Calene his sayings.

The Scots receive the peace.

Their kings were contented to have peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten in to their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should divide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time ever after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should divide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluth, standing at the mouth of the same river, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbarton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driven to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or hiftels, and depart within thre daies, except some reasonable cause of fraie constrained them to the contrarie. Moreover, they should not fortifie anie towne or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should covenant to pay unto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of silver. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliver thre score hostages, being the sonnes and heires apparant of the chiefe nobles of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The ambassadours returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for fre people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene divided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, bozne of high parentage, and gouvernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, perswading them to have respect to the time. And sith the force of the realme was so imbebled, abated, and brought under for thorough aduerse fortune: better it was to yeld unto necessitie in saving part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulness to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonour to receive conditions of peace at the enemies hands, sith there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Cald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anie wise did reach.

The multitude moved with these words of Calene, whose grave authoritie (by reason of his age and name) was of no small reputation amongst them, having lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finally determined to follow his opinion in receiving the same conditions of agreement which Mbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in manner as is before repeated. Which being throughlie accomplished in

such sollemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Mbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestlie required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were divided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling unto the west sea, betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clide, unto Timberland: and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lying from Sterling unto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) divided the Seges from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march unto those thre people; the same towne with the castell remaining unto Mbert, as it was covenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceived, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in use till manie yeeres after. Mbert also in this place caused a stone bridge to be made over the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bridge he set up a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

*Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis,
Arma hic sunt Briti, stant Scoti hac sub cruce tati.*

I am free march as passengers maie ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iourne, ever hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Mbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subjects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen of friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation; thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and livings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilst anie of them remained alive. Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norway and Denmarke, unto their countreimen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found alive within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled unto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was received with more joy and honor than he had deserved, in hope yet by this scourge of aduerse fortune, that he would have reformed his former abuses. Nevertheless, he had not bene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, removing from his company such honorable personages as wished the better of his estate, with the advancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subjects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, and disorderly rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him unto safe keeping. But the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he

King Donald with the noble men are sent home againe.

Lands divided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

A bridge of stone made at Sterling.

Belenden the Scot.

The Picts hope is deceived.

The Picts went into Norway and Denmarke.

King Donald fallen to his old vicious game.

King Donald is laid in prison.

The Statet himselfe in prison. 860

A young boye being brought into mother.

Beasts being killed.

Fishes in shape to men.

Adverses a snakes fell downe on the skie.

The intertation of prodigious things. King Constantine ended.

The saint to recouer his predecesors losses. He was a sed other by his counsel.

Misorder are redressed.

Picts's monie att their voca.

A penaltie not doing their duty.

Youth who ate but one meale a daie.

Drunken punished by death.

Youth to be trained by hardnesse.

Keepers of banquets.

He sleeth
himselfe in
pylon.
860.

was thus put in ward in great desperation slue
himselfe, in the first yeare after he had begun his in-
fortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Saulour
860.

A yong babe
groweth war-
ning unto his
mother.

Beasts ro-
ving bio.

Fishes like in
shape to men.

Widders and
snakes fill
downe out of
the skie.

The interpre-
tation of the
prodigious
things.
King Con-
stantine crow-
ned.

He saith should
recoer his
predecessors
losses.
He was adu-
ised otherwise
by his coun-
sell.

Whisperers
are redressed.

Priests should
onlie attend
their vocation.

A penaltie for
not doing
their duties.

Youth should
eate but one
meale a day.

Drunkenness
punished with
death.

Youth to be
trained up in
hardnesse.

Keepers of
banketting

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was
brought unto such miserable state by the puissant
force of the Englishmen and Britains, as aboue is
rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in
the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth
old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flee out of
that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the
enimies should come and take that region out of the
Scottishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pa-
sturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a
strange sort, suddenly died. Fishes likewise, in
shape resembling the figure of man, were found
dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway
there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out
of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the
saour of them lying on the ground, both men and
beasts died of certeine diseases, which they toke
through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skillfull in divina-
tion, affirmed that these things did signifie an in-
fortunat reigne, with an euill end vnto king Do-
nald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made
away himselfe in prison (as before is exprest) Con-
stantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned
king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, accor-
ding to the maner as then vsed. After his first en-
tring into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in
hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to
haue recoerred out of their possessions, those coun-
tries which they had lately taken from the Scots in
his predecessors time: but his counsell aduised him
otherwise, declaring that the state of the common-
wealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his
said predecessor, that till the same were reformed,
and such intestine discords, as through licentious li-
bertie reigned amongst his subiects might be ap-
peased and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue a-
nie worthy enterprise abroad against foreigne en-
imies.

Hereupon by their aduertisements and good ad-
uise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders
as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and
first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests
should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle
with anie secular businesse, but to be free from go-
ing forth to the warres: neither should they keepe
horses, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were
found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to
his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a
peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his
benefice. For the youth of his realme he toke order
(to bydle them the better from wanton delights and
sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past
one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie deli-
cats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might
dissemper their braine, so that if anie yong person,
either man or woman were knowne to be drunken,
they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his
realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shor-
ting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid
slouthfullnesse, that their bodies might with such ex-
ercises be made the more able to indure paines and
trauell: and for the same purpose he toke order, that
they should lie vpon the bare boards, with one man
tell onelie thowen vnder them, so that they should
tast nothing neither by day nor night, that might
nozell them in anie wanton delights or effeminate
pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as
kept bittelling houses for banketting there, should

be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell
houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of
these ordinances, made within short time of glori-
ous and excellent feeders, sober and temperat men:
of delicate and easfull persons, hard, tough, and able
to abide anie trauell or labor: were the same neuer
so painfull: and hereof the state of the common-
wealth began to grow to good perfection, so that
Constantines administration was liked of the most
part of all his subiects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prospe-
rous reigne of that worthy prince, was one Euan,
a man of an ancient house, & bozne in the westerne
Isles. Such haue bene the vnquiet nature of the
Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to
liue contented anie long time either with peace or
warre: for being once wearied with the charges
of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace;
and hauing in time of peace heaped together some
wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement
of their superiours, but either are readie to fall out
with some foreigne enemy, or else to raise some
commotion amongst themselves. This Euan
therefore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of
Dunstaffage in Louthquhaber, practised a conspira-
cie against the king, with a number of other light
persons being gentlemen borne, mistliking the ad-
ministration of things, onelie for that they saw how
their inordinate libertie to oppresse inferiour persons,
and to vse such wild and insolent misdeemeanour, as
they had done afore time, was now restrained by
lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for
the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue
moued the people of Louthquhaber, Murray
land, Rolfe, and Cathnesse, to haue ioined with them
in their traitorous enterprise, some of them in whom
Euan put most trust, secretly aduertised the king
of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent
number of men together, made such speedie halfe to-
wards Dunstaffage, where the chiefe captaine of the
rebels as then lay, that he came before the same per-
anie inking were knowne to them within of his
approch. By meane whereof comming vpon them so
at vnwares, he had the castell sone at his pleasure;
and immediatlie hereupon caused Euan to be trus-
sed by on a high paire of gallows, for a spectacle to
all his complices. And furthermore, least the other
conspirators might prouide them of some other chieftie-
ne, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that
were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which
he put in strict prison, there to be safely kept, till the
peeres of the realme had determined with god deli-
beration, what should become of them. This busines
being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for
quietnesse, there suddenly followed a greater and
more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the
world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they
fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to
all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Picts, for
that the residue of that nation which had escaped the
hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned
vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands,
he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the
injuries which the Picts alledged they had sustained)
to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen.
He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be
prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in
a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion,
vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one na-
med Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chieftie-
teins hauing their ships and men with all provision
appertaining once readie, toke the sea, and sailed
forth.

houses he be-
nished.

Scots were
made sober
and able to
abide hardnes

Euan disqui-
etted the king
and realme.

The vnquiet
nature of
Scottishmen.

Euan lieuten-
nant of Dun-
staffage conspi-
red against
the king.

The king is
aduertised of
Euans his
treason.

The king co-
meth to Dun-
staffage with
an armie.

Euan is exe-
cuted.

Manie kept
in prison.

One trouble
followeth
another.

Cadane king
of Denmarke

The cause
that made the
Danes to
make warre
against Eng-
land and
Scotland.

A great nauie
sent into
Scotland.

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to denie for the diuiding of the spoile, perceiving occasion now offered to giue the onset, forthwith araid their people in this fort.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Englishman borne, who was fled out of his countrie for that he could not beare such iniuries as Albert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and dishonour of his house and name. He had with him in this left wing certaine bands of Englishmen, with those that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell of middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, with the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches contained therein, or else bring them perpetuall seruitude with ignorance amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, bowed with solemne oath, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Whereupon the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like oath. Constantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant of thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had so valiantlie achieved the victorie in the last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their former glorie with any faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be afraid of their enemies, in respect more for their hugeness of bodie, than for any of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their wonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obtaine a full victorie. Whereupon he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enemies, but to suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this denie did not a little abate the Scottish mens courages. For the Scots see is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their enemies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enemy in feare, and encourage themselves to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceived that the Scots came not forward, they also staid in the midway to refresh themselves, least at the joining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie pace, they shot quartels, and threw darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had bene a storme of haile.

After this they rushed together with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they constrained the same in the end with great blowes and slaughter to giue backe and flie out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this unfortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a cage by the sea side

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by the enemies. The place was called certaine yeeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murder there committed. The Scottish nation also had bene better lie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiving how the field was lost, escaped awaie with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a gouernour to be the sooner overcome by their enemies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our Saviour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yeere were manie wonders and vnketh lights scene within the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there appeared fishes in great numbers, like vnto men in shape, swimming vp and downe in the streame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke skin, which couered their heads and necks, from their shoulders vponwards like an hood. These are called Bassinates, and vse to go in great companies together, as though they were skulles of herrings, signifieng (when they are scene) some great misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of April: and when the frost brake, and the snowe melted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene scene. Furthermore, when the same thynke and went away, in the mud and slime there was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected, that manie deadlie diseases ensued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover, there was a mightie starre or comet scene with fire rates issuing forth of the same, which both night and day followed the mone during the moneth of April, to the great horroz of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing vanquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of fife, passed ouer into Lothian, where robbing and spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. Where the Danes being aided with certaine Englishmen in fauour of Buerne, slue in battell both Albert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was such after they had achieved the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such as saued themselves by flight. But chiefe there rage appeared most against priests, and such as professed themselves men of religion. For the Danes being Ethnicks, persecuted most egerlie those that in any wise professed Christ. The like outrageous murdering of the christians was practised thorough out the countrie, and at length came vnto that blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the Eastangles, as in the English historie more plainlie maie appere. Whatbeit other of the English kings maintained the warres with these Danes certaine yeeres after this, with variable fortune: the most part of those people which inhabited on that coast toward the Germane seas, either being slaine or brought into miserable bondage and thraldome. But Alured, which succeeded his brother king Edelfred, not in the kingdom of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdom of the Westsaxons, redressed a great part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was thus

is taken and murdered. The blacke den of caue.

Ethus brother vnto Constantine was saued by flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like vnto men in shape.

Bassinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the mud & slime.

A comet;

The Danes went into Lothian.

King Albert & Ella slaine;

This crueltie inuaded Northfolke also.

King Alured redressed those harmes. Hector Boetius miseth thus

The order of placing of the Danes armie. Hubba had the right wing. Buerne had the left wing.

Hungar kept the battell.

Hungar made a vow.

The soldiers did make the like vow.

King Constantine placed his men in like manner.

An encourage ment given to his soldiers.

Scots & es to the battels.

Danes irell.

the Swen.

1 men of e and

ittell.

Danes the flight.

the was d from vning.

Scots e of this the immo tie op.

Scots appreable lost.

The Danes approach towards the Scots.

The Danes shot quarels and threw darts.

The Scots shot arrowes and darts as thicke as haile.

The Scots are put to flight.

Constantine

Constantine ded as his eni

divers mat-
ters touching
the report of
our histories.

Æthas furna-
med Lightfoot

Æthas neg-
lected the op-
portunity.

A conspiracie
made against
king Æthas.

King Æthas
is arrested,
with his fa-
vourers.

Gregorie is
chosen king.

Gregorie.

876. H.B.
875. 10. Ma.

A convocati-
on of the cler-
gie.
Priests are
free of all tri-
bute.

They should
not be called to
serve in the
warres.
Authority gi-
ven unto bi-
shops to order
kings.

thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in
sundry conflicts, and sleaing their two capitains the
foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same En-
glish historie is further expessed.

But now to returne unto Æthas, I find that he
was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would match
and make waite in running with harts and hounds,
and thereupon was surnamed Lightfoot: but of what
nimble lightnesse of bodie soever he was, truth it is
that he was of disposition in mind brist to have the
order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he
might have recovered Fife and Louthian with other
regions, whilst the Englishmen and Danes were
together by the eares, he passed over that occasion,
delighting more in following the pleasures of the bo-
die & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in feates
of chivalrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles
of the realme perceiving him thus to abuse the two
thie gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent
doings should indamage the publike state of the
common-wealth, they took counsell together how
they might appehene him, and to send him some whi-
ther out of the waite where to be safely kept, and then
to place some other in the government of the
realme, that might rule the same with more discreti-
on & better advise. And least their resolution should
be disclosed before it took effect, they slackt no time,
but went speedilie about their businesse. And com-
ming to the king, whome they found a hunting in
Calidon wood, they suddenlie arrested him, and ther-
with committed him to safe keeping: & those whome
they knew to be favourers of his euill rule and mis-
governance, they put them also fast in irons, till they
had answered unto such articles as should be laid to
their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election
of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of
one Dongall gouernor, or thane of Argyle, they chose
Gregorie the sonne of that Dongall, which reigned
before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old
when his father died.

This Gregorie being knowne to be a man wor-
thie of the crowne, though he himselte onlie was
against it, at length by persuation receiued the inue-
sture of the kingdome at Scone, with all due solemn-
nitie. Æthas hearing thereof, through anguish of
mind died within three daies after, in the second
yere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our
Saviour. Here be that write how he was strangled
in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by ad-
uerture he might haue bene restored unto libertie,
and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe.
Gregorie being thus established in the estate, consi-
dering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the
hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his govern-
ment with some luckie enterprize, caused a conuoca-
tion to be holden at Fozfarr, for the aduancement of
Christis religion: where amongst other things, it was
ordained, that priests from thenceforth (to the end
they might more frelie attend to their vocation)
should be exempt from payeng of tribute and all man-
ner of exactions. Also that they should not be con-
strained to go unto the warres, neither to come be-
fore anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their or-
dinarie and bishops, by whome they should be iud-
ged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops
should also haue authoritie to order all men, both
publike and priuate, aswell for the keeping of faith gi-
uen, as to constraine them to confirme the same, and
to punish such as should be found in the contrarie;
likewise in causes of controuersie touching matri-
monie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like:
moreouer the correcting of those that blasphem e-
ther God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like

offenders against the lawes and articles of the chri-
stian religion, was assigned unto the bishops and
their substitutes, so that all those which were found dis-
obedient unto them, and refused to be at their com-
mandement, they should haue authoritie to excom-
municate them out of the church, and from compa-
nie keeping with anie of the cōgregation, so as they
that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived
of all abilitie to take anie inheritance or right to
lands or possessions whatsoever they were. Neither
should they be accepted as a witness in anie maner
of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the com-
mon-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was
the first author of that ordinance, by the which the
Scottish kings at their coronation use of ancient cu-
stome to vow by solempne oth, that during their liues,
they shall mainteine and defend the church with his
ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges,
and not to suffer anie man to hurt or infringe the
same.

There was suerlie in this Gregorie a certeine na-
turall inclination to vertue, with such abstinence
in all his wordes, that he uttered few or none but that
the same seemed to be spoken with verie great con-
sideration. He was neuer married, but continued in
chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was
verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more
watchfull than giuen to sleepe. But his fame increa-
sed most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill ad-
ministration concerning the state of the common-
wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where ne-
cessitie required. The first expedition which he took in
hand, he made into Fife, to recover that countrie to
the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the
same, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in those
parties at their departure thence, being stricken with
fear to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient
enemies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife
in manner void, and without anie that would offer
to defend it against the Scots.

Whereupon Gregorie so finding it desolate of
inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his
realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie
as he thought most expedient. This done he passed
into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and pla-
ces of defense, some by force, and some by surrender,
he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so
that within a few daies, hauing there all at his plea-
sure, he came unto Berwik, where there were a
great number of Danes joined together with the
Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but
to fight with the Scots even there, if they should
come forward vpon them. But when they saw what
number the Scots were of, and herewith doubting
the Englishmen to come on their backs if the mat-
ter went not well with them; they thought it best
that such Danes as were of anie great reputation
of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwik before
the enemies were at hand, and the residue to passe o-
uer Tweed into Northumberland, there to ioinie
with other Danes that in those parties were latelie
arrived.

But the Englishmen within Berwik, abhorring
nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the
Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the
Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it to-
gether with their guests unto the Scottishmen, who suf-
fering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go
their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in
their houses, due the Danes, without sparing either
man, woman, or child. When leauing a strong garri-
son of Scottishmen within Berwik, Gregorie
marched forth with the residue of his people into
Northumberland, to visite that countrie to other of
his

when the
Scottish
kings first be-
gan to pro-
mote by oth
to mainteine
the libertie of
the church.
King Grego-
rie was giuen
solle into
godlinesse.
King Grego-
rie was neuer
married.
He was sober,

He made an
expedition in-
to Fife.
The Picts
fled into Louth-
ian.

The king set
inhabitants
in Fife.
He subdued
Louthian.

The Danes
and Picts
ioine them-
selues to-
gether.

They fled in-
to Northum-
berland.

The Danish
nobilitie fled
into Berwik.

The Danes
are slain in
Berwik.

Herbi-
thel
Scot

The
papa
battel

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King
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his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Dork, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countreymen at Berwik, threathened sore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scottish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which bow manie of the companie, following their capitains example, likewise made. Shortly after, hearing of their enemies approach, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Here the Scottish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue bled some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to encourage them to fight: but such hast was made by the Scots to please vpon their enemies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arae, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw ready enough of their owne accord to fight. Wherefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murdered, after he had yielded himselfe prisoner to these enemies, with whome they should now loine.

The Scots here vpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and taue-lins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on eche side, so that there needed neither exhortation of capitains, nor diligence of warriors to keepe them in arae. For the wrathfull stormes of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Whose that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egerneesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men together againe, being disperfed here and there: but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that vnhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Kassin, who as then was capitaine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Kassin fighting with the Englishmen vntwarlike, at a place called Helcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and there vnto his head was carried abroad vpon and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaie.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to inioy all their possessions still, onelie re-

ceiuing of them in name of soueraintie a yecrelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake by his armie, and went himselfe into Berwik, where he remained all the winter season: in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iourne against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not diuened to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortly after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was fore enfeebled, by reason of the two last overthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to become their friends. Wherevpon sending vnto the Scottish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enemies to both their countries, promising that if they would so do, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scottish kingdome.

Gregorie weeing with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good libertie and aduancement of Christiens religion, whereof the Danes were greivous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselves together in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottish confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this manner, it greatlie reioiced the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile, but contrariwise the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to inue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongst their enemies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not greatly to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the decaie of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to recover that countrie out of the Scottishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was comming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had fore afflicted, they began to dilaie backe towards Cumberland with their bottie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

tants of Northumberland to inioy their lands.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

Herdunt threathened the Scots.

The Danes prepare to the battell.

The Scots egerlie inuade their enemies.

King Gregorie is iourning to the Scottish king.

The Danes fled to their campe.

Herdunt assembled his men together.

Herdunt went toward Kassin, chiefe generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt remained in campe.

King Gregorie is forced to the inhabitants.

in the Scottish king first began to prepare by order to the right of the right.

made an edition in the fifth.

the king set inhabitants fifth.

he Danes to the right of the right.

he fled in Northumberland.

he Danish king fled to Berwik.

he Danes to the right of the right.

The Scots
overthrow the
Britains.

Constantine
is slain.

Herbert king
of Britaine
sent ambassa-
dours to Gre-
gorie.

King Grego-
rie his an-
swere.

Gregorie re-
quired a reli-
gion of
Cumberland
and Westmer-
land.

Peace was
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.
870.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-
tell, wherein when Constantine perceived how his
people began to thinke backe, as one hauing moze
regard to his honoz than to the suertie of his life, he
rushed forth into the foremost preele, there to succour
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-
bout amongst a great companie of his enemies,
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of
the chiefeest lords of all the British nation. The other
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled
to saue their liues, leaving the victorie so vnto the
Scots.

This overthrow did put the Britains in danger to
haue bin vtterlie overrun, what by the Scots on the
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-
swer they should haue none, sith they had so vnusu-
all broken the league concluded with their confede-
rats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the pros-
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this
Ile, against their common enemies the Danes.
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-
trie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former
damages, they crowned to their king one Herbert
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottis men to ex-
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-
tempted the warres against him and his people,
laigning all the fault in Constantine, who against the
wills and contrarie to the minds of his subiects, did
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-
nat enterprise.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these am-
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that
he vnderstood well enough, that the Britains now
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they
had vnto their othe of couenant; but onelie for that
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,
they were sure that in the end they should be like to
haue the soile: and therefore he was fullie thus resolu-
ed, not to conclude any peace or truce with such
disloyall people, till they had resigned ouer into his
hands the whole possession of the countreies of Cum-
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to
pretend any claime or title vnto those dominions
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of
couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the
keies of all the towines, castels and fortresses in the
same countreies, and to auoid quite their waies into
Wales to othe their countriemen there, but also to
deliuer fittie noble mens sonnes and heires appa-
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end
they condescended to conclude a peace with the
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottis
king, sith they saw no better meane to preserve their
nation from present destruction. And thus deliue-
ring the appointed number of pledges, they left the
countreies of Cumberland and Westmerland void,
surrendering into the Scottis mens hands the pos-
sessions of all the towines, castels and fortresses, and
therewith departed into Northwales, where they
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Contway
and the riuer of Wye, out of the which they expelled the
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which
they named Stradclud, maintaining warres a-
gainst the Englishmen manie yeares after.

King Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his king-
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he
resolved (with their aduise) to follow such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence shal be chanced vnto
them. Whereupon it was agreed, that they should
go first vnto Yorke to conquire that citie, whilst
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the
one nation nor the other could attend to make any
attempt to hinder the Scottis mens enterprise. But
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-
gorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prosper-
ous successe against his enemies the Danes and o-
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-
newed, by which means both their powers might
ioine together against their common enemies, when
they should attempt any wrongfull inuasion.

This request was granted, so that shortly there-
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots
should inioy possession of Northumberland without
any claime to be made to the same by the English-
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant
passage to any enemy of the Englishmen through
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Sco-
tis mens enemies to passe through England; If a-
ny Englishmen did rob or steale any thing out of
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the
offenders with the receivers should be deliuered to
the Scottis magistrats, to be punished according to
the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,
as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two
ships of Dublin arriving on their coast, sent over a
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,
made great slaughter of the people on each side.
King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, straightwaies
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge
of his coming, dyet their ships with a great prey
of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imme-
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Wherevpon Gregorie without delaye got together
his ships and followed the enemy with all his armie,
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-
gether which of them should haue the gouernement, by
reason their king was latelie dead, and had left a
sonne behind him being but a child in yeres, to suc-
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wisser
sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much
pauasle, that a truce was taken betwixt them for
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they
should put their countrie in danger to be overrun of
the Scots: against whom when they had agreed vpon
the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a
power, one Owen being generall of the one, and Cor-
nellus of the other; for these two princes were heads
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the
gouernement of the realme rested, and therevpon by
consent of the rest had the leading of all them
that were of their faction.

These two captains with their armies inuaded
themselves vpon the bankes of the riuer Bane, vnder
the mountaine called Fute: their camps being
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for
the

The pacie of
the Scots to
haue taken
Yorke.

King Alured
sent ambassa-
dours vnto
king Grego-
rie.

Peace confir-
med.

New condi-
tions of peace.

No passage to
be granted
vnto the eni-
mie.

Punishment
of robbers.

Galloway in-
uaded by the
Irishmen.

The Ir-
ish pursue

A truce was
taken betwixt
the two
parties.

The two Ir-
ishmen ga-
ther their
powers.

Two armies
one nere the
other.

The Ir-
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The hin-
dence.

Kenneth
Cullan.

King O-
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Irishme

The Ir-
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Owen
slaine.

Women
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kept har

Unarm-
men were
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The Scots
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hand.

The kings
deuile.

Kenneth
Cullan.

King Grego-
rie assailed the
Irishmen.

The Irish
are pursued.

Ben was
slaine.

women and
children are
kept harmles.

Unarmed
men were
spared.
Slittels were
commanded
to be prouided

Doungarg
o Doungard
besieged.

the enemies to approach them without manifest dan-
ger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose
was to prolong the time here in this place, till they
had famished the Scottish armie, and then to deale
with them at their pleasure. But the industrious pro-
uision of Gregorie passed the politike deuile of the
Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of
those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him,
should purueie himselfe of vittels, according to the
custome of the countrie, for fittie daies space, as of
bread, cheese, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for
drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith
they were sure to find water inough in euerie place
where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & ser-
uile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wan-
ton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish
people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certefine daies
rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the
meane time which way he might best indamage the
enemies; at length concluded to send in the night
season two thousand of his souldiours by to the ridge
of the fosenamed mountaine called Fute, through
the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same
was conuered, to the end that getting to the top of
that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they
might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with
the rest of the armie went about to assaile his eni-
mies) tumble downe stones from the bowes of the
hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great num-
bers of them, either else to confreine them to come
forth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so
to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, toke by
on him to haue the conduct of them that should go a-
bout this interprise, who conueleng his hand ouer the
water of Ware, and so by on the backside of the
mountaine, in the morning when their felows fell in
hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Ben lodged,
they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe
vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them
being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake
their ground, & to flee in maner without anie stroke
stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them,
toke a great number of them prisoners, and due but
a few, hauing before hand such commandement
from their prince.

Whilist this mischief fell vpon Ben and his
people, Cornelius with his folkes curdling that in-
fortunate date, left their lodgings, and marched their
waies in god order of battell, till they were farre
inough out of danger. The bodie of Ben also was
found amongst other in the rising of the campe,
with the head bzuisled in peces, and the baines pa-
shed out with some stone thzouone downe by the
Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at
the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be bu-
ried in christian sepulchre. He caused also women
and children to be sent awayne harmelesse, onelie re-
teining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore
he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor
sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in
hand made anie resistance: and commanded them
also that they should prouide themselves of vittels to
serue them, whilist they should lie abroad & remaine
there in that countrie.

Wherevpon manie of the Irish people thus talking
the mercifull clemencie of the Scottish king, yelded
themselves vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that
Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittels to
serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the
strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he en-
uironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the
same certefine daies, at length they within wearied

with continuall tranell and lacke of vittels, opened
the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not
permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile,
but appointed the townesmen to redeme the same
(their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of
monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of
thre daies, he departed and came afoze another citie
called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and
therfore preferued the citizens from all hurt & annoi-
ance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto
Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but
as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that
Cornelius was comming towards him with such
an huge armie, as the like had not bene scene with,
in the memorie of man in that Ile. Wherevpon Gre-
gorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, by
on report of these newes, he got him by into the next
mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thre
battels. In the first there was a great multitude of
Iernes with darts and bowes: in the second were
a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes
of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which
they carried vpon their right shoulders. In the third
battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with
all the chiefe nobles of the countrie, were an infi-
nite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen forth
of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to
their custome) diuided themselves into two wings,
and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were thre
sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with
long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as
bare long swords and leaden malles.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts,
forward they make one towards another to begin
the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing
of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept
off their enemies with long speares or sauelins, in
such sort, that they were not able to come nere them:
which disadvantage Cornelius perceiuing, com-
manded on high, that they should with their swords
cut those sauelins in sunder. And as he lifted by the
visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to
the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face
with a speare, that he was faine to withdraue apart
out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled,
incontinentlie to saue themselves, theye off their
armour and fell to running awayne. Thus did the victo-
rie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell,
hotobett in the chafe there was a wonderfull num-
ber slaine: for the Scots pursued them euene vnto
Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie be-
set on each side with a mightie siege. There was got
into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multi-
tude of people, what of such as were receiued into it
fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were
there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie
and safegard of their gods. By reason wherof being
thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so
that either they must of necessitie yeld, either else by
some issue auoid that danger wherein they were pre-
sentlie betwaxed.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood
of god successe in that exploit, in the end it was con-
cluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane
for those noble men which were inclosed within that
citie to escape the enemies hands, and that there were
none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend
the countrie from the Scottishmens puissance) they
should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king
for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions
as might be obtained: for other remedie in that pre-
sent

The towne
was yelded.

A gentle
ransome.

Pontus was
surrendered
also.

Cornelius
came with an
huge armie.

The Irish-
men came in
thre battels.
Iernes.
These might
we name Gal-
logglies, if
they had bene
furnished
with axes.

The Scots
came in two
wings.

Two battels
ioine.

Cornelius
was sore
wounded.

The Irish
ran awayne.

Dublin bes-
sieged.

They consule
vpon a treatie
of peace to be
made.

sent mischief they could devise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cormach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of bright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

He toke vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humbly to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceiued anie pece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his merite, and further to accept into his protection his cousine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstand. He besought him also to remember, that it appertained moze to the honor of a king, to preserve the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countreies, than by violent hand to seke their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselves were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had deseruie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behoufe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

This answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cormach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe advanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our labie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certeine vnrulie persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and covenants. First it was agreed that the yong king

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yeeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countreie, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chiefe of them for performance of the covenants, and here with taking with him threescore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the advancement of the common-wealth: and finally died an happy old man, in a castell called Doundore within the countreie of Carlow, in the 18 yere after his entering into his estate, and after the birth of our Saviour 893. He was neuer married, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the aduancement of his countreie and common-wealth, Aberdine (of a village) was advanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuileges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbete of Colmekill, and there buried with all solempne pompe and exequies: over the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous cleark John Scot, a Scottishman in deed borne, but brought vp in studie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Greeke tongue, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewis, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchia, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoe from the same Lewis vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbete of Hamelburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholars, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and sharpe to reprove the corrupt manners of such his scholars, as were giuen moze to libertie than learning, he was by them murdered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

But to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the 5 in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second; who finding the state of the realme in good quiet and flourishing in welth, he applied his whole studie to mainteine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be duly ministred, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were done to anie poore person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

Articles of
covenant.

Their yong
king to be
brought vp.

Gregorie
to haue the
gouernment
of the realme.
He should also
appoint the
magistrates,
No man to
traffike in
Ireland with
out a passport.

Gregorie
returned into
Scotland.

The king
died.

893.

Aberdine is
made a citie.

King Gregorie
is buried
in Colmekill.

John Scot.
Some hold
that he was
an English
man.
Bale.

Dionysie
pagitis was
translated by
John Scot.
He taught
Alured in
England.
He taught in
Hamelburie

He was
killed of his
scholars.

Donald.
Donald the
first.

He was a
good
iusticer.

He was
religious.

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Articles of
covenant.

Their young
king to be
brought up.

R. Gregorie
to haue the go-
uernment of
the realme.
He should also
appoint the
magistrates.
No man to
traffike in
Ireland with
out a passport.

R. Gregorie
returned into
Scotland.

The king
died.

893.

Aberdeen is
made a citie.

King Grego-
rie is buried
in Colmekill.

John Scot.
Some hold
that he was
an English
man.
Bale.

Dionysius
Pagita was
translated by
John Scot.
He taught R.
Alured in
England.
He taught in
Glaimesburie

He was kil-
led of his schol-
lers.

Donald.
Donald the
first.

He was a good
indiscr.

He was re-
ligious.

A punisher of
blasphemers.

God ordina-
ces are ne-
glected.

Gormond ar-
rived with a
name in Nor-
thumberland.

King Donald
goeth to re-
sist him.

Gormond
went beyond
Humber.

Donald sent
5000 men to
the aid of the
Englishmen.

Gormond is
overthrowne
by R. Alured.

A peace con-
cluded.

The Danes
to be baptised,
and to remain
in England.
Gormond is
baptised with
manie mo.

Thep of Ros-
se invade
Murrey land.

Two thou-
sand men
slaine.

disposed mind, whose religion (to the advancement of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Among other his godlie ordinances, he made this statute to be obserued as a law, that such as by swearing vnabusedlie blasphemed the name of almightie God, or in cursing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fend, and betooke anie christian creature vnto his hellish power and domination (a vice naturallie following the people of that nation) should haue his tongue thrust through with a burning iron. But too woorth the negligence of such as haue succeeded him, in suffering so necessarie an ordinance to be abolished and woone out of vse, considering the horrible othes and blasphemie, with the bitter and deadlyfull cursings so much frequented of all estates in this our time, as well in Scotland as elsewhere, as without great hozroz of the hearers cannot be halfe expressed.

But to our purpose touching the gouernement of Donald, it chanced after wards, that he had knowledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puissant armie vpon the coasts of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe nere vnto the shore, without doing anie damage to the countrie: so that it was vncertaine what he intended, whether to begin a conquest there, or to passe ouer Humber to make warres on the Englishmen. To prevent therefore all dangers, Donald hastened towards Northumberland; howbeit he was not farre forwards on his iornie, but that word came to him, how Gormond was already passed ouer Humber, and entered into the English borders. But yet did not Donald staie his iournie, till he heard certeinlie that Gormond keeping vpon his way, was aduanced forward at the least 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting least haplie he had ment some deceit, as suddenly to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberland, when the king had bene once gone backe.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpose was onelie to assaile the English countries, according to the league newlie confirmed, Donald sent 5000 Scottishmen vnto the aid of the Englishmen; and also appointed two thousand horsemen to remaine with him in Northumberland (where he staied for a time) discharging the residue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shortly after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victorie abode with the Englishmen and Scots, though the same was got with such losse of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to pursue the enemies in chase, but constrained immediatly after to conclude a necessarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes should enjoy common seats with the Englishmen in Albion, & that Gormond with his Danes should be baptised and professe the christian religion. Herevpon also were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Gormond comming to receiue baptisme had his name changed and was called Athelstane, during whose life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Whilist things passed thus in England, there rose a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey land and Rosse, which disquieted king Donald not a little. The occasion grew by reason of certein theues, which comming forth of Rosse in the night time, secretly entered into Murrey land, to fetch booties from thence. At the first they of Murrey land made resistance against them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they skirmished in such wise, that within two moneths space, there were slaine betwixt them two thousand of the one side and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace broken with intel-

time discord, gathered a great power, and with the same hastened into Murrey land: where calling the chiefe doers and maintainers of this businesse to make answer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themselves of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this sort quieted, he went into Northumberland, to be there in a readinesse, if the Danes or Englishmen (whome he suspected) should attempt anie thing against his subiects in those parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almost 11 yers, he departed this world. His bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, with a marble tombe set ouer his graue, as the manner in those daies was customablie vsed.

After Donald the first, there succeeded in rule of the realme Constantine the third of that name, the sonne of Ethus the swift, beginning his reigne in the yere after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernement, than for the ordering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie succeeded Alured in rule ouer the Englishmen being ware thereof, sent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to restore vnto his subiects the Englishmen, the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, & Westmerland (which the Scottish king Gregorie had in times past by occasion of the trouble, some season taken from the right owners by force) either else to loke for warres at his hands within forty daies after this summons.

Constantine herevnto answered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars for those lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend themselves, hoping in the almightie God that he would turne the punishment on them that vnjustlie had piked the quarrell. Herevpon ensued manie rodes and forraies betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, made (as occasion serued) into ech others countrie, with diuers skirmishes and light bickerings for twelue moneths space together, without anie notable encounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increased in puissance, more than was thought requisite for the suertie either of the Englishmen or Scots, which moued king Edward by perswasion of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Constantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Constantine lightlie agreed: so that the league was confirmed againe with the former articles betwixt the English and Scottish nations.

Shortly after also the warre was renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by conclusion of a marriage betwixt Sithrike king of Northumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithrike was poisoned by his wife the said Beatrice: and then because Aualassus (whome the English writers name Aulase) and Godfrie, the sonnes of Sithrike, put the same Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward moued warre against them, and in foughten field discomfited them, but was slaine in that battell himselfe (as Hector Boetius saith). But for the further truth of this matter, ye may read more in the historie of England.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus slaine, conceived such hope of good successe after to come, that albeit they were at this time banquished, they immediatlie made new preparation for the warre, and first of all Aualassus the one of the two brethren before mentioned, sent vnto Constantine the Scottish king, to allure him to ioine with them against the Englishmen, which with great gifts and large promises he easilie brought to passe, the league notwithstanding which remained betwixt

The king
went with an
armie into
Murrey land.

The chiefe
doers were
put to death.
The king
went into
Northumber-
land.

Donald died.

Constan-
tine.

Constantine
the third.
903.

King Ed-
ward sent an
herald vnto
him.

The answer
of king Con-
stantine.

Forewar-
nings of warre.

The peace
was renewed
and the league
confirmed.

The Danes
were discom-
fited.

The Danes
conceiue hope
of good successe.

The Scots
er fall to the
Englishmen.

The Scots and Danes confederate themselves together. Malcolm made chief general of the armie. He is created also heire apparent. The earle of Cumberland heire apparent to the king of Scots. The Scots and Danes ioine their powers together. They begin a cruell warre.

Althelstane bafe sonne vnto king Edward.

Althelstane came against the Scots. 937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie went to wycke.

Althelstane toke Forthumberland.

Westmerland and Cumberland reconciled.

Malcolm escaped his hurts.

A counsell called by Constantine.

the English and Scottish nations. Whereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest provision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to utter destruction.

Malcolm sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolm also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordeined, that he which should succede to the crowne after the kings decesse, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolm ioining his power with Anaslatus and Godrie (who had assembled in like manner a mighty host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murthering the people without any pittie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now ioined in one armie together.

But the more villanie they shewed in their doings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Althelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succede in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers decesse) with all speed fought to be reuenged of such inuiolent doings. Whereupon getting together an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Bowningfield, or Bownenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, ech of them strining who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into arraie againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so atchued a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chiefie the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargaine most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Wilfert king of the Gwentas, Hantwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Althelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Forthumberland, and finding the countrie dispeopled of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delate he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yielded themselves vnto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolm being sore wounded in the battell, escaped; yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countreies aforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirneithie, where he perceiued how sore his realme was infiebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of yeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he utterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldly pompe as might withdraw him from diuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partlie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Andrewes amongst the couent there.

This was in the yere of our Sauour 943, and in the fortith yere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Bowningfield or Bownenburgh (so we find it named by some writers) then must it needs be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers doe report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolm gouerned as regent and not as king whilist Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbey of saint Andrewes a certaine time) in the said yere 943, falling in the fortie yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tome set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the brest standing forth more in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with fete like a gosse, legs like a man, full of biffels, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Forthumberland, onelie hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two brests crested or compalled ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill bywards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie willes or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and biall together, in somuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pittifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sicknesse wearing away and finalie decessing, the other was not able to abide the greuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a founteine of blood out of the side of a mounteine in Gallo way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mixed with blood, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certaine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuiners did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better belieued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Bowningfield, as before is specified.

After

Constantine becoming a canon.

943.

Match, West.

943. Constantine died.

3 monster.

In other monster.

Two contrarie willes in this monster.

One part died before the other.

Blond issued out of an hill.

what was ment by these wonders.

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Malcolme

After that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceived right well how the force of the realme was so infabled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scottish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was credibly informed, how Athelstane had giuen Forthumberland vnto Aualassus, and made a league with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderstood how his realme was unpurued of skillfull capteins to make resistance. Yet he caused a counsell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and childish reasons, if might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but even as they were at a point to haue broken by without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled together in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloudie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appeared in the skie.

Aualassus had giuen him Forthumberland.

Counsell called.

The English men and the Danes fall out together, and fight.

Aualassus fled into Westmerland, fled the Ile of Man, and got him into Ireland.

They go in procession in Scotland for w.

Ambassadors sent vnto Malcolme.

The league was confirmed againe.

Forthumberland allotted vnto England.

Cumberland and Westmerland to doe homage vnto England.

Aualassus with such Danes as he might get together after that overthrow, fled into Westmerland, and within thre daies after, in such ships as he found there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Ile of Man, and spoiling the same, with all the preie he passed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iourne into Scotland, and lay still in Forthumberland, no man vnderstanding what he intended to doe. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was iustly heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace: but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisite.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added thereto; that Forthumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings deceasse, being heire apparant, should hold those regions, and doe homage vnto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine the third was proclaimed prince of Cumberland, and inheritor to the crowne of Scotland.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life

in god quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie studieng to mainteine the state of his realme in good order, as well for the wealth of the tempoialtie, as spiritualltie, wherevnto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to see the lawes duly ministered, at Urine a village in Murray land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat streidlie executed vpon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the sixtenth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserved, being torne in peeces with wild hollies, and those peeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged up on the gates and towres, untill they rotted away.

They that were the deniers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged by aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Saviour 959. ¶ Here we haue thought god to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceived in their account of yeares; or else mislike the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms deceasse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but sixtene yeares.

Moreover, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Aulase and the Danes of Forthumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mislike not their account of yeares;) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the first account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more safely follow, and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, happily perceiue the true time, aswell of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, aswell here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we doe of that in our owne writers: We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferently alike, aswell in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought god to set downe in the margin of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, speciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not seeme by way of controuersie to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

Was once buried (according to the custome) amongst

King Malcolme was murdered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murderers were torne with hollies.

The procurers of the murder were staked.

959.

The mistakes of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish writers.

mongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scrone, there receiving the crowne and other the investitures of the kingdome. In the administration thereof he continued for the space of five yeares without any notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent unto him from Anaslus, to joine with him in league against the Englishmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had received at Bioningfield, alledging that opposition was now offered, sith after the deceasse of Athelstane, the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolm inforce any impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose deceasse the said league was ended.

Indulph is prouoked by Anaslus to warre against England.

His persuasions.

Indulph his answer.

The Danes not pleased with such an answer procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Indulph. Harold a valiant captain.

Elgarine persuaded the Scots into the Danes.

10000 soldiers sent unto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

But Indulph for answer hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolm and Athelstane, by great deliberation of aduise, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solemn oaths for the true obseruing thereof, so that he could not, vntil he should violate that oath, attempt any thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almighty God against him and his people in that behalf. Hereupon the Danes accounting Indulph but a foolish and negligent person for this kind of answer, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunity to be reuenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the overthrow at Bioningfield, determined not to be noted with the like sort of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norway, prepared to passe over into England, vnder the conduct of Anaslus, who joining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right valiant captain called Harold, transported with all speed over into Northumberland, unto whom the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be descended of the Danish blood, yielded all the castles, townes & forts, promising to aid Anaslus against king Edmund to the uttermost of his power.

These newes coming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to haue from thence by covenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thousand Scottishmen with ready wills to serue him in these his wars against the Danes. Then joining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enimies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Anaslus, the which vpon the first encounter with the Englishmen, fell straight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the English part, to attaine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enimies, incouraged now with the sight of the Northumbrians, were quickly constrained to giue backe, and in the end to see amaine, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they overtooke died vpon the sword, though they submitted themselves neuer so humbly in requiring mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enimies hands was taken alive: for so had Edmund commanded, that if any man might take him, he should in any case saue his life, that he might put him to death in most cruel wise, to the example of other.

After this, and for the space of three daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields nere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Forke, where Elgarine for his treason was drawn in pieces with wild hordes. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of foure yeares after this said overthrow of the Danes with their capitaine Anaslus, who is also otherwise called Aulase, as is to be seene in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whom likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partly touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But euen as all things seemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Isle of Albion, Hagon king of Norway, and Helric king of Denmarke, of purpose to reuenge the slaughter of their countrymen lately made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coasts of Scotland, assailing to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the river of Tair; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to keepe them off, they were faine to with draw, and waisting alongst the coasts of Angus, the Farnes, Spar, and Buthghane, at length faining as though they would haue taken their course homeward, they lanchd forth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie joining vnto Buthghane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselves to impeach their landing and inuasion.

But Indulph being aduertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enimies were certified that he was set forward. So sone therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forraising the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came still forward, and vpon his approach to the enimies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a short oration began to incourage his people to fight manfully. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtful on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their bittermost indures to achieve the victorie, till at length they of Louthan with their captains Dunbar and Grame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the foreward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, where the Scots eagerly pursuing, beat downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which conetuing rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certaine stiff stubbornnes of mind, than with any great force or forcall, being so ouermatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellows: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and Bernes fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the mostes, the marshy grounds, and other streits, where they were slaine euerie one by such as followed in the chase.

Indulph himselfe with certaine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discover the fields, as though all had bene quiet on each side, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where

Elgarine is drawn in pieces.

Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke and Norway enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enimies are put off.

They land in Boen.

King Indulph draws eth nere towards the enimies.

Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onset.

A supplie sent vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few of his companies the

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Indulph was diligent in his office.

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The Danes fled.

The king with few of his companies the

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Is. Indulph
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the same lay in couert within a close ballie, being
sleed from the field thither upon the first joining of the
battels, with the which entering into fight, he was
shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but
not before he was reuenged of those his enemies, the
whole number of them being slaine there in the
place. His bodie was first buried in Collane, a
towne of Boorne, and after translated vnto the ab-
bie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst o-
ther his predecessors the Scottish kings. Indulph
reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie,
though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incar-
nation 968, as faith Hector Boetius.

After the corps of Indulph was remoued vnto
Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne
of Is. Malcolme was crowned Is. at Scone with all
due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Cu-
lene the sonne of Is. Indulph was proclaimed prince
of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king
transported ouer into the westerne Isles, to set an o-
der there for certeine misdemeanors vsed by diuers
robbers and pillers of the common people. At his
arriual amongst them he called the thanes of the
Isles asse him, commanding strenghtlie as they
would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countries
of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and o-
ther commons might liue in quiet, without veneration
of such varretors and idle persons as sought to liue
onlie vpon other mens goods.

Barretors
then and put
to death.

Magabonndy
compelle to
learne an oc-
cupation.

The nobles
were discon-
tented with
the kings do-
mings.

The occasion
of murmuring
of the nobili-
tie.

The king fell
sicke.

The thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the
king, took no small number of the offenders, part-
lie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lieng in wait
for them where they supposed their haunt was to re-
sozt, the which being put to execution according to
that they had merited, caused the residue of that
kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland,
either else to learne some manuell occupation there-
with to get their liuing, yea though they were ne-
uer so great gentlemen bozne. Howbeit the nobles
with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king a-
gainst their linage, were much offended therewith,
accounting it a great dishonor for such as were des-
cended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get
their liuing with the labor of their hands, which onlie
appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base
degre as were bozne to trauell for the maintenance
of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commande-
ment by order of their birth, and in no wise after such
sort to be made in manner equal with them in state
and condition of life.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst
themselves, how the king was onlie become friend
to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no
respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himsel-
se to be an bitter enemy thereof, so that he was vnwor-
thy to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen,
vnles he knew better what belinged to their degre.
This murmuring did spread not onelie among them
in the Isles, but also through all the other parts of
his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie
euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane
time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so
grauous as strange, that none of his physicians
could perceiue what to make of it. For there was
seene in him no token, that either choler, melanco-
lie, legime, or any other vicious humor did any thing
abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into
such decaye and consumption (so as there remained
vnneath anie thing vpon him saue skin and bone.)

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all o-
ward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did
nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was
fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks,
that moze was not to be wished for; he had also a

temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke,
but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie
prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into
exceeding sweats, which by no means might be re-
strained. The physicians perceiuing all their medi-
cines to want due effect, yet to put him in some com-
fort of helpe, declared to him that they would send
for some cunning physicians into foreigne parts,
who happlie being inured with such kind of diseases,
should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring
of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should
helpe much therevnto.

Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of
recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due
administration of his lawes and good orders of his
realme, denising oft with his counsell about the
same. But when it was vnderstood into what a pe-
rilous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small
number, that contemning the authoritie of the ma-
gistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst
the chiefest were those of Spurrey land, who slaieng
sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most
cruell wise against all such as were not consenting
to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians for-
bad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised
of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes
with trouble of mind about the same. But about that
present time there was a murmuring amongst the
people, how the king was bered with no naturall
sicknesse, but by forcerie and magickall art, practised
by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Spurrey
land, called Fozes.

Where vpon, albeit the author of this secret talke
was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings
eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine wis-
tome persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that
were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iour-
ney, were receiued in the darke of the night into the ca-
stell of Fozes by the lieutenant of the same, called
Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had
kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse.
Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the
cause of their comming, requiring his aid for the ac-
complishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which late there in garrison, had an
inkling that there was some such matter in hand as
was talked of amongst the people; by reason that
one of them kept as concubine a yong woman,
which was daughter to one of the witches as his par-
amour, who told him the whole maner vsed by his
mother & other his companions, with their intent al-
so, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier
hauing learned this of his lemmann, told the same to
his fellows, who made report to Donwald, and he
shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith
sent for the yong damosell which the souldier kept, as
then being within the castell, and caused him vpon
strict examination to confesse the whole matter as
he had seene and knew. Wherevpon learning by his
confession in what house in the towne it was where
they wrought there mischievous mysterie, he sent
forth souldiers about the middest of the night, who
breaking into the house, found one of the witches
roosting vpon a wooden broch an image of wax at
the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person,
made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and
art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting cer-
teine words of incantment, and still basted the
image with a certeine liquo: betie buslie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise,
toke them together with the image, and led them in-
to the castell, where being strictly examined for
what purpose they went about such manner of in-
chantment, they answered, to the end to make away
the

The king be-
ing sicke, yet
he regarded
iustice to be
executed.

A rebellion
practised.

The rebellion
was kept fro
the kings
knowledge.

Witches in
Fozes.

Inquire
was made.

The matter
apparently to
be true.

A witches
daughter is
examined.

The witches
are found out.

An image of
wax roosting
at the fire.

The witches
were exami-
ned.

The whole
matter is
confessed.

The nobles
of the countie
set the witch-
es on work.

The witches
were burnt.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
with an armie
pursued the
rebels.

The rebels
are executed.

Captain Don-
wald craued
pardon for
them but not
granted.

Donwald
conceined ha-
red against
the king.

Donwalds
wife counsell-
ed him to mur-
der the king.

The womans
emill counsell
is followed.

the king: for as the image did waiffe afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake forth in sweat. And as for the words of the incantment, they feared to keepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Spurrey land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witch-
es, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserued) to be burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Ffoces, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breakeing forth vpon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to do anie maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Spurrey land against the rebels there, and cha-
sing them from thence, he pursued them into Kofse, and from Kofse into Cathness, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Ffoces, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certeine yong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being nere of kin vnto Donwald captaine of the castell, and had bene perswaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labo: and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine denial: he conceined such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulness, he found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Ffoces where he used to sojourn. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had sustained by the execution of those his kinsmen, whom the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to tra-
uell with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was whole at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soone accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in tozash by the words of his wife, determined to followe hir ad-
uise in the execution of so heinous an act. Wherupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way he might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he pur-
posed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

atozie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pur-
sute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accounted a most faith-
full seruant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priue chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse de-
licate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they fate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pil-
low, but adlepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act great-
lie in heart, yet through insigation of his wife he called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priue to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeted his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king late) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, with-
out anie buskling at all: and immediatlie by a pos-
terne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horse there provided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. For such an opini-
on men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantly if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they bu-
ried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they flue them whose helpe they used herein, and straightwaies thereupon fled into Dknie.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the rest-
due of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all be-
rated with bloud; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed, and on the floze about the sides of it, he forthwith flue the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the cas-
tell, as though it had bene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murder-
ers hid in anie priue place: but at length comming to the posserne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keys of the gates commit-
ted to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detesta-
ble

The king re-
suerd his
friends.

The king
went to bed.

His chamber-
lains went to
banketting.

The suborned
seruants cut
the kings
throte.

The king his
buriall.

The posserne
keepers are
slaine.

Donwald
kept himselfe
amongst the
watchmen.

Donwald a
verie dissem-
bler.

ble murder.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the severe inquisition and triall of the offenders herein, that some of the lords began to dislike the matter, and to smell forth the twob tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authority together, they doubted to utter what they thought, till time and place should better serue thereunto, and hereupon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor mone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Inulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scorne, there to receiue the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedlie almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and suerlie vntill the offenders were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greivous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the god appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the peeres & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe upon the false inhabitants of Spurrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to arms, followed their prince, taking his iourne with out further delate towards Spurrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being gilty in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be enforced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he toke with him, he secretly got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Forwaite: for this is the peculiar propertie of a gilty conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to betraie it selfe, accounting slight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whom no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maisters death (by reason of his faithful service shewed towards him aforetime) had he not thus sought to haue auoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abhominable fact, and wishing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging flouds, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he thought, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, due all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoer could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chiefe hir husband was moued to cause the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here would the multitude haue run vpon hir and tozied hir in paces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The next day with the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning toke order for due pouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessors.

But as they were busie hercabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods pouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthie punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adioining toke him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in diuerse lords of Nothe, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offenders being brought together vnto the place where the murder was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as followeth, to the great reioysing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being throwen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefest cities of the realme, and there set vp aloft vpon the gates & highest towers, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This dreadful end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vntreuerged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had lain six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet alive, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so soon as it was brought aboue the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more brighte than it had bene some aforetime, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the felds immediatlie thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yeere.

Within a few yeeres after this, there was a bridge made

Some tolke
than other.
The matter
suspected.

Prodigious
weather.

Culene.

The king af-
fected the cause
of the foule
weather.
The bishops
answer vnto
the king.

The king re-
quired pub-
like prayers to
be had.

The king
made an oath.

The king
went with an
armie into
Spurrey land.

His gilty con-
science accus-
eth a man.

Donwald get-
teth him se-
cretly awaie.

The murder
of the king is
reuealed.

The castell of
Forres is ta-
ken and all the
inhabitantes
kille.

The murder
is wholly con-
fessed.

King Duffe
his bodie to be
taken vp.

Donwald is
taken prisoner

Donwalds
four seruants
were taken
also.

Donwald
with his con-
federates are
executed.

Rebwards gi-
uen vnto the
takers of those
murderers.

The bodie of
king Duffe
honorablely
buried.

Marvellous
things are
seene.

Kilbow.

Horsies ate
their owne
flesch.
A monstrous
child.
A sparhawk
strangled by
an owle.

972.

King Culene
did not conti-
nue as his be-
ginning was.

He followes
his sensuall
lustes.

Enill bowes
were not pun-
ished.

God counsell
was not heard

The kings
answer unto
his graue
pæres.

He would not
displease.

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bo-
die had bene buried, and a village builded at the one
end of the byidge, which is called vnto this day, Kil-
bow, that is to say, the church of bowers: taking that
name of the wonder there happened at the remo-
uing of the kings bodie, as the same authoꝝ would
seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a
rich abbeye, standing with a vertie faire church, conse-
crat in the honor of the virgine Marie. Monstrous
sights also that were seene within the Scottish king-
dome that yere were these: horsies in Louthian, be-
ing of singular beantie and swiftnesse, did eat their
owne flesch, and would in no wise taste anie other
meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman
brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot.
There was a sparhawk also strangled by an owle.
Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as
before is said, was continuallie couered with
clouds for six moneths space. But all men under-
stood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe
was the cause hereof, which being reneged by the
death of the authoꝝ, in maner as before is said, Cu-
lene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same
Duffe at Scrone, with all due honor and solemnitie,
in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had
ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure
yeres.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with
righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope
of an other manner of prince, than by the admini-
stration which followed he declared himselfe to be:
for hostile after losing the rains of lasciuious wan-
tonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing
a lewd erample by his owne disordered doings, all
such as were inclined vnto licentious living, follow-
ed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, aban-
doning all feare of correction more than ever had
bene seene or heard of in anie other age. For such
was the negligence of the king, or rather mainte-
nance of misordered persons, that whatsoever anie
of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests,
or anie of the commons, though the same were ne-
uer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment
vsed against them: so that all men looked for some
commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to in-
sue, if there were not other order prouided therefore
in time. The ancient pæres of the realme also being
griued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of
his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the
realme was like to fall through his negligent be-
hauour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well inough
how yong men were not at the first borne graue and
sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads:
wherefore their first youthfull yeres could not be so
stable as they might be hereafter by old age and con-
tinuance of time. But as for such rigorous extreni-
tie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their
subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being
taught by their erample (as by the kings, Indulph,
Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might in-
curre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the govern-
ment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined
so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be belo-
ued than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he
thought) to reteine his subiects in due and most faith-
full obedience. This answer was such, that although
it seemed nothing agreable for the preservation of
the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was
there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that
durst reproue the same, but diuerse there were that
praised him therein, as those that hated all such as lo-
ued the byright administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the
former kings, Indulph & Duffe, mistaking the state
of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme,
namelie all such as were descended of noble paren-
tage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their
wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euery day through
want of correction to be worse and worse) departed
from the court, and withdrew to their homes, with-
out meddling anie further with the publike admini-
stration. In whose place there crept in others, that
with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such
sparks of god inclination as yet remained in the
king, if anie were at all; inso much that in the end he
measured supreme felicitie by the plentiful inioy-
ning of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He
sanctified onelie such as could deuise prouocations ther-
vnto, and in filling the bellie with excesse of coslie
meates and drincks, those that could excell other
were chieslie cherished, and most highlie of him este-
med.

Herevnto shall he was giuen vnto lecherie beyond
all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, wid-
dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor
daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of
such villanie and violent forcings as were practised
by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest
hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre
past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leche-
rous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he
might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he
tooke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in
his presence, that his decayed lust might be the more
stirred by with sight of such filthinesse. This abhorri-
nable trade of life he practised for the space of thre
yeres together, giuing occasion of much spoile, ra-
uine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of
women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish
transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by
authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such
flagitious offenses) being put in vze, through negli-
gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of thieues,
robbers, and other offenders, mainteined by such of
the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull do-
ings, and were partakers with them in the same,
that if anie man went about to withstand them, or
refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he
should be spoiled of all that he had, and hapilie haue
his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwile be miste-
sed in such outrageous and violent sort, that it would
griue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare
of such enormities as were daillie practised in that
countrie. Holobeit, at length the death of king
Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings:
for falling into a filthie disease (through abuse of ex-
cessiue drincking and lecherie) called the wasting of
nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting
of his flesch, that he appeared more like vnto a dead
carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, inso much that
his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable perso-
nages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused
a parlement to be summoned at Scrone, where they
determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some
other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to
reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing where-
fore this counsell was called, as he was going thi-
therwards, at Hestren castell, being almost in the
mid waie of his iourne, was murdered by one
Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he
had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This
end had Culene together with all his filthie sensuali-
tie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in
memorie with his posteritie, and is not like to be for-
gotten

Ancient coun-
cellors leane
the court.

The youthfull
court followe
eth their sen-
suall lusts.

A wicked
time of vnlaw-
fulness.

A lecherous
king.

Forcing of
womenkind
exceeded.

A beaustie be-
hauour!

All honestie
ruined.

Robberie,
theft, &c. were
mainteined.

Death made
an end of all.

Cadhard.

A parlement.

King Culene
was murder-
ed.

9

Kemi

In his
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gotten whilste the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fift yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sautour 976, the nobles & great pères of the realme reioysing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

Kenneth.

All life is reformed.

King Kenneth was of a virtuous living.

He loved strangers.

He abhorred sloth.

He did punish offenders.

A session kept at Lamerke, of Lamerke.

The gillt were aware.

The king dissembled with these dowings.

The king went to visit saint Ninian. The king consulted how to call the transgressors into judgement.

An assemble held at Scone.

Armed men laid in wait.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conveyed unto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great pères assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolm the first, and brother unto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from their wild and savage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecessor) unto their former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transfigure themselves to the vſage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing thew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberalitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other unto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He maintained amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He took busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to applie themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaye to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subiects, he inuēozed himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of thēues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lamerke, a towne in Aile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certeine offenders were summoned to appeere. But at their comming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through perswasion of diuerse noble men unto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the disolall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Ninian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to do. Where he inuēozed (by conference which he had with some of his priue counsell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders into iudgement: but this was kept close till the yere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by uttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue commended about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the counsell-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wise he should stirre with his hand till the next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaie to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement.

On the morrow after the nobles comming together into the counsell-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. When the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare unto them the whole cause of his calling them to counsell at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made unto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought unto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue whereupon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as fled to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallye of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not sake shewlie to defend the commons from such iniuries as thēues and robbers bailie offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same thēues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yere (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enimies and perturbors of the peace. At Lamerke was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuously disobeying our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauoring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withholding themselves so from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well nere perswaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fauors of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though happlie somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men step forth.

The king put forth the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enormities

Lamerke, of Lamerke.

were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiving what his meaning was, first partly excused themselves so well as they might of their cloyed dissimulation, and then falling downe vpon their knees afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfulness accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Tyle, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was streitlie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, straightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Rogers punishment.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as bled to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue judgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must needs worke, if they minded the safeguard of their owne liues. Whereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as used to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged by on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie foraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being soze greued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Whereupon gathering an huge multitude of men together, they were imbarcked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive; & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yeld themselves vnto them. This naute being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Bales, or red head, not far from the place where the abbie of Abirborth, or Abirborthoke was afterward founded.

The Danes seek for to reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Bales in Angus.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their captains fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottishmens hands being poze, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more ouerthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Againe, the soile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner overgrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few townes & small habitations, and those so poze, that no man knowing the same, would bouch safe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of coigne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and townes inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiors, onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottishmen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Danes consult to go into England

King Kenneth

The hostile Scots battle

They consult for to saile into Kent.

They onelie sought reuenge.

The the battle

The had little time.

The begin to.

Some thought to land in Scotland.

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The Scots also being a cruell people, & readie to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be readie to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so sone as it was known that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to do both with the Scottishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should encounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, sith & once had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Whereupon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Esk, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celerke, but now Mountrous. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all speed for their safeguard they got them into Mountrous: but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, castell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

The Danes do land at Mountrous.

Mountrous taken, and all within was slain.

The Danes come to the riuer of Tyle.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They laid siege before Bertha.

The wing Scot

Date two

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tyle, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Sterling, where hearing of these greuous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemblie of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tyle. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Tyle, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. When without further delay, he raised with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, comming that night vnto

The Danes
onslutt to go
into England

King Ken-
neth set his
men in aray.

The king ex-
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Scots vnto
baliante the.

They confide
oz to saile into
Kent.

They onelic
ought re-
senge.

The order of
the Scottish
battell aray.

The Danes
had the ad-
uantage of a
little moun-
taine.

The Scots
begin the bat-
till.

Some
thought be-
to land in
Scotland.

The Danes
dwand at
Mowntros.

Mowntros tes
ken, and all
within was
daine.

The Danes
come to the ri-
uer of Tale.

King Ken-
neth gathered
a great armie.

They late
sage before
Bertha.

Hale with his
two sonnes.

unto Lonscaft a billage not far distant from the ri-
uer of Tale, famous euer after, by reason of the
battell fought then nere vnto the same. The Danes
hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no
time, but forthwith prepared to giue battell.

Kenneth as soone as the sunne was vp, beholding
the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie in-
to order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew
their manhood, he promisseth to releafe them of all
tributs and payments due to the kings cofers for the
space of five yeares next ensuing: and besides that
he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands
so much worth in value to euerie one of his armie,
that should bring him the head of a Dane. He wil-
led them therefore to fight manfullie, and to remem-
ber there was no place to attaine mercie; for either
must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they
slew, in the end to looke for present death at the en-
emies hands, who would not ceasse till time they had
found them forth, into what place so euer they reso-
ted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The
Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings
words, kept their order of battell according as they
were appointed, still looking when the onset should
be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland
led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieut-
enant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe go-
uerned the battell. The enemies on the other part
had taken their ground at the foot of a little moun-
taine right afoze against the Scottish campe. Thus
both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, be-
holding either other a good space, till at length the
Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the
Danes would not come forth to anie euen ground,
advanced forward with somewhat more haile than
the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and
throwing of darts right frechlie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine,
were constrained to leaue the same, and with all
speed to come forward vpon their enemies, that by
joining they might auoid the danger of the Scottish
mens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore
they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe
was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight
was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the
Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of
the Danes, euer as they might ouercome them.
Which maner being noted of the Danes, and percei-
uing that there was no hope of life but in victorie,
they rushed forth with such violence vpon their ad-
uersaries, that first the right, and then after the left
wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and
sle backe, the middle ward stoutly yet keeping their
ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now
left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needs
haue remained with the Danes, had not a reueler
of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is
to be thought) of almighty God.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at
the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons
busie about his worke, named Hale, a man strong
and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued
with a valiant courage. This Hale beholding the
king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with
great valiance in the middle ward, now destitute of
the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the
great violence of his enemies, caught a plow-beame
in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes
to do the like, passed towards the battell, there to die
rather amongst other in defense of his countrie,
than to remaine aliue after the discomfiture in mis-
erable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most
vnnmercifull enemies. There was nere to the place
of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with dit-

ches and walles made of turfe, through the which the
Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enemies
on heapes.

Here Hale with his sonnes, supposing they might
best staie the flight, placed themselves querthwart
the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing,
and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they
went all such as came within their reach, therewith
diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellowes
to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a
new power of Scottishmen come to their succours,
by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of
their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore
might they chole whether they would be slaine of
their owne fellowes coming to their aid, or to re-
turne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes
being here staied in the lane by the great valiance
of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had
bene some great succors of Scots come to the aid
of their king, and therevpon ceassing from further
pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of
their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the
Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being in-
couraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the
place of the battell right fiercelie. Wherevpon Ken-
neth perceiuing his people to be thus recomforted,
and his enemies partlie abashed, called vpon his
men to remember their duties, and now with their ad-
uersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to
faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully,
which if they did, he assured them that the victorie un-
doubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots incouraged
with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie,
that in the end the Danes were constrained to for-
sake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the
chafe, made great slaughter of them as they fled.
This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Sco-
tish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward,
bare still the bzunt of the battell, continuing man-
fullie therein euen to the end. But Hale, who in such
wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled,
causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued
immortall fame and commendation: for by his
meanes chiefie was the victorie atchieued. And
therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the
field and of the enemies campe (which they had left
void) should be diuided, the chiefest part was befoved
on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the mul-
titude; the residue being diuided amongst the sould-
ers and men of warre, according to the ancient cus-
tome vsed amongst this nation.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enemies,
as he should enter into Bertha, caused collicie robes
to be offered vnto Hale and his sonnes, that being
richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the
people: but Hale refusing to change his apparell,
was contented to go with the king in his old gar-
ments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entring
with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with
little lesse hono: than the king himselfe, all the people
running forth to behold him, whome they heard to
haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when the field
was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At
his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder
the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie
sword or battell are might haue bene to anie the
most valiant warrio: Thus Hale being honored of
all estates, within certeine daies after, at a counsell
holden at Scone, it was ordeined, that both he and
his posteritie should be accepted amongst the num-
ber of the chiefest nobles and piers of the realme,
being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts)
w lands and reuenues, such as he should chofe
sufficient

Hale staied
the Scots fro
running away

The Scots
were bzunt
to their battell
againe.

The Danes
fled towards
their fellowes
in great dis-
order.

Kenneth
called vpo his
men to remem-
ber their
duties.

The Danes
forsake the
fields.

The spoile is
diuided.

Hale refused
collicie gar-
ments.

The king
came to
Bertha.

Hale is made
one of the
nobilitie.

He had reue-
nues assign-
ed to him.

sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did alke so much ground in those parts where the river of Tair runs by the towne of Arrore over against Jfife, as a falcon would flie over at one flight. Which request being freely granted of the king, the place was appointed at Jnschire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking his flight from thence, never lighted till she came to a great stone nere a village called Rolfe, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which means all that countrie which lieth betwixt Jnschire aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, doth cause the thing better to be beleued, and well nere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes thre scutcheons gules in a field of silver, a plowbeame added therevnto, which he used in stead of a battell axe, when he fought so ballantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath attained vnto great estimation of honor, and hath bene decozated with the office of the constableness of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yere of king Kenneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by foreyn enemies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Berns of the wessterne Isles invading Rolfe, to the intent to haue fetcht a bottie, were met withall by the waie and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre moze dangerous to the whole state of the common-wealth, raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefest lords of the Bernes, who was sonne vnto a certaine ladie named Jfenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two rivers, the one called Southeske, and the other Northeske. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraie was begun amongst the seruingsmen, in the which two of Cruthlins seruants fortunely to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the busines, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maister, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Jfenella, where she lay within the castell of Jfithcarne, the chiefest fortresse of all the Bernes. Where being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie received: so that assembling a number of his friends and kinsfolks so secretlie as he might together, with a band of the inhabitants of the Bernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting anie treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenly oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left aliuie. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he for-

raied the countrie all thereabouts, returning home with a great bottie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselves together invaded the countrie of Bernes, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certaine time, with daile incursions and wastings of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortly come to bitter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischiese and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, he made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Bernes, whom he vnderstood to be culpable, should appeare within fiftene daies after at Scone, there to make answer afoze appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offences with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Bernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being sore moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scottish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie used: and againe how they obied the magistrates best when they were restrained from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeyed his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortly disquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursuit to be made after Cruthlint, and the residue of the offenders, the which at length being taken in Lochquahar, were brought vnto a castell in Gortie called Dounsinnam, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlint first, and then other the chiefest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiours against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For this equitie shewed in ministring iustice by the king, he was greattlie praised, loued, and heard of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatlie to the aduancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his nereest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Camberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdom after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth græuing not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inhering the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The cloked loue also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed

The countrie is forraied.

They of Bernes requite their iniuries.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable should appeare at Scone.

The faultie men ran away.

The k. was sore offended therewith.

The k. minded to punish the disobedient rebels. Cruthlint taken with manie moze.

He is executed with certaine others.

The k. was shortly commended for his iustice.

K. Kenneth poisoned his cousin Malcolme.

The k. was not suspected of this fact.

The poisoning of Malcolme is brought into suspicion.

Haie his request.

The falcon measured Haie his lands out.

Haie had armes giuen him.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

In other commotion in Bernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to see his grandfather.

Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set by on Cruthlint also.

Cruthlint was instigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the castell.

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Embassadors
came from Es.
Edward.

he required a
new prince to
be elected.

The Es. heard
a fit message
for his pur-
pose.

The king re-
quested that
the crowne
might come by
inheritance.

A fit oration
for his pur-
pose.

He had come
though to
swaibe in, to
gather proofes
& reasons to
persuade this
matter, it be-
ing good of
it selfe.

thod for him, in all places where anie mention chan-
ced to be made of the losse which the realme had su-
ffered by the death of so worthie a prince, made men
nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some
of the nobles perceiuing the outward sorow (which he
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to
gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet
because no certentie appeared, they kept their
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of
his stepmother Esculda, was made a martyr) requir-
ing that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland
was deceased, it might please the king with the
states of the realme to chose some other in his place,
who doing his homage vnto the king of England,
according as it was covenanted by the league,
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-
twixt the two nations for the auoiding of all occasi-
ons of breach thereof that otherwise happilie might
insue.

Kenneth at the same time held a counsell at
Scone, where hauing heard the request of these am-
bassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered
that he was glad to vnderstand that king Edward
was so careful for maintenance of loue and amitie
betwixt his subiects and the Scottishmen, according
to the articles of the ancient league in times past
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks vnto
him for his gentle aduertisement, he purposed by the
advice of his nobles, and the other estates of his
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince
of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and
thereupon required the ambassador to be present on
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles
should name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The
ambassadors hereupon departing forth of the coun-
cell chamber, were conueied to their lodging by di-
uerse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe
them companie.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about
to persuaide the pères, and other the estates of the
realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the cus-
tome and ancient order vsed by their elders in cho-
sing of him that should succede in the gouernance of
the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in
possession. He vsed so manie reasons as was pos-
sible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to in-
duce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act
established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie
to this end, that one of his sonnes might intoy the
same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared
also what discommodities, seditions, and great incon-
ueniencies had growne, in that the crowne had gone
in times past by election: for though it was ordeined
at the first that it should so doe, vpon a good intent
and great consideration, yet in proceesse of time profe
and experience had shewed, that more hinderance
happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beside
the danger euer insuing incidentlie vnto such issue
as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie
murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wic-
ked practises were throughlie tried and considered,
the summe whereof he recited from point to point,
and so in the end with great instance besought them,
that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and
taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state
of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes common-
lie the order was, that the sonne should without anie
contrabition succede the father in the heritage of the
crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort he
could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were
there amongst other, being made priue to the mat-
ter aforesaid, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme
the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland,
that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne af-
ter the deceasse of his father. This motion by and
by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth
perceiuing, he required of the most ancient pères
whome they would name to be prince of Cumber-
land, that there might be a meane to ratifie and con-
firme the league betwixt the Scots and English-
men, Constantine the sonne of king Cullin, and
Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mo-
gall: whobey by the force of the former law they
might by god reason haue looked to haue had the pre-
ferment themselves.

But yet perceiuing it was in vaine to denie
that which would be had by violence (although they
should neuer so much stand against it) being first de-
manded of the herald what they thought, they an-
swerd (notwithstanding against their minds indee) that
the king might order all things as should
stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought
most meet to be prince of Cumberland, and to ab-
rogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in
devising new ordinances for the same, as should
seeme vnto him and those of his counsell most requi-
site and necessarie. The multitude then following
their sentence, cried with loud & vndiscreet voices,
to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth crea-
ted prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Mal-
colme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices
of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in
place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe.
The daie next following, the ambassadors comming
into the counsell chamber, heard what was decreed
touching their request, and then being highlie re-
warded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they re-
turned into England, and Malcolme with them, to
be acquainted with king Edward, and to do his ho-
mage for the principalltie of Cumberland, as the cus-
tome was.

At the same time also there was a new act deuised
and made, the old being abrogated (by the appoint-
ment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish
kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather
consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it ei-
ther in harts or voices, though some currisaours a-
mong them set forward the matter to the best of
their powers. The articles of this ordinance were
these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king,
whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age
soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the
mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse,
should from thence forth succede in the kingdome of
Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be prefer-
red before the nephue by the daughter, in attaining
to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the bro-
thers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son.
The same law should be obserued of all such of the
Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance
comming to them by descent. Where the king by this
meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule,
there should be one of the chiefest pères of the realme
chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his per-
son and realme, till he came to 14 yères of age. The
which foureteenth yere of his age being accompli-
shed, he should haue the administration committed
to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons
of ech estate and degre should remaine vnder the
wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came
to the age of 21 yères, and not till then to meddle
with anie part of their lands and liuings.

D. These

The pères of
the realme did
willinglie
grant to his
request.

The herald
required Es-
tantine his
voice first.

Constantine
his saing.

The multi-
tude wel plea-
sed, cried Mal-
colme.

A new act for
the succession
of the crowne.

Articles con-
cluded in that
parlement.

King Kenneth
murdered
in justice trials.

The good will
of the nobilitie
he bought
with gifts.

The king had
a guiltie consci-
ence.

A voice heard
by the king.

The king
confesseth his
sinnis.

The king tak-
eth great re-
pentance.

The king
went to For-
dune in pil-
grimage.
He parke with
wild beasts at
the castell of
Fethricarne.

Fenella was
of kin unto
Malcolme.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fallie assured unto him and his posteritie, and thereupon indurged himselfe to win the hearts of the people with upright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lordes and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most unhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so cometh it to passe, that such as are picked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect: 20
"Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to doe that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almighty God, shall suffer woorthie punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou dost endeavour to assure vnto thine issue.

The king with this voice being striken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Spouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtaine pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by woorthie penance. Spouean hearing how the king demoned his offense committed, he willed him to be of god comfort. For as the wrath of almighty God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other the like comfortable words of the bishop, studied vnfeinedlie to doe woorthie penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witnesse of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced hereupon, that within a short time after he had bene at Fordune, a towne in Spences, to visit the relikes of Maladus which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castell of Fethricarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beasts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Spences and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuise of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomack, long time before hauing conceived an immortall grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie as well for the death of

his sonne Cruthlin, as hauing some inkling also of the impossibility of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

She understood that the king delighted aboute measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compass his malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, joining vnto his owne lodging with in the foresaid castell of Fethricarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finclie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Hereunto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and costlie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the middell of the house there was a goodlie brasen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, denised with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remoue it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with her into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, as well of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the middell of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkies, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore requited him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value woorthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And herewith the herselfe withdrew awaie, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through sundrie places, he fell downe starke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed hories to stie for her, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued her, yet the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the utter chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore softly, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floze.

The clamor and crie hereupon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella cursed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngenerous woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in gouernment of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lordes to assist

She was de-
uious for to
revenge.

Fenella her
malicious in-
tent.

Crossebowes
readie bent,
hidden.

Fenella had
the king into
the inner
chamber.

The king
was slaine
with the crosse
bowes.

Fenella es-
caped from them
all.

His seruants
looked for their
king.

The doores
broken open,
they find him
dead.

Fenella could
not be found.

Fenella got
herselfe into
Ireland by
the helpe of
Constantine.

Constantine
aspired vnto
the crowne.

Const.
tine.

Constant
procured
friends.

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Marcell
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Malcol
kenneth
against
Constantine

God
was g
him.

Yet old
count
gwen.

Malcol
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Constantine
the
morte
folme

assist him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late, that Kenneth by his private authoritie had gone about to abrogate the same) ought to descend vnto him, as all the world verie well vnderstood.

Constantine.

Constantine procured friends.

994. Io. Ma. 1000. H. B.

Aguelons happens.

The mane appeared bloudie.

Scarlatic of copse and catell.

Preaching was despised.

Aguelons seeth friends against Constantine.

God counsell was given him.

Yet other counsell was given him.

Aguelons goeth with an arme to fight with Constantine.

Constantine procured friends so on each side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yere (as is said) sundrie braken sights were seene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left vpon the sands on the coasts of Buchuane, an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lieng there dead, caused such a stinkie sauer, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The mane appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, come failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadful wonders might not withhold the Scottishmen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in those daies they were wholly giuen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughty liuings: for other wise vndoubtedlie such grillic sights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischief to fall vnto the whole nation. And suerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborne harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of utter destruction.

Malcolm the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance latelie made) had usurped the crowne, as soon as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to walke for the appealing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that companie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the pères and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilst Aguelons should seeke to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might happlie wind himselfe further into trouble, than without extreame perill of the common wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenly to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him per he were provided for their coming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so soon as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be driven to flee the realme for safeguard of his life.

The fierce young man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whom making towards Constantine with speedie iornies, at length he came into Northian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the hate which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Aguelons for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason whereof he had bene put to such hinderance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene recovered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittells in both hostes, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterpryse for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, wherevpon followed waftings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischief happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischief so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilst the Scottishmen were thus at division amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable native countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with invasion of Danes, was glad to buye peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daile to spoile and rob his subjects, he purposed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Aguelons prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Aguelons consenting to Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certeine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to invade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be ready to fight in their defense, if anie forreine enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilst Aguelons was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Aguelons) vnder his subjection.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Northian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Aguelons to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Craymond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, three miles from Edinburgh, purposing there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assault him. Constantine herevpon hastened thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enemies, straightwaies ioined battell with them; immediately therewith there rose such an outrageous tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driving the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

Aguelons thought himselfe too weak.

Lacke of vittells caused Constantine to breake vp his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Aguelons is ready to helpe king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine renewed warre with Aguelons.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

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Constantine spired vnto he crowne.

King Constantine is slain.

1002

Grime.

Grime used liberalitie and gentlenesse towards Constantines friends.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland is moued against Grime. A good counsell.

Malcolme sendeth priuie to the lordes of Scotland.

Malcolme his promise vnto the Scots.

Malcolme his messengers are committed to prison.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Grime is of greater force than Malcolme.

Malcolme would not haue his people to vnderstand the trueth thereof.

His aduise auailed not.

gainst their enemies that then pressed vpon them right eagerlie. By means wherof the discomfiture lighted vpon Constantines side, though neither part had anie great cause to reioice: for in the hottest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to encounter together, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enemies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne, & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

Then Grime nephew to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered together the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the ouerthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was soe weakened, & thereupon he came vnto the abbete of Scone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king, as lawfull successor vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentlenesse towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whome he saw by no means could be wonne, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enemies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland soe moued in his mind that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends together, requirung to haue their aduise, which way he were best to worke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enemies, but rather to assaie by all means to draw those nobles vnto his purpose, which were assiant vnto Grime. Whereupon Malcolme following the counsell of his friends, sent forth secret messengers vnto those lords that toke part with Grime, requirung them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would do in renouncing their obseuance vnto the vsurper Grime, he promised so to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mislike with his doings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message revolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to do the like. But other & the greater number toke those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners vnto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme soe offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his pursuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iourne, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all such of the Scottish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the wessterne Isles. Malcolme doubting least if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongst his people, the same would increase the terror more than needed; he gaue commandement therfore that no maner of wight should be suffered to come into his armie, vnlesse he were first brought to his presence. But this deuise nothing auailed him: for thereby, that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest,

by reason that such as had some inkling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in deed. For there rose a murmuring amongst them, that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioin with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the joining had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes aquarell.

This rumor passing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was first raised by certeine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms host, hauing more skill in buying and selling, than in anie warlike feats or enterprises. These at the first suing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerse of the capteins were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailfull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enemies with his people thus afforied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and aboard onelie with certeine bands of his most faithfull friends nere to the water of Forth, to stop his enemies from passing ouer that riuer.

Whilste the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord, Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approved vertue and clemencie, soe lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall vestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselves before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderstand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beseeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pittie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the state of things being such, as if some redresse were not found in all speedie wise, the vtter ruine of the common-wealth must needs insue, by reason of the fundrie debats and factions ballie rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murders, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischief were still put in practise without restraint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend vnto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to undertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no maner of behalfe be prejudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Grime moued with the wordes of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne suertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroyed, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suchliue wars he neuer desired but onelie in defense

A brute speech in Malcolms armie of treason.

Merchantmen authors of the rumor.

For good.

Malcolme is cencerth the most part of his armie to depart hence. Malcolme intendeth to stop his enemies from passing ouer the Forth. The great bishop of Scotland.

Fothadus saith to take by the matter.

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The fruits of ciuill warre.

Fothadus undertaketh to conclude a peace betwixt the parties.

Grimes end were to Fothadus.

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of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinaunces of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principalltie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake by his campe, and depart forth of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladly come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to do, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the uttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to staie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihood of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the uttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraue into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake by his campe, and agree to haue a truce for thre moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorised thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licensed his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Fozfair, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Seone, where within few daies after (chiefly through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his deceasse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance decreed made & established by R. Kenneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Northian & Northumberland, and betwixt Clide and Westmerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernment of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he should continue in friendship with the said Grime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie warre or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be depriued of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by sollemne othes to performe euerie point and points in these articles comprised, they laid armes aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misdeemeanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Wherbet, commandement was giuen by either of these princes, that their subjects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, that countenance sooner they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Grime at length of a chaste & liberall prince, through long flouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attainder, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subjects being thus brought into extreame miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to seeke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerterd his mind, & moued him to do things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and partes of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through persuation of euill counsellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subjects, to their bitter impoverishment and bndowing, the rebuke whereof did rebound vnto his dishonour, if it would please him to remoue out of his presence and seruice all such disloiall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win thereby the loue of all his liege subjects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliuie, if reformation were not the sooner had against such enormities as his seruants and officers did daillie practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, sith the sword was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous persons, nor to oppress innocent and true dealing people, but contrarily to punish and correct guiltie and vniust dealers.

When king Grime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with faired words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtesie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their hostes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceasing from raising new payments and exactions still of

D. liij.

applies their studies to reforme misdeemeanours.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities into detestable vices.

The common peoples praise

The lords require Grime to reforme the misdeemeanors of his officers.

The office of the sword.

King Grime purposed to haue slaine the messengers.

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Grimes an- vere to F- adus.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

Malcolme's offer.

Grime is contented with Malcolme's motion.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agreement.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

The warres being ceased, the princes

The lords of Scotland arre warre against Grime their king.

what mischief infused.

Malcolme is required to receive the Scottish estate.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Grime.

Grime assembleth an armie to incounter Malcolme. The camps were the one to the other. Grime's policie.

Malcolmes request.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme. Grimes part discomfited.

The end of king Grime.

his subjects, till at length he was advertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more mischief and trouble than ever had bene seene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this civill dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, townes burned up, corne destroyed, fields waisted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the utter euerision of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Geldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subjects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came unto him, beseeching him to take pitie upon his miserable and forie countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remove away from the people such imminent destruction as daily hasted towards them, which to do they thought it was partie even his dutie, sith God had bestowed upon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentifully appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Grime and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme moued with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which daily resorted unto him, resolved with promise of their support to leue warre against Grime in this so necessarie a quarrell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still unto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprise, offering by solenne othes to become his liegemen and subjects. Grime likewise being advertised of those newes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Grime supposing that he might take his enemies at some aduantage, if he came upon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being advertised thereof, sent unto Grime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Grime would in no wise assent thereto, but needs would come on without stop or staie; whereupon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Grimes side was put to the worse, and in the end clearelie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Grime was taken aliue standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eyes put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certaine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9th yeare of his reigne, and was buried in Colme-

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, using manie gentle words toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained unto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Grime and his counsellors. When he had thus offered his mind unto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he utterly refused to receive the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approved, whereupon the lords bound themselves by solenne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set upon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great ioyning of all the people present.

When the sollemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and peeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assistant unto his aduersarie Grime: and there vied the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to avoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill discord had sprung up among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discret persons, skillfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and vprightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilste the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the iniuries done before unto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, thewed by sundrieouerthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end driven and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish belefe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arrived (as is said) in England, and chased king Geldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined himselfe to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Wuse, nere to the banks whereof, not farre from Forke, he pitched downe

1004. Io. M.

1010. H. B.

Malcolme's words to the thanes taken prisoners.

A parliament at Scone.

Malcolme refuseth the crowne but upon condition.

The ordinance of king Kenneth for the succession of the crowne is confirmed.

Malcolme

Malcolme agreeth the nobles of his realme.

Malcolme's wisdom in ordaining officers.

Sueno king of Denmarke landed in England.

Sueno converted to the christian faith in Scotland.

Geldred (as the Scots write Geldred) chased into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots.

Malcolme's words to the thanes taken prisoners.

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Sueno cōuer-
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as the Scots
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chased into
Northumber-
land, getteth
aid from the
Scots.

Suenos mes-
sage to the
Scots.

The battell
betwixt Egeld-
red & Sueno

The English
men put to
flight by the
Danes.

Egeldred es-
capeth by
flight.

Suenos cru-
ell imaginati-
on.

The nobles of
England
their humble
petition vnto
Sueno.

Under what
conditions
Sueno licen-
ced the Eng-
lishmen to live
in their owne
countrie.

downe his tents.

When Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleasures received but latelie at the Scottismens hands, sent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waikes home, and to refuse Egeldreds companie; either else to loke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Northwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who verie desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arraied to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they shue most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie dære and bloudie victorie. The murther also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Duse, so escaping out of the enemies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Thus Egeldred being utterlie banquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes. Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles moze at large it doth appere. Sueno hauing thus overcome his enemies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humble before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castels, towne, or other souereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualifed his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vied the victorie farre moze gentlie, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no meanes they should presume to beare anie armor or weapon, but to applie themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castels, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their souereigne lord and king; they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armor, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and silver, aswell in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to

do, proclamation was made that he should immediatlie lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vzed. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to avoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was vzed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or tempozall, but were utterlie remoued from the same, and some of them cast in prison and daillie put in hazard of their liues. Finallie, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euerie housholder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continually giue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agre not in all points with our English histories, yet fith the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Eldred, was duen to flie into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read moze at large) not hauing time to make anie such iournie into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprize anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall hether he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the moze suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But for, somuch as he could not compasse his intention here, in, he furnished all the castels and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouision he could deuise to make moztall wars vpon the Scots: and the moze to annoie his enemies, he sent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Northumber, and to Onetus his depute in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enemies there.

Whereupon shortly after those foresaid capitains arrived with an huge armie in the mouth of Speie, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Northumber fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B.
The miserie
of the Eng-
lishmen vnder
the bondage of
the Danes.

The name of
lordaine how it
came by.

Sueno landed
here this last
time of his
coming
forth of Den-
marke into
England in
Iulie, in the
yeere 1013, &
departed this
life in the be-
ginning of
Februarie, in
the yeere 1014

Sueno prepa-
reth to inuade
the Scots.

Olauus, and
Onetus.

The Danes
land in Scot-
land.

The crueltie
of the Danes.

their wiues, children, and gods (such as they could conueie alwaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all be- fore them, as well churches and chappels, as other build- ings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, three castles onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Forres, 10 and Jarne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was twaine) the other two would yeld without anie fur- ther defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Jarne, inforcing themselves with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within five miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

The castell of
Jarne besie-
ged.

Malcolme
sendeth am-
bassadors to
the Danes.

The Danes
slea the am-
bassadors.

Incontinentlie hereupon they raised their siege, 20 and hastid forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus invaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subiects so to do: who scarcely had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being soe moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of mes- sengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iourne with the more fierce courage, till he came to a meadow a little beside Killos, where he incam- ped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes against their friends and countriemen: not withstanding on the morrow, when they saw their e- 30 nimies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had bene sene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to wax faint, hauing greater care which wale to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onfet vpon their enimies.

The Scots
through feare
are affrighted.

Malcolms
wordes to his
nobles.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the hearts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus affrighted at the first sight of their enimies, with- 50 out further triall of their forces. ¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger ap- pareth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint hearted (now that ye are come where ballancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nati- 60 on, whose furious puissance ye seeme now so much to feare: There hath bene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowne of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. ¶ Ye ought then (said he) to be of god courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to do with those e- 60 nimies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue bene banquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other

Loncart.

Albion the se-
pulture of
Danes.

places: yea and besides that, such as mowing warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue vio- 70 lated the lawes both of God and man, deserting thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such basest offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enimies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and shew our selues in balliant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appere what outra- 80 gious follie remained in the Danes, to invade vs without occasion of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needs at length perish, than to the defense and preservation of your common countrie; why passe ye not forward, sith there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enimie ready to ioine?

The nobles moued with these wordes of their prince, began boldlie to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie therupon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring ei- 90 ther their owne forces or their enimies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or god arate. Dr- launs & Dnetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiously against them, boldlie incountred them with arrated battels. Whereupon ensued a verie ter- rible fight, with great manhood shewed on both sides, nothing being let passe that might apperteine to worthie captiues: the Scots inforcing themselves to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes doing their best indeneur by balliant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murther & slaugh- 100 ter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was soe wounded, & had his hel- met so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in ma- ner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to be- siege effronies the castell of Jarne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scots
without order
rush forth to
battell.

The Scots
put to flight.
Malcolme is
wounded.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on e- ch side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing know- ledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their ar- 110 moz, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. Neuertheless the Danes, contrarie to their faith gi- uen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wals, in most de- spitefull manner. Thus was Jarne twaine by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murray land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. Then those souldiers which kept Elgin and Forres, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus used, fled out of those castles, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioicing at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselves sure seates in Murray land, and thereupon sent backe their ships into Norway and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to crape and inne the come growing abroad in the fields, vnto their vse and commoditie.

The castell of
Jarne ren-
dered by com-
pulsion.

The Danes
breakers of
faith and pro-
mise.

Elgin and
Forres left
void.

Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arriuall of new aid, his enimies might wax more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of war- 120 riors,

Murchlake.

The Scots
and Danes
one afraid of
another.The Scots
forced to re-
tire.The Scots
without order
rush forth to
battell.The Scots
put to flight.
Malcolme is
wounded.Malcolme's
praier.Upon that
is to God, and
our ladie, and
saint Molloke,
for so he iointed
them together
according to
the manner of
that time.The castell of
Dunbar re-
sized by com-
position.The Danes
breakers of
faith and pro-
mise.Elgin and
Fores left
void.The Scots
oftentimes re-
new battell.Dunbar is
slaine.

and came in good order and most warlike arraie into Murchlake, a towne of Mear, where the first erection of the bishops see of Abirten was founded. Here the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenlie both amazed. For the Scots having had too much experience of the crueltie shewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and upon an unknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enemies. Yet neuertheless in the end, by the encouragement of the capitaine on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruel malicious hatred on ech hand.

In the first brunt three valiant capitaine, that is to say, Kenneth of Gla, Grime of Stratherne, and Patrike of Dunbar, rushing ouer fiercelie on their enemies, were slaine, and gaue occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie forth, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fenced on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauerses were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of purpose to impeach the passage, deuised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preasse, till he came to the midst of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint Molloke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast by his hands towards heauen, making his praier on this wise. Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our native countrie granted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the iniurious inuasion of Danes, do flee vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beseeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadful terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint Molloke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I haere make a vow to build a cathedraall church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath bene defended.

Scarcelie had Malcolme made an end of this praier, when diuers of the nobles with a lowd voice, as though they had bene assured that his praier was heard, cried to their companies: Stand good fellows, for suerlie it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enemies. Hereupon rose a wonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, ech one encouraging other to withstand the enemies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defence of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon their enemies, making great slaughter on ech side, without regard to their liues or bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receiued. Here with Malcolme with an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon Dunbar, who was prancing vp and downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had bene already without recouerie clearelie discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe beside his horse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capitaine, staied from further pursute on the Scots. Whereof ensued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Maunus beholding the discomfiture of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Murchlake with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering what a number of his most valiant capitaine he had lost in this battell, diuided the spoile of the field amongst his men, and ceassing from further pursute of the Danes at that time, went into Angus, where he remained the residue of the yere within the castell of Forfar, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publicke affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of Murchlake out of the enemies hands. King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunatlie his people had sped thus in Scotland at the battell of Murchlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie armies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come forth of the riuer of Thames; and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

The yere next ensuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arrived and met together within the mouth of the Forth, nere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. Camus then plucking vp the sailles, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came once about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbraies, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeres before had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earli vanquished their enemies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

After this, he took his iourne through Angus, sparing no manner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all manner of other buildings publicke and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechin, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be easilie wonne, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finally aduertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland. Then suddenly he took the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbirnie, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enemies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them open battell.

But before he arraigned his battels, he called his nobles and capitaine together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, lining on the spoile and pilage

The Danes
put to flight.Maunus fleeth
into Murchlake
land.Sueno prepar-
eth a new ar-
mie to inuade
Scotland.Camus ap-
pointed cap-
taine generall
of the Danes.Saint Ebbes
head.
The Scots
keepe off the
Danes from
landing.Camus with
his armie lan-
deth at the
Redbraies.Camus mar-
chet through
Angus.
The crueltie
of the Danes.The towne
and church of
Brechin des-
troyed.King Mal-
colme hasteth
forward to
fight with the
Danes.Malcolme's
oration.

lage got by theuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enemies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought brutillie to innade, without hauing occasion so to doe, saue onelie vpon an inlicitous meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of propriety. He willed them therefore to remember how they were come thus against those enemies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell injuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiance of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vnconth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enemies.

Camus exhorteth his Danes.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field. Camus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Keithes adorned to honor.

Danes slaine at Abirlemon.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth strongly ranged in good order to encounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in good array of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enemies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthy attempts. The armies hereupon on both sides, fiercely rushing together, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochie ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blood spilled in the same. Sparie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, enforcing their bittermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground together fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their hearts, that thus were they wholly set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

Camus perceiving the discomforture to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enemies, he was slaine by them yer he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camestone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall fear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honor amongst Scottishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high renowne and fame thereof, amongst the chiefest peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes fleeing from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirlemon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthy elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scottishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellows that mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obtained this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the labors of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blown from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled by sailes to haue passed into Murray land vnto Dlauus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies together, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenable harbor were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the fifth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their vittels began to faile them, they set free hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some botie or peece of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got together a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were encountered by the way by Sparnachus the thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scottishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them some what to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Sparnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despite of their enemies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

The diuiding of the spoile.

Bones of Danes.

Sparnachus thane of Buchquhane.

Danes slaine nere vnto Gemmer.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Gemmer a village or tostone in Buchquhane, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be seene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, vnderstanding what had hapened to their fellows (because they returned not againe to the ships) so sone as the wind came about for their purpose, hoisted by sailes, and toke their course forthright towards Murray land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie overcome with anie aduersie fortune, made preparation in all speedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a new fleet and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhane, and destroyed

Sueno preparerth the third time to innade Scotland. Canute brother vnto Sueno, destroyed

printed gene-
rall to come a-
gainst the
Scots.

desstroyed a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countrie-
men the Danes, which had bene there made late-
lie before.

King Mal-
colme deter-
mination.

Malcolme soe kindled in wrath by these inturies,
though through continuance of the wars his power
was greatlie decayed, yet did he assemble an armie
with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the
same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them
with often skirmishes and light encounters, but in
no wise to leopord with them in anie pitcht field or
generall battell, for feare least if he had the over-
throw, he should not be able to furnish a new power
for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the
enimies. For the space therefore of fiftene daies
together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the
parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots
beholding so huge murder of their countriemen and
friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction
of the townes and villages, burning and blasing on
each side before their faces, they come to king Mal-
colme, and desired him that he would grant them
licence to fight with their enimies, protesting plaine-
lie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would
giue battell at their owne chosse.

The Scotish-
mens request
vnto their
king for li-
cence to fight.

Malcolme perceiuing the earnest minds of his
people to encounter their enimies in plaine field, and
that he might no longer protact the time, he granted
their petition, and therewith beseeching them to re-
member their honors and duties: incontinentlie
the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice
on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in
fight a long time, they inforced themselves to rid each
other out of life: so that all the nobles well nare on
both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather
than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots,
who were so feeble and faint with long fight & slaugh-
ter, that in the end of the battell they were not able
to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping
with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that
night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell,
they lodged here and there in seuerall places, at ad-
uenture as well as they might.

The onset is
giuen.

The Scots
swan the name
of victorie, ra-
ther than vic-
torie it selfe.

On the morrow after, when it was vnderstood on
both parties, what losse they had sustained, their
minds were conuerted rather to peace than to re-
new battell, because they were not of power longer
to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as
toke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was con-
cluded with these articles. First, that the Danes
should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and
all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres
should clearelie cease betwixt the Danes and Sco-
tishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and
Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those
two nations should aid or in anie wise support the o-
thers enimies. That the field where the last battell
was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall,
within the which the Danes that were slaine in the
same battell should be buried, and a church to be
built there, and lands appointed for the mainte-
nance of priests, to celebrate there according to the
order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the
people: for the Danes latelie before that season had
also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by
the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Mal-
colme, Camte with his Danes resigning vp the pos-
session of such holds and places as they held in Mur-
rey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part
of the Scotish dominions, got him to his fleet, and
departed with the same home into Denmarke.

Peace conclu-
ded for want
of power to
mainteine
battell.
The articles
of the peace
betwixt the
Danes and
Scotishmen.

The holds in
Scotland de-
liuered vp by
the Danes in-
to the Scotish
mens hands.
Canute retur-
neth into
Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie
vnto full peace, thought nothing so good as to per-
forme the articles of the agreement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a
church to be builded in the place appointed, dedica-
ting the same in honor of saint Olauus patr one of
Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as
came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes late
buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands
that were giuen to the same church, are called euen
yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as
much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes.
The church which was first builded there, chancing
as often happeneth in those parties, to be overcast
with sands, an other was erected in place not farre
off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the
bones of them that were buried in this place, being
left bare by reason that the sands were blowne alway
besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Sco-
tish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1521, which seemed
more like vnto giants bones, than to men of com-
mon stature (as he aoucheth) whereby it should ap-
peare, that men in old time were of much greater
stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to
be found in these our daies.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies
the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be
made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to
almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his
people from the troubles of warre. He toke order
also, that churches should be repaired, which by the
enimies in time of the warres had bene destroyed.
And further, he caused the administration of the
lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be
vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme
of the same, which manie yeres before could haue no
place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assem-
bly of all the estates of his realme to be called at
Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from
the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In
which conuention were manie things enacted, both
for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of
the realme, whereby Malcolme won much praise a-
mongst his subjects, to the eternall memorie of his
name.

After this, supposing it most honorable to ad-
uance the blood of such as had serued well in the last
warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine
in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the
which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by
diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst
the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one
his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the main-
tenance of the crowne, common entries onelie ex-
cepted, with the mountaine wherein the marble chaire
stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed
to giue vnto churches and chapels. The nobles on
the other part, to the end the king might haue suffici-
ent wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, gran-
ted vnto him and his successors for ever the custodie
and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die
leaving them vnder the age of 21 yeres: and in the
meane time till the same heires came to the said age,
they agreed that the king and his successors should
intoy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they
were men or women, and when they came to the age
of 21 yeres, that then they should enter into the
possession of their lands, yielding vnto him or his
successors one yeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if
they chanced not to be married before their fathers
deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings
appointment, or else compound with him for the
same.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with
great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king
had shewed such liberall bountifullness towards his
barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had
declared

A church
builded.

Crowdan,
what it sig-
nifieth.

Bones of
Danes.

Publike
praiers.

The repa-
ring of chur-
ches.
The restoring
of lawes and
iustice.

A parlement
at Bertha.

A parlement
at Scone.
Diuidion of
the realme in-
to baronies.

The ward-
ship of heires
granted to
the king.

Marriage of
wards.

doing
it.

chang-
ing

slaine
to
r.

prepa-
red
to
be
sp-

declared such benevolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is exprested. Neither did Malcolme forget the bove which he made at Spurthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same bove, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and indowed it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Spurthlake, Cleoneith, and Dummeth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdiction and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Spurthlake, till the daies of king David the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from farther troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancelor, secreta-rie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie dotings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheless his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, conetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefest nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inioy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offences.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such cruelty vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretly appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inbiling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glamis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfar, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse towne of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our Sautour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was seene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Strineling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioining to the riuer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had bene seene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

After Malcolme succeeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Wodada, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whom she had issue one Spakbrith a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeable bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clementie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthie king, and Spakbrith an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons took occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Wanguho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much ado to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after he was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

When doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanour against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Spakdowald one of great estimation amongst them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, took vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offences latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing taunts this Spakdowald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkeop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He

The see of Spurthlake, otherwise Abirden.

The booke called Regia maiestas.

Malcolme was avaritious. Conetousnes and age arising together.

Malcolmes cruelty to purchase riches.

The conspiracye of the Scottish nobles against Malcolme.

Malcolme slaine at Glamis.

The murderers drowned.

21. H.B. 1040. H.B.

Strange sights.

Duncane.

Duncane king of Scotland.

Spakbrith.

Duncane of too soft a nature.

Wanguho thane of Lochquhaber. The house of Stewards.

A mutinie amongst the people of Lochquhaber.

A sergeant at armes slaine by the rebels.

Spakdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels.

used also such subtil persuasions and forged allu-
ments, that in a small time he had gotten together a
mightie power of men: for out of the wessterne Isles
there came unto him a great multitude of people, of-
fering themselves to assist him in that rebellious
quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came
no small number of Kernes and Galloglasses, offer-
ring glablie to serue vnder him, whither it should
please him to lead them.

Spakdowald
discomfited
the kings
power.

The small skill
of the king in
warlike af-
faires.

Spakbeths
offer.

Spakbeth and
Banquo are
sent against
the rebels.
The rebels
forsake their
capteine.

Spakdowald
saith his
wife and chil-
dren, & lastlie
himselfe.

Spakdowalds
head sent to
the king.
Spakbeths
crueltie.

Spakbeth de-
famed by the
Ilandmen.

Justice & law
restored.

Sueno king
of Norway
landed in Fife

Spakdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance
about him, incountered with such of the kings peo-
ple as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and
discomfiting them, by mere force took their capteine
spalcoline, and after the end of the battell smote off
his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king,
did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his
small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his
nobles to a counsell, he asked of them their best ad-
uise for the subduing of Spakdowald & other the re-
bels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth)
were sundrie opinions, which they differed according
to euerie man his skill. At length Spakbeth speaking
much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slack-
nesse in punishing offenders, whereby they had such
time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding,
if the charge were committed vnto him and
vnto Banquo, so to order the matter, that the re-
bels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe,
and that not so much as one of them should be found
to make resistance within the countrie.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth
with a new power, at his entring into Lochquha-
ber, the fame of his comming put the enemies in
such feare, that a great number of them stole secre-
tly awaie from their capteine Spakdowald, who ne-
uerthelesse enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Spak-
beth, with the residue which remained with him: but
being overcome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell
(within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at
length when he saw how he could neither defend the
hold any longer against his enemies, nor yet vpon
surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, he
first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe,
least if he had yelded simple, he should haue bene
executed in most cruell wise for an example to other.
Spakbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as
then set open, found the carcasle of Spakdowald li-
eng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bo-
dies, which when he beheld, remitting no pece of his
cruell nature with that pittifull sight, he caused the
head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so
sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at
Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bee
hong vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the wessterne Isles suing for pardon, in
that they had aided Spakdowald in his traitorous en-
terprize, he fined at great sums of monie: and those
whome he took in Lochquhaber, being come thither
to beare armoz against the king, he put to execution.
Wherevpon the Ilandmen conceiued a deadly grudge
towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a
bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murderer of them whome
the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reproch-
full words Spakbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire
against them, had passed over with an armie into the
Isles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their li-
berall talke, had he not bene otherwise perswaded by
some of his friends, and partly pacified by gifts pre-
sented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, se-
king to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and
law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by
the diligent means of Spakbeth. Immediatlie where-
vpon word came that Sueno king of Norway was
actiued in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better per-
ceined, what this Sueno was, I will somwhat touch
from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye
haue heard) conquered the realme of England, be-
ing also king of Denmarke and Norway, had three
sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he
made king of England, the second king of Norway,
and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioined not
the same dominion of England past three yeeres af-
ter his fathers deceasse, but he slaine by Ethel-
dred or Egeldred, whom his father Sueno had chased
into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not
long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of
Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in
England with a mightie host, and sleaing Etheldred,
recovered the kingdome to the use of the Danes:
but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Ethel-
dred, surnamed Ironside, mainteined the warre a-
gainst Canute for a season, till at length by both their
consents they agreed to fight a combat singularlie
man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who
should reigne as king over the Englishmen.

This agreeth
not with our
English
writers.

Harold that
reigned king
of England,
was not the
son of Sueno
but of Canute
and was not
slaine, but died
of naturall
diseale. See more
hereof in
England. Canute king
of Denmarke.
Edmund
Ironside.

In this fight when they had continued a long
space, and shewed right notable proofes of their man-
hood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased al-
mightie God, that thou shouldst thus trie the force
of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bee
likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldst inioy part
of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thee as parte-
ner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be con-
tented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with-
out any more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted
this condition of agreement, supposing it better to
haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubt-
full trial of losing the whole: for he had receiued a
wound at Canutes hands, though Canute under-
stood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion
hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with-
out all trouble come to inioy the whole. Wherevpon
either of them leapt beside their wored horses in that
fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became
good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the
aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of
England that lieth ouer against France was assig-
ned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north
parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma
the wife of Etheldred, with hir two sonnes (which he
had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled
ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord
betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie
to hir aduancement.

Canutes
words to
Edmund
Ironside.

The diuision
of the realme
of England
betwixt Ca-
nute and
Edmund
Ironside.

Alured & Ed-
ward the sons
of king E-
theldred.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the
Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expelld) ye
shall vnderstand, that the presentie of his comming
was to reuenge the slaughter of his vnckle Canus,
and other of the Danish nation slaine at Warre,
Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sue-
no was such, that he neither spared man, woman,
nor child, of what age, condition or degree: sooner they
were. Whereof when B. Duncane was certified, he
set all slouthfull and lingering delays apart, and be-
gan to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a
berie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth,
that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constrained
by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue.
Therefore when his whole power was come together,
he diuided the same into three battels. The first was
led by Spakbeth, the second by Banquo, & the king
himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle
ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait
vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the
Scottish nobilitie.

The crueltie
of Sueno
king of Nor-
way.

Duncane be-
stirreth him-
selfe in assem-
bling an ar-
mie.

The Scottish
armie diuided
into three bat-
tels.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered,
D. J. came

Sueno ban-
quisheth the
Scots.

Suenos com-
mandement
to spare fire
and sword.

Duncane fled
to the castell of
Bertha.

Sueno believ-
geth king
Malcolme.

Fained trea-
tie.

Spiced cups
prepared for
the Danes.

The Danes
ouercome
with drinke,
fall asleepe.

Malcolme af-
saileth the
campe of the
Danes, being
ouercome
with drinke
and sleepe.

The slaugh-
ter of Danes.
Sueno with
ten other esca-
ped.

came into Culros, where encountering with the en-
mies, after a foze and cruell foughten battell, Sueno
remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots
discomfited. Whobett the Danes were so broken by
this battell, that they were not able to make long
chase on their enemies, but kept themselves all night
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-
bling together againe, might haue set vpon them at
some aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields
were discovered, and that it was perceiued how no
enemies were to be found abroad, they gathered the
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according
to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by com-
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt
either man, woman, or child, except such as were
found with weapon in hand ready to make resi-
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Malcolme
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round a-
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of
Banquo to Malcolme, commanding him to abide at
Inchcuthill, till he heard from him some other
newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained
communication with Sueno, as though he would
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, under cer-
teine conditions, and this did he to diuine time, and to
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprize
ment against them, till all things were brought to
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,
when they were fallen at a point for rendering up the
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-
to the campe great provision of vittells to refresh the
armie, which offer was glablie accepted of the
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of
sustenance manie daies before.

The Scots hereupon took the iuice of mekil-
wort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great
abundance vnto their enemies. They reioicing that
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such
greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might de-
uoure and swallow by most, till the operation of the
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible
to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto
Malcolme, commanding him with all diligence to
come and set vpon the enemies, being in easie point
to be ouercome. Malcolme making no delay, came
with his people to the place, where his enemies were
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards ente-
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull
matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and ne-
uer stirred: other that were awakened either by the
noise or other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie
headed vpon their waking, that they were not a-
ble to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-
ber there escaped no more but onelie Sueno him-
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to
his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard
that plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent
vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-
lowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conueie auaie his nauie, he furnished one ship
thoroughlie with such as were left, and in the same
failed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he
set forthward on this unfortunate iourne. The other
ships which he left behind him, within three daies af-
ter his departure from thence, were tossed so toge-
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and
rushing one against another, they sunk there, and
lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the
great danger of other such ships as come on that
coast: for being couered with the flood when the tide
commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some
part of them appeere aboue water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,
is yet called Dronelowe lands. This ouerthrow re-
ceiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie
displeasent to him and his people, as should appeere,
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were
first sware to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The
Scots hauing wone so notable a victorie, after they
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused
solemne processions to be made in all places of the
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God,
that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enemies.
But whilest the people were thus at their process-
ions, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes
was arrived at Kingorne, sent thither by Canute
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sueno
ouerthrow. To resist these enemies, which were
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrey,
Malcolme and Banquo were sent with the kings au-
thoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power,
incountred the enemies, due part of them, and chased
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got
once to their ships, obtained of Malcolme for a great
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old se-
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the manner
of burieng noble men still is; and heretofore hath
bene vied.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to
make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner
of meanes. And these were the warres that Dun-
cane had with forren enemies, in the seventh yeere
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and
vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cause of
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall
after heare. It fortuned as Malcolme and Banquo
iourned towards Forres, where the king then laie,
they went sporting by the waie together without o-
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the
middest of a laund, there met them three women in
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of
elder world, whome when they attentiuely beheld,
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake
and said; All hail Malcolme, thane of Glammis (for
he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by
the death of his father Sinell.) The second of them
said; Hail Malcolme thane of Caithness. But the third
said; All hail Malcolme that hereafter shalt be king
of Scotland.

Then Banquo; What manner of women (saith
he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me,
whereas to my fellow here, besides high offices, ye
assigne also the kingdome, appointing forth nothing
for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we pro-
mise

Sueno fleth
with one ship,
leaving the re-
st of his nauie
behind him.
The fate of
the Forwaie
ships sunk by
vehement rage
of winds.

Dronelowe
lands.

The oth that
knights take
in Forwaie,
to reuenge the
death of their
friends.

Solemne pro-
cessions for
victorie got-
ten.

A power of
Danes arrive
at Kingorne
out of Eng-
land.

The Danes
banquished by
Malcolme and
Banquo.

Danes buried
in S. Colmes
Inch.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots
and Danes.

The prophesie
of three wo-
men suppo-
sing to be the
sacred sisters
of seiries.

"mife greater benefits vnto the, than vnto him, for he
 "shall reigne in deed, but with an vnluckie end: nei-
 "ther shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succed in
 "his place, where contrarie thou in deed shalt not
 "reigne at all, but of the those shall be borne which
 "shall gouerne the Scotch kingdome by long order
 "of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women
 "banished immediatlie out of their sight. This was
 "reputed at the first but some vaine fantastical illu-
 "sion by Macbeth and Banquo, in somuch that Ban-
 "quo would call Macbeth in iest, king of Scotland;
 "and Macbeth againe would call him in sport like-
 "wise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the
 "common opinion was, that these women were ei-
 "ther the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the
 "goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or seicres,
 "indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necro-
 "manticall science, because euerie thing came to passe
 "as they had spoken. For shortly after, the thane of
 "Cawder being condemned at Forres of treason, a-
 "gainst the king committed; his lands, linings, and
 "offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mac-
 "beth.
 "The same night after, at supper, Banquo iested
 "with him and said: Now Macbeth thou hast obte-
 "ned those things which the two former sisters prophe-
 "sied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that
 "which the third said should come to passe. Whereupon
 "Macbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began
 "euen then to deuise how he might attaine to the
 "kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he
 "must tarte a time, which should aduance him there-
 "to (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe
 "in his former preferment. But shortly after it chan-
 "ced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his
 "wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of
 "Northumberland, he made the elder of them called
 "Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were there-
 "by to appoint him his succesor in the kingdome, im-
 "mediatlie after his deceasse. Macbeth soze trou-
 "bled herewith, for that he saw by this means his
 "hope soze hindered (where, by the old lawes of the
 "realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should
 "succed were not of able age to take the charge vpon
 "himselfe, he that was next of bloud vnto him should
 "be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might
 "vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell
 "so to doo (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane
 "did what in him lay to defraud him of all manner of
 "title and claime, which he might in time to come,
 "pretend vnto the crowne.
 "The words of the three weird sisters also (of whom
 "before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him here-
 "vnto, but speciallie his wife lay soze vpon him to at-
 "tempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious,
 "burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name
 "of a queene. At length therefore, communicating
 "his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst
 "whome Banquo was the chiefest, vpon confidence
 "of their promised aid, he slue the king at Cnuerns,
 "or (as some say) at Hofsogsluane, in the first yeare of
 "his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of
 "such as he had made priuie to his enterprize, he cau-
 "sed himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith
 "went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he
 "received the inuesture of the kingdome according to
 "the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was
 "first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in king-
 "lie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and con-
 "ueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture
 "amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth
 "of our Sautour, 1046.
 "Malcolme Cammoze and Donald Bane the sons
 "of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they

might well know that Macbeth would seeke to
 bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the
 estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme re-
 mained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of
 Ethelred recovered the dominion of England from
 the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Mal-
 colme by way of most friendlie entertainement: but
 Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was fer-
 derlie cherished by the king of that land. Macbeth,
 after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, bled
 great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,
 thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that
 no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole
 intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all en-
 comities and abuses, which had chanced through the
 feeble and slackfull administration of Duncane.
 And to bring his purpose the better to passe without
 anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil
 toile to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto iu-
 stice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high
 rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most op-
 pressed the commons, to come at a day and place ap-
 pointed, to fight singular combats within barriers,
 in triall of their accusations. When these shauers,
 barretors, and other oppressors of the innocent peo-
 ple were come to darren battell in this wise (as
 is said) they were streight waies apprehended by
 armed men, and trussed vp in halters on gibbets,
 according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue
 of misdoers that were left, were punished and ta-
 med in such sort, that manie yeares after all these
 and reifings were little heard of, the people inioieng
 the blissefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie.
 Macbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent
 punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a-
 nie disordered persons within his realme, was ac-
 counted the sure defense and buckler of innocent
 people; and hereto he also applied his whole indow-
 to cause young men to exercise themselves in virtu-
 ous maners, and men of the church to attend their
 diuine seruice according to their vocations.
 He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cash-
 nes, Sutherland, Stranaucerne, and Ross, because
 through them and their seditious attempts, much
 trouble dailie rose in the realme. He appeased the
 troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Mak-
 gill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed no-
 thing of the regall authoritie or potuer. To be briefe,
 such were the goodlie doings and princelie acts of
 this Macbeth in the administration of the realme,
 that if he had attained thereunto by rightfull means,
 and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began,
 till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene
 numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie
 where had reigned. He made manie hole some lawes
 and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects,

Malcolme
 Cammoze and
 Donald
 Bane flee into
 Cumberland
 land.
 Malcolme
 Cammoze re-
 ceived by Ed-
 ward king
 of England.
 Macbeths
 liberalitie.

Macbeth
 studieth to ad-
 uance iustice.

Macbeths
 policie.

Strict iu-
 stice.

A kinglie en-
 deuour.

Justice mini-
 stred without
 respect of per-
 sons.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set
 forth according to Hector
 Boetius.



That is within orders of the
 church, shall not be compelled
 to answere before a temporall
 iudge, but be remitted to his or-
 dinarie.

Liberties of
 them that
 haue taken or-
 ders.

The tenth part of all fruits that in-
 crease on the ground, shall be giuen to the
 church, that God may be worshipped with
 oblations and prayers.

Tithes to be
 paid to the
 church.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the
 curse of the church by the space of one
 year.

Persons ac-
 cursed.

	whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enimie to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurated mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.	All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.	Wearing of armour.
The order of knightthod.	He that taketh the order of knightthod, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communalitie. And he that is made king, shall be swoyne in semblable maner.	Such as be appointed gouernours, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy with in thole limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.	Captains.
Eldest daughter.	The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.	And if anie of the said capteins or gouernours marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their roomes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coperteners to occupie the same office.	Wearing of lands.
The kings gift.	No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.		
No offices to go by inheritance.	No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.	These and the like commendable lawes shakbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partly against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortly after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the picke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as attaine to anie estate by vnrightheous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessour. The words also of the three weired sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo. He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, presented death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquo and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.	Shakbeths counterfet zeale and equitie.
Judges.	No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporal court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.		
Retainers.	All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.		Shakbeths guiltie conscience.
	He that is retained or becommeth a swoyne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it: and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.		
Raisers of the kings people, or vnlawfull assemblies.	He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they doe that assemble together by his procurement.		
Waiters vpon other men.	He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemble, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.		Shakbeths excuse to slea Banquo and his sonne.
Keeping of horses.	A horse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by elcheat.		
Counterfet swikes, with minstrels and such like.	Counterfeit swikes, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing; if they refuse so to doe, they shall be drawen like horses in the plough and harrows.		Banquo is slaine, but his sonne escapes.
Possession of lands.	Though the sonne chance to be put in possession of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards convicted of treason committed against the kings person.		Fleance Banquos sonne fleeth into wales.
Downe of houses.	All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though they haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.		The line of the Scottish kings.
Marriage of lords and barons.	All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and roomes lie nere together.		

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*Fleance be-
droueth the
prince of
wales his
daughter.
Fleance is
slaine.
Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.*

*His bzinging
bp.*

*The stout sto-
mach appea-
ring in wal-
ter from his
childhood.*

*walter fleeth
into Scot-
land.*

*Saint Mar-
garet.*

*walter sent
with an armie
to daunt re-
bels.*

*walter made
lord steward
of Scotland.*

*Alane Ste-
ward.*

*The iourne
into the holie
land.
Alexander
Steward.
Walter Ste-
ward.*

*Alexander
Steward the
sonne of wal-
ter.
Robert Ste-
ward.*

*John Ste-
ward and
James Ste-
ward.*

*Walter inhe-
ritor of Bon-
hill, &c.*

*King Robert
the second.*

*John Ste-
ward other-
wise named
Robert.*

and suffered him to get his with child; which being once understood, his father the prince conceived such hateful displeasure towards Fleance, that he finally slue him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of seruitude, for that she had consented to be on this wise deflowered by a stranger. At the last yet, she was deliuered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares proued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than anie other had commonlie bene found, although he had no better bzinging vp than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit he thewed euer from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine stoutnesse of stomach, readie to attempt high enterprises.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie saluting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he was a bastard, and begotten in unlawfull bed; where- with being fore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to seeke some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with queene Margaret, and behaued himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means attaining to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great poluer of men into the westerne Isles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and inuiours oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons; which enterpryse according to his commission he atchieued, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receiue the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Lozaine, & Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other westerne princes made the great iourne thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbacie of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose valiancie was well notified at the battell of Largs, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right balliantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terboluoune, and married the heire of Cruikshoune, from whom descended the earles of Leuenor and Dornlie. Moreover, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Pasleie, had diuerse mo sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other. Howbeit they toke new surnames by the name of those lands, vnto the which they succeeded. The afore rected John Steward, after the death of his brother James, married the heire of Bonhill a virgine of great beautie, and had by his Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonhill, Kanfrew, Rothelsaie, Bute, and Stewartoune, after that his father the forenamed John was slaine at Falkirke.

He married Margaret Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second toke to wife one Isabell Pure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adam Pure knight, and brought forth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne hight John Steward otherwise named Robert, who succeeded im-

mediatlie after his fathers decesse in gouernance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland vnder the name of gouerneur, for the space of fiftene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudrynot. The eldest daughter was married to James that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Douglas. The second daughter was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray. He begot on his one onelie daughter, that was married to the Douglas, and so Douglas came to the earldome of Murray. The third daughter was married vnto John Lioun, that was after made lord of Glamis.

Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stewards which ware the crowne in Scotland, married Eufame daughter to the earle of Ross, and got on his two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and David earle of Strathferne. This Walter solicited Robert duke of Albanie, to sea David Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that James the first was returned home forth of England, he did what he could to moue him to sea all the linage of the said duke still being in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to sea king James the first also, for the which crime the same Walter was after consulted and destroyed with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdoch, who married the earle of Lennox daughter, and got on his three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdoch himselfe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Strueling by king James the first, & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he decessed without issue. Robert the third of that name married Annabill Drommond, daughter to sir John Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on his David and James. The first died in Falkland, and the other attained the crowne, and was called James the first, and married the ladie Jane daughter to John Beauford erle of Summerset in England. He had by his two sonnes bozne at one birth, Alexander and James. The first died young, the second attained the crowne, named James the second. James the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was giuen in mariage to the Dolphin of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the sixt had no succession. James the second married Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on his three sonnes, and two daughters.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle of Menteiths daughter, and got on his Alexander, that was after ward bishop of Murray, and then parting with his went into France, where he married the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on his John Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yeares in the minority of James the fift. The third sonne, John Steward was earle of Spar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannagat in a battell. The first daughter of James the second, was married to the lord Boid, who begot on

*Duke of Albanie.
Alexander Steward,
sonne to king Robert the second.*

John Dunbar.

Eufame.

*walter and David sonnes to king Robert.
Robert duke of Albanie.
James the first.*

Graine of Graham.

Duke Murdoch

King Robert the third.

David and James, sons to king Robert the third

John Beauford earle of Summerset.

James the first and his issue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

James and Alexander.

*Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland.
The lord Boid.*

The lord
Hamilton.

Lord Creich-
ton.
James the
third and
his issue.

James the
fourth.

Spakbeths
death.

This crueltie
caused through
fear.

The castell of
Dunfianane
builded.

Spakduffe
thane of Fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Spungumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Calsels. After the death of the lord Bold, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was effronces married to the lord Hamilton, and by that means was the house of the Hamiltons honored with the kings blood. The other sister was married to the lord Creighton, of whom came small succession worthy to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which marriage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Stewart earle of Spar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fifth, who marrieng first the ladie Spag-dalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yere next after hir coming into Scotland, and then shortly after the said James the fifth married the ladie Marie de Lorein, duchesse of Louvle, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie quene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Stewart lord Dornlie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne unto Spakbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the contrived slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Spakbeth: for in manner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst benneth appeare in the kings presence; and even as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those aboie by one surmized canillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such swaetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hee thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruelle oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunfianane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well nere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stirling, and Ornedale, as it were lying underneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Spakbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

At the last, when the turne fell unto Spakduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull promise, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bee giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partly understood) no great good will, would late violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Spakbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and because he found not Spakduffe there, he was

soe offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeye my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Spakduffe, either for that he thought his puissance over great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weired sisters had declared unto him) how that he ought to take heed of Spakduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroye him.

And suerlie herebyon had he put Spakduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man bozne of anie woman, nor banquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunfianane. By this prophesie Spakbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleued it was impossible for anie man to banquish him, and by the other impossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do manie outrageous things, to the greivous oppression of his subiects. At length Spakduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Spalcolme Cammoye to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Spakduffe, but that Spakbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue thar pe sight like unto Lynx, and long ears like unto spiders. For Spakbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one lie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which sight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Spakduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Spakduffe dwelled; trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Spakbeth most cruelle caused the wife and children of Spakduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Spakduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Spakduffe was already escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Spalcolme Cammoye, to trie what purchase hee might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruelle executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Spalcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Spakbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they sustained at such a cruell hands.

Spalcolme hearing Spakduffes words, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for more compassion and verie ruth that pearced his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Spakduffe perceiving, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Spakbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bying to passe, considering not onelic the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some oc-

Spakbeth is
offended with
Spakduffe.

Spakbeths
confidence in
wizzards.

Lynxes sight
and spiders
ears.

Spakbeths
crueltie bled
against Spak-
duffes familie.

Spakduffe ef-
caperth into
England vnto
Spalcolme
Cammoye.

Spakduffes
words vnto
Spalcolme.

Spalcolme
sigheth.

cauon

calson ministered, whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they daillie sustained by the outrageous crueltie of Makhbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorrowfull for the oppression of his countrymen the Scots, in manner as Makhduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfainedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makhbeth to betray him, he thought to haue some further triall, and thereby on dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth.

Malcolme
Cammoze his
answer.

Makhduffes
answer.

A fable of a
fox.

Conetous-
ness the root
of all mischief

Disimulation
and deitings
in lies.

I am trulie verie sozie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certaine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to despoile your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makhbeth now is. Herevnto Makhduffe answered: This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuertheless there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wisely, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.

Then said Malcolme, I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would sea the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by furnished accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischief may insue on you through mine insatiable conetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a soze place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continually sucked out his bloud: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would haue the flies driven beside him, she answered no: for if these flies that are already full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased away, other that are emptie and fellie an hungered, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my bloud farre more to my grauance than these, which now being satisfied do not much annoy me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine vniuenchable auarice may proue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the vniuenchable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you.

Makhduffe to this made answer, how it was a far worse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischief, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue bene slaine and brought to their final end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches enough in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire. Then said Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leadings, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioice in nothing so much, as to betray & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my words. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you see how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or regi-

on: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praye you send this to cloke this vice amongst the residue.

Then said Makhduffe: This yet is the worst of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie; Why be you happie and miserable Scottishment, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, each one aboute other! Ye haue one cursed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing worthe to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie auaritious, and giuen to insatiable lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie word he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation: and with those words the blackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantly.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme toke him by the sleue, and said: Be of good comfort Makhduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iessed with thee in this manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerse times heretofore hath Makhbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same. Incontinentlie herevpon they embraced each other, and promising to be faithful the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Some after, Makhduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hither into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull usurper.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such favour at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprize, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two severall factions, the one taking part with Makhbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Herevpon ensued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not leaue to ioine with their enemies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makhbeth perceived his enemies power to increase, by such aid as came to them forth of England with his aid, he recoiled backe into Fife, there putting Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there putting Dunfinane, and to fight with his enemies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends advised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Isles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & retaine strangers, in whom he might better trust than in his owne subjects, which shall daillie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he believed he should neuer be vanquished, till Birrane wood were brought to Dunfinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was borne of anie woman.

Malcolme

Siward earle
of Northum-
berland.

The nobles of
Scotland di-
uided.

Makhbeth re-
colleth.

Makhbeth is
counseled to
flee into the
Isles.

Makhbeths
trust in pro-
phesies.

Branches of trees.

Malcolm set forth his men in order of battell. Malcolme fleeth, & is pursued of Malcolme.

Malcolme is slain.

1057. Io. M.
1061. H. B.
8. H. B.

Malcolme

Parlement at Forfar.

Thanes changed into earles.

Surnames.

Malcolme following harkie after Hakbeth, came the night before the battell unto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close, and without fight in this manner within view of his enemies. On the morrow when Hakbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled that the matter ment, but in the end remembered himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the coming of Birnane wood to Dunstan castle, was likelic to be now fulfilled. Nevertheless, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to do valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Hakbeth perceiving their numbers, betooke him streit to flight, whom Hakdusse pursued with great hatred euen till he came unto Lunfannaine, where Hakbeth perceiving that Hakdusse was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse, saying: Thou traitor, what meanest it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by any creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receive thy reward which thou hast deserved for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted by his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

But Hakdusse quicklie avoiding from his horse, per he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Hakbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: the rewithall he slept vnto him, and slue him in the place. When cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Hakbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeres over the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie worthy acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yere of king Edwards reigne over the Englishmen.

Malcolme Cammore thus recovering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfar, in the which he rewarded them with lands and linings that had assisted him against Hakbeth, advancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those that bare the surname of any offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Penteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murray, Cathnes, Ross, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue bene heard of amongst the Scottishmen (as their histories do make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seinton, Lauder, Malwane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leithmouth, Libertoun, Strachgubien, Cargill, Kattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Mirtoun, Penzeis, Abercrommie, Lillie, with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Durward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant capteins were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

Haie, with diuerse other so long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath bene manie times since, that new surnames haue bene the old out of vse.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Forfar, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie hole some ordinances established, both appertaining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Hakdusses seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the attaining of the crowne, he honored him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should giue battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the bauntgard of his host. The third, that the lineage of Hakdusse should inioy regall authoritie and potuer within all their lands and romes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if any of their men or tenants were called to answer in any court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expressed.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Hakdusse and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that any of them should hap to kill by chancemedlie, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinroc, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Hakdusses priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior soze repproueth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murder, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they listed.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserved death should suffer execution: and also draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes used in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Hakbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilst Malcolme was buied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the sole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Hakbeth, was conuicied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Hakbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appeale this businesse, was Hakdusse earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incountering with Lugtake at a village called Glen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole potuer, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeres, till it chanced a great number of theues and robbers assembling themselves together at Cockbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countreies of Mers and Lothian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie,

Hakdusse earle of Fife his advancement. Priuileges granted vnto Hakdusses lineage.

Iohannes Maior.

Gibbets and draw-wels.

Hakbeths lawes abrogated.

Lugtake.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is slaine.

A band of theues.

Patrike Dunbar how he quitted the theues and companie.

robbers of the
countrie.Patrike
Dunbar earle
of March.The head of a
thrice of felon
given in arms

A conspiracie.

The manlie
courage of R.
Malcolme.He more here
of in England

Wil. Malm.

Hector Boet.

The queenes
terrie.

companye, and toke fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of those pellers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood herein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne betwixt given to him and his heires for ever, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge Pers and Louthian of all theues and robbers. In memorie thereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellons head sprinkled with bloud.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe authoz of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproving him verie sharpe, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preservation he ought chieslie to haue wished, considering the manifold benefitts he had receiued at his hands. And here-with leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthie of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these words, as a man altogether astonied, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings feet, beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, had him arise, and said; I am content herevpon to forgive thee, so that thou be not of counsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chanches came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine toke on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length invaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Here ye haue to understand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephew Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers decesse) he and his brother Godwine had bene sent abroade, as in the historie of England it appereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottish writers doe so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephew the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthie of admiration) bitterlie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his uncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his uncle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to shore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arrivall of this ship, and understood what they were that were aboord in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companye about him, to visit them for honours sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whome afore time he had found so much gentleness and friendship.

Finalle, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdom, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in marriage, wherevnto Agatha gladly condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemblie of all the nobles of Scotland, this marriage was made and solemnized after the octaues of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the top & triumph that might be deuised. R. William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, with the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To prevent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continually during their liues, leauing to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whome were these, Lindseie, Hans, Hamseie, Lowell, Lotchris, Drekonne, Sandlands, Biltart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with queene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fotheringham, Giffart, Melmill, Borthwicke, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraiser, Sinclair, Boswell, Spowtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bots, Betoun, or Betuin, Laillefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. & But to the order of the historie. It is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbeie of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms com-moditie.

But Malcolme, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at R. Williams hands for his default; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maisters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland toke part with R. Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon R. William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to invade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastily into that countrie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honoz, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne souldiers.

Malcolme
Cammoze ma-
rieth Margare-
ret sister to
Edgar & Chel-
ling.

1067.H.B.

Englishmen
sied into Scot-
land.

Surnames of
Englishmen
in Scotland.

Surnames
of Hungari-
ans.

Surnames of
Frenchmen.

The blacke
crosse.

William con-
queror threat-
neth king
Malcolme.

Malcolms
answere.

Open warre
proclaimed by
William con-
queror.
Northumber-
land taketh
part with R.
Malcolme.
Roger a Nor-
man capteine
or rather earle
Roger (as I
take it.)
slew in Eng-
land.

But

The earle of
Glocester.

Gospatrike
saith Simon
Dunel.

Odo bishop of
Bataur and
earle of Kent.

Malcolme
enterpris a-
gainst his en-
emies.

Robert the
sonne of wil-
liam conqu-
erour.
Newcastell
upon Tyne
fortified.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt William
Conquerour,
and Mal-
colme Cam-
bruge.

The roicrosse.

Walthecol.

Steward earle
of Northum-
berland.

Rebellion in
Galloway.

Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.

Malglaue.

Walter crea-
ted high ste-
ward of
Scotland.

A new rebel-
lion in Mur-
repleand.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Gloucester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, a gainst whome were sent the earles of March and Wentesh, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anie advantage of them. King William aduertised herof, wared wonderfull wrath, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both bishop of Bataur, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was soze spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onset vpon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recouered all the botie which Odo men had got in the countrie, and so right full of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the riuer of Tyne, attempted no notable enterpris, sauing that he repared and newlie fortified the towne of Newcastle, which standeth vpon the same riuer of Tyne; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder these conditions, that king Malcolme should inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tyne, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the King of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmore there shall be a crosse set vp, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreover, it was concluded that Walthecol or Woldosius (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Edward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams nere, bozne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Island men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Malglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified euen at commandement. For which high proues and diligence in this peece of seruite he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie euer since haue bozne that surname, euen vnto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murrepleand men, procuring them of Kossie and Caskines, with diuers other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onelie sea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed vnder him to see the

office ministered, but through support of one Malglaue, whome they chose to be their capteine, they also wasted and destroyed the kings possessions, with more crueltie than euer had bene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Malglaue was sent with an armie into Mar. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puillance, thought nothing more available than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Monimusk, where he was aduertised, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Isles, were confederat with the Murrepleand men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, boined to giue the baronnie of Monimusk (which he vnderstood to be lands pertaining to the crowne) vnto the church of saint Andrew in Fife, if it might please God to send him victorie over his enemies.

At length coming vnto the water of Speie, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for armie than he thought had bene possible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceived also that his standard-bearer began to shrink, and not to shew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for euer: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimmour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on these conditions; That the commons that toke part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their liues and lands saued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their liues, and all their goods confiscated to the kings use.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wife quene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himselfe in maner altogether vnto much deuotion, and woorkes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poore, and such like goodlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieue, herein there seemed to be in maner a certaine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous quene his wife, which of them should be most seruent in the loue of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Christine also, by the example of these two holie ladies, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and solitarie life, wherein they gaue themselves wholie to diuine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the setting on of the quene his wife, ceased not to let his induer wholie to the aduancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predecessors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sees in Scotland, as saint Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Murrepleake, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrews and Murrepleake remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decayed) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murreple and Caskines, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

But to proceed. It is said, that such outrageous riot entered at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottishmen, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their countrie, were daily received as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommoditie and decaye to the whole realme would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realme, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobrietie of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedie in time, before hope of redresse were past, that the people might be againe reduced unto their former frugalitie, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiously dressed or served forth with sauces, but onelie feeding to satisfie nature, and not their greedy appetites.

Through this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies herewith in continuall travell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like unto giants than unto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mighty armes and limbs, pressing upon their enemies like unto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Hereupon king Malcolme took great paines to have redressed this infective poison, and bitterlie to have expelled it forth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is so prone and ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restraine their licentious desires. And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came in to the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excess with things used in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so overcome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparseness of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedy taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoever may be gotten, is unneeth able to quench their gluttonous appetit & ravenous gormandizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left unsought to satisfie the same, as though they were withoutie of most high commendation that may devour most: wherein they may be easily compared to greedy wolves and cozuoants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whilst things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of 1086. H.E. 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded by a new, beginning even at the first stone. In which season, one Egellwin or William (as the Scottish writers say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbey was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the liues

of queene Margaret and Malcolme his husband in the Scottish tongue. Afterward he deceased in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought unto Durham, and there buried, because he was first prior thereof. King Malcolme by perswasion of his Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordaining from thenceforth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like manner as it had bene afore time in the Isle of Jona at the abbey of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were devised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is used to be paid yet unto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the use of their bodies all the first night after their marriage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should introy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before any denouncing of warre by him made, invaded Northumberland, and took the castell of Anwyke, putting all such to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enemy, levied a great host of his subjects, and comming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Anwyke. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to have made surrender, a certaine English knight concealing in his mind an hardie and dangerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, saving a spear in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keyes of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour unto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavillion to understand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receive the keyes which he had brought. And whilst all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keyes, the Englishman ran the king through the left eye, and suddenlie dashing his spurs to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, he yielded up the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this adventurous knight, & called him Percie etc, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eye, and in recompense of his service gave him certaine lands in Northumberland: of whose those Percies are descended, which in our daies have enjoyed the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake up their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbey of Cimmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterwards to be taken up, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The church of Dunfermling

The sepulture of the Scottish kings.

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The castell of Anwyke won by the Englishmen.

The castell of Anwyke besieged by the Scots.

An hardie enterprise.

King Malcolme is slain.

The name of the Percies had no such beginning, for they came forth of Northmandie at the conquest. Earles of Northumberland. King Malcolme buried at Cimmouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

King and superfluous were brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scottish nobles for the intemperate surfeiting begun to grow in use in their countrie.

The ancient sparseness of diet amongst the Scots.

Sober fare cause of strength and hugeness of bodie.

Spans nature prone to vice.

The greedy taste of mens insatiable lust.

When compared to wolves & cozuoants.

leds and rated Mal-

- hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Antwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the blond roiall that had his bones laid in that place. **Quene Margaret** being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in **Edenburgh castell**, hir disease increased through griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thre daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other moze sofull and blessed. King **Malcolme** was slaine in the yere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of **November**, and in the 36 yere of his reigne.
- In the same yere, manie vncouth things came to passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring tides which chanced in the **Almaine seas**, manie towncs, castels, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceasing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle **Godwins** (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of **Sandwich**, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer sithens haue bene called **Godwins sands**. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that peece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of **Alared**, which he traitorously continued. **Moreouer** sundrie castels and towncs in **Merseyland**, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides. Such deadly thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beafts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their fundations. In **Louthian**, **Fife**, and **Angus**, trees and corne were burned by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.
- In the daies of this **Malcolme Canmore**, liued that famous historiographer **Marianus** a **Scottish** man borne, but professed a monke in the monastrie of **Fulda** in **Germanie**. Also **Veremond** a **Spanish** priest, but dwelling in Scotland, storied about the same time, and wrote the **Scottish historie**, whome **Hector Boetius** so much followeth. **Malcolme** had by his wife **quene Margaret** (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life **saint Margaret**) six sonnes, **Edward** (as is said) was slaine: **Edmunde**, which died in his tender age, and was buried in **Dunfermling**: and **Edmund** which renounced the world, and liued an holic life in **England**: the other thre were named **Edgar**, **Alexander**, and **Dauid**. There be that write how **Edmund** was taken, and put to death by his vncle **Donald Bane**, when he invaded the kingdome, and vsurped the crowne, after the deceasse of his brother king **Malcolme**, and so then was **Edgar** next inheritor to the crowne.
- This **Donald Bane**, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the **Fles** to eschue the tyrannicall malice of **Malbeth**, after he once heard that his brother king **Malcolme** was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of **Norwaie**, vnto whom he couenanted to giue the dominion of all the **Fles**, if by his means & furtherance he might obtaine the crowne of Scotland. Hereupon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little adoe receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superstitious gormandizing brought in among them by the **Englishmen**, were willing inough to receiue this **Donald** for their king, trusting (because he had bene brought vp in the **Fles** with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the **English** lickerous delicats) they should by his seuerer order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.
- As soone as **Edgar Etheling** brother to **Quene Margaret** was aduertised that **Donald Bane** had thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretly for his thre nephues, **Edgar**, **Alexander**, and **Dauid**, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into **England**, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was **Malgan** or **Malgar**, accused him of treason, alledging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise remained not unpunished, for one of **Edgars** friends, taking in hand to darraigne battell with **Malgan**, in defense of **Edgars** innocencie, slue him within lists. After that **Donald** had receiued the crowne at the abbeye of **Scone**, he perceiued that some of the nobles grudged at his pferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king **Malcolmes** children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars, that yet it were long the nobles should repent them of their doing, if they applied not them selues the moze to his opinion.
- Which words being marked, and deeply imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortly after came **Duncane** the bastard sonne of king **Malcolme** out of **England** into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king **William the Red**, to place him in the kingdome, and to expell **Donald** out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when **Donald** approached with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drew vnto **Duncans** side, so that **Donald** thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constrained for his refuge to flee againe into the **western Fles**: and so **Duncane** then comming vnto **Scone**, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in **England** and **France**, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.
- Donald Bane** being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited **Malpender** erle of **Wernes** to take his part, and by some meanes to slea **Mal Duncane**, which enterpryse **Malpender** taking in hand, at length (in **Wentesh**) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, **Duncane** was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that moze reioises than were ioie for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vncle **Donald** was restored againe to the kingdome, chieflie by support of the forenamed **Malpender**, after his nephew the foresaid **Duncane** had reigned one yere and an halfe, where **Donald** himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephew) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment thereof thre yeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions daile to depose him.
- In the meane time the **Flandmen** made some strife, neither did the warres with **England** cease, (though without anie great exploit or enterpryse worthie of remembrance) sauing a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came **Magmus** king of **Norwaie** with a great fleet, and sailing about the **western Fles**, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, vsurping the dominion as soueraigne lord of the same **Fles**: and at the same time ordained those lawes and constitutions,

Edgar or one Digan accused Edgar Etheling of treason.

Digan is slaine within lists.

Donald threatened.

Duncan Malcolms bastard sonne.

Duncane is crowned king of Scotland.

Duncane lacketh skill in ciuill gouernement.

Malpender erle of Wernes taking in hand, at length (in Wentesh) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him.

Donald Bane is restored to the crowne.

Magmus king of Norway cometh into the western Fles.

Quene Margaret died.

1097. H. B. The Fies or October H. B. Strange wonders. A huge tide.

Godwins sands.

Thunder.

Trees and corne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of Malcolme Canmore.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane fled into the Fles. Donald Bane returneth into Scotland. His couenant for the gift of the Fles to the king of Norwaie.

The respect that the people had to receiue Donald Bane for their king.

Malcolms sons sent for into England by Edgar their vncle.

situations which are used there amongst the inhabitants even unto these dates. The Scottishmen having great indignation, that the Isles being ancientlie parcel of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators unto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolme) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to recover his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the usurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate aduise touching this request, first sent ambassadours unto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore unto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladly reward him with great lordships and revenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to do him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye sue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his vnckle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forthwards toward Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he toke with him the banner of saint Cuthbert, he should haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbey church, where first hearing diuine service, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Whereupon the king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles, where he was taken and brought unto Edgar. Some say that when the battels were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cuthbert spied against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to haue saued himselfe in some one of the western Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) unto Edgar, by whom he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortly after died. The victorie thus achieved, Edgar went unto Edinburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchres of his mother and brethren.

Edgar.

Edgar is crowned and anointed.

A priuilege for the Scottish kings to be anointed.

Edgar the first anointed king of Scotland. The passage into the holie land.

Robert duke of Normandie.

Henrie Beauchampe king of England.

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Vnto Henrie Beauchampe in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Maule. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which marriage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married vnto Stephen earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henrie Beauchampe by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by queene Maule, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Maule.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to the token of thanks towards saint Cuthbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vnckle Donald, he gaue vnto the monks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwick. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had anye warres anye waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dreaded amongst his subjects for his singular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the decesse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Kossie, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his praiers, and diuine service, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would proue no great quickie iusticier in punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously they began to rob and reave on eche side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yong infants smiling vpon the murderers, being about to erecte their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beaklie hearts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordingly shewed.

King Alexander therefore aduertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and capteins, strooke off their heads. As he returned backe through Bernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the master of Bernes, who for that they had called him before a Iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount by againe, till he had seene the author of that heinous trespass hanged vpon a gibbet. After his coming into Cotwize, he toke in hand to finish and make by the castell of Walegat, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereof, to the great disquietnes of all the countie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Cotwize had giuen him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilste he was thus busied about the furtherance of that worke, diuerse of those theues that were accustomed to lue by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises the king.

Maule kind of Edgar's sister.

Eustace earle of Bullongne.

The lands of Coldingham. Canulph bishop of Durham.

Edgar rather reuerenced than feared. 1107. 10. Ma. 1109. H.B.

Alexander.

Theues of Murray land and Kossie.

The crueltie of theues.

Execution.

The earle of Bernes son.

A righteous iusticier. The castell of Walegat.

Treason of conspirators to haue slaine the king.

The kings
manhood.

The Water of Spate.

Sir Alex-
ander Carron.
The rebels
are banqui-
shed.

திரிங்கூர்.

The abbate of
Scone.

**Saint Col-
mes Inch.**

The abbete of
Saint Colmes
Inch builded.

Lands named the Boarrink.
Boze tucks.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuellish practises, they entered one night through a priuie int^o his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which laye nere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue bene raised, and so haue halsted to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Nevertheless, such pursuit was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought befoze the king, they declared plainlie how they were incouraged to worke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Wherevpon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to pursue them, but befoze he came vnto the water of Spaie, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The king seeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a chosen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onfet of the said sir Alexander, they were quickly put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase suffered death, according as they had well deserved. The realme after this execution done on these offenders, continued manie yéeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was seene in the kings fight that day to fight most manfully, in sleaing diuerse of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were used in those daies) he was highly rewarded at the kings hands, & ever after named Shrimgeour, that is to say, A hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be seene in the armes of his posteritie unto this day. & Other there be that say he got the surname of Shrimgeour, bicause he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constableness of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hoake.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repaire the abbey of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and saint Michaele. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constrained to abide thre daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and because he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by means of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbey of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with hundre lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and convent of that house. He also gaue to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great bore was slain vpon the said ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusk of this bore do hang in chains vpon the skales of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicknes.

ness. Spozouer, the abbeie of Dunfirmling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with sundrie lands and possessions.

While King Alexander was thus occupied in building and repairing of religious houses, his brother Dauid liued in England with his sister quene Maude, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maude, daughter vnto Mordolusius, or rather Maltcol the earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Iudith that was naece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Mordolusius or Maltcol had no other issue to inherit his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Maude inioined the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appere. Maude the daughter of king Henrie Beauchelerke, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eufeme, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beauchelerke had by his wife (surnamed for hir singular bounty, oulnesse, the good quene Maude) in conuincing fourth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of ech estate and degree. Their mother the said Maude was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceased also, and was buried in Dunfermling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yere of his reigne complet, and from the Incarnation of Christ 1125 yeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred
of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John
Cunning, a man of great probesse and valencie,
obtaining of the king in respect therof, certeine smal
portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these
Cummings rose in procelle of time thus from a
small beginning to high honor and puiſſance, by rea-
son of the great possessions & ample revenues which
they afterwards attained. At length (as often hap-
neth) the importable height of this linage was the
onelle cause of the decaye and finall ruine thereof, as
in the sequelle of this historie ye may at full perceiue.
Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of
knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and like-
wise the order of White monks, the author whereof
was one Rodobert. About the same time liued that
holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottislyman
borne, but dwelled for the moze part of his time at
Paris in France, where he died, & was buried wistly
in the cloister of the abbey of saint Elixo, being a
brother of the same house.

Breasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother Dauid came unto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This Dauid, according to the example of his noble parents, let his whole care about the due ministring of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie foynaine enemies, so long as king Henrie Beaulcherke liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vsed to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poore mens causes and matters: but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he vnderstood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the partie wronged, according to the value of his losse and hindes.

The abbey of
Dunfermling.

David brother to king Alexander.

Wolbofins
earle of North
thumberland
and Hunting-
ton.

The lands of
Huntington
and Northum-
berland an-
nexed to the
croune of
Scotland.

at The death of
r, King Alexan
Der.

1124. H. I.
The begin-
ning of the
Commings

of knights of
the Rhodes.
whitemonks

at Richard de
an Sancto Victore

David.
David is
crowned king
of Scotland.

ba. The care of
If king David
by for the pope.
ear. A righteous
and iudge.

hinderance, with the gods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Banketting
cheare banis-
hed.

King David
built 15 ab-
beies.

The names
of the abbeyes
builded by
king David.

four bishops
was created in
Scotland.

Holte rowd
hoale builded.

Liberalltie in
king David
toward the
church reprou-
ned.

The church
enriched, and
the crowne
impoverished.
The saing of
king James
the first.
A soze saint.
10. Maior.
60000 pounds
in lands gi-
uen to the
church.

Superfluous
possessions of
the church.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie things to the advancement of the common-wealth, and banished such banketting cheare as was used amongst his people after the example of the Englishmen, perceiuing the same to breed a great weakening & decaye of the ancient stoutnesse of stomack, that was wont to remaine in the Scottish nation. He builded to the number of fiftene abbeyes, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Englishmen, and part after the same warres were ended. The names of those abbeyes are as followeth: Holie rod house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Petwobottell, Holmeultrane, Dundomanne, Cambuskenneth, Paisiois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; also two nunnies, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwike: with two abbeyes beside Petwocastell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the other of white monikes. He created also foure bishopricks within his realme, Kioffe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, indowing them with rich rents, faire lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions. Moreover he translated the bishops see of Gurthlake unto Aberdeen, for sundrie aduised considerations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his sleepe, that he shuld build an abbeye for a religious order to liue in togither. Whereupon he sent for workmen into France and Flanders, and set them in hand to build this abbeye of canons regular, as he was admonished, dedicating it in the honor of a crosse (whereunto he bare speciall deuotion) for that verie strangellie it slipped into his hands (on a time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in the chase. But inough of these monkish deuises. Manie prudent men blame greatlie the buncie, surable liberalitie of king David, the which he used towards the church, in diminishing so hugellie the reuenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie noble princes his successors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue bene constrained through want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse their lands and liuinges; also to raise payments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoverishment of the realme. And sometime they haue bene constrained to inuade England by warres, as desperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Otherwhilles they haue bene inforced to stampe naughtie monie; to the great preiudice of the common-wealth. All which mischiefes haue followed since the time that the church hath bene thus enriched, and the crowne impoverished.

Therefore king James the first, when he came to king David his sepulture at Dunfirmling, he said, that he was a soze saint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne too poore. For he took from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scottish of pærelie reuenues, wherewith he indowed those abbeyes. But if k. David had considered how to nourish true religion, he had neither indowed churches with such riches, nor built them with such roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church (as they are now used) are not onelie occasion to euill prelats to liue in most insolent pompe & corrupt life, but an assured net to draw gold and siluer out of realms. But now to returne where I left, touching the historie, we shall note that (as I said before) David had by his wife Maude inheritor of part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

sonne named Henrie, who married the earle of Warrens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as descended of most noble blood both French and English. On whom he begat three sonnes, Malcolme, William, and David; also three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Maude. But now in the incane time, whilst the estate of the common-wealth in Scotland stood in high felicitie, under the prosperous gouernement of king David, there happened to him an heauie losse. For the queene his wife the foresaid Maude deceased in his flourishing age, a woman of passing beautie and chastitie, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all the rest. King David therefore took such griefe for his death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Whilst these things came thus to passe in Scotland, Henrie Beauclerke king of England, caused all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that after his deceasse they shoud receiue his daughter Maude the emperesse for their souereigne ladie and queene. She was as then returned into England; for his husband the emperour was latelie before deceased. King David also took his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who vsurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceasse against the said emperesse) sent vnto king David to come and do his homage for the earldomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimati- on that if he refused, king Stephan would inuade him with open warre; king David answered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands vnto the emperesse Maude, which he minded not to breake for the threatening words of anie new inuasi- ons. King Stephan moued with this answer, sent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was under the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enter- prise, entering into the lands of their enemies, put all to fire and sword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that displeasure, rode into England, and did the like displeasures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, against whom came the earle of Gloucester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselfe, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, constrained to redeme the captiues, gaue not onelie a great summe of monie for them; but also made resignation of all such title, claime, or interest, as either he or anie of his successors might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. Howbeit his nobles were no sooner returned home, but that repenting him of that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came forth to resist him, and obtaining the victorie, took a great part of the countrie into his possession.

King David, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or else to die in the field. But shortly after, Thurstane archbishop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh, called in those daies Spacken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Englishmen should deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king David his sonnes. But for so

Earle of war-
ren.

The issue of
Henrie.

Queene
Maude de-
ceased.

1132.

Maude the
emperesse.

k. Stephan.

Homage is
required.

The English
men inuade
Northumber-
land.

The Scots
make robes
into England

The earle of
Gloucester
Robert was
against king
Stephan, but
there might be
some other
happie vnto
whome king
Stephan had
giuen that ti-
tle.

A resignation.

k. Stephan
repenteth,

Roxburgh in
old time
Spacken.
A truce.

D. ij.

much

King David
inuaeth
Northumber-
land.
King Ste-
phan passeth
vnto Rox-
burgh.

much as this covenant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David inuaeth that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moved herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant arate vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to retorne without atching of anie worthie enterpryse.

The yere next insuing, a peace was talked by on, the archbishops of Canturburie and Po:ke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and saint Andrews on the part of king David. But Maude queene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and neere to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefeest doer in this matter, to bring them to agrement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Newcastle, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntingdon should remaine in the gouernement of Henric prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lant and segnoizies the forenamed prince Henric & his successors, princes of Scotland, should doe homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Covenants of
agrement.

Homage.

K. Stephan
returneth.
Carleill was
repaired by
William Rufus
king of
England, a-
bout the yere
of our Lord,
1092.

The death of
Henric prince
of Scotland.

1152.

Prince Hen-
ric his illuc.

The lawes
of nature.

Prozation.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subjects, K. Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first thre yeres of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yere came Maude the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilest England was soze tormented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarrels of these two persons, no small sorow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henric the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbeie church there, in the yere of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned aswell of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him thre sonnes and thre daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprouided of heires.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Therefore that king David weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right beaue and sorowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

How great your fidelitie and care is, which you

beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now do I plainelie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whom you esteeme to be soze afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for this time due yeelding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is ready to do you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) into the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender youth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and doe reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first seene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitablie than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like manner. My byethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whom I esteemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioice, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whom he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iusticie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither do I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried by to rest among that fellowship of beauenlie spirits, where I shall

His parents
goble instructions.

Losse of
friends.
His father.

His mother.

His byethren

His wife.

Death cannot
be dispensed
with.

Why we
ought to take
the death of
our children
and friends
patientlie.

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shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I knew them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe, I reioise (I say) to haue obtained in my sonne, by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is already in that place to the which all we doe earnestlie wisly that we may attaine, and doe endeavour by all means, that when the time commeth in which our soules are to be losed forth of these fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found worthy of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so enuious, that therefore we do lament, because as yet we sticke fast overwhelmed and drowned in such filthy mires, and cumbered in such thornie thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all carres) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come to the place where we do reckon that by diuine power he is already arrived.

Malcolme the sonne of Henrie proclaimed prince of Scotland.

Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the emperesse his sonne receiveth the order of knighthood.

The exhortation of king David to his nobles.

King David departed out of this life.

1153.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks given to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdom. When was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend upon and to receiue the othes of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king David himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agreement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countreies of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king David taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceived himselfe to wax faint and feeble, he required to be borne in to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and blood, with most solemne reverence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending to them his young nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after another, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almighty God, to seeke the preservation of common quiet, to the advancement of the publike weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as John Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermeling, after the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares. How farre this prince king David excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise worthily to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the reliefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customes, that his whole familie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banquetting nor surfeiting there was used amongst them, no lasciuious word heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing moued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly loue seemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their master king David vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephew to him by his son Henrie succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeeres of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and vertuous conditions were such, that all men conceiued a good hope that he would proue a right noble and worthy prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, even from his infancie, that delighting in chaste conuersation and cleannesse of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without marriage: wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entering into the possession of the crowne, there was a great dearth through all the bounds of Scotland. And sone after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the disease whereof they died was anie thing contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleide the thane of Argyle take occasion to attempt an higher enterpryse than stood with the basenesse of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortallitie, and the other halfe nere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was vnder yeeres of ripe discretion, to surpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling together an huge companie of such as in hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, he came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, sleaing and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterpryse was shortly repressed: for Gilcriff earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleids attempts, incountred with him in battell, & slew 2000 of his men. Somerleide hauing receiued this overthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saved his life.

Henrie the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enemies, feared least he being imboldened therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, in manner and forme as his grandfather king David had before done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeyed this commandment of king Henrie: but yet vnder condition (as the Scottish writers affirme) that it should in no manner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scottish kingdome. At the same time king Henrie had warres against Lewes the first, king of France,

This singular pitie toward the poore.

King Davids court.

King Davids seruants.

King Davids example, a rule of godlie life.

Malcolme

The education of king Malcolme.

A dearth.

A death not contagious.

Somerleide thane of Argyle goeth about to make himselfe king.

Somerleids crueltie.

Gilcriff sent with an armie against Somerleide.

K. Malcolme summoned to do homage.

K. Malcolme goeth with king Henrie into France.

¶.iii.

France,

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constrained king Malcolme to go with him in that loznie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a safe conduct frae him to come and go. In this volage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length besieged the cite of Tholouse.

Tholouse besieged.
King Henries meaning.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finally be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie hauing lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, sent the bishop of Purree, and one of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassadoys vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, to recognise the obedience which he owgth to the Romane see. Shortly after also, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was sore rebuked by his lordes, in that he had borne through his owne follie, armes against the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the matter with humble wordes, saying he came vnrwarlike into king Henries hands, and therefore might not chose but accomplish his will and pleasure at that time; so that he supposed verelie the French king would take no great displeasure with his wordes, when he once vnderstand the truth of the matter.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

A parlement at Scone.
K. Malcolme reprimed by his nobles.
K. Malcolme excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottish lordes and their king, thought to renew the same with more displeasure, and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grievous complaint surmized against him by king Henrie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the secrets of the English armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred iourne, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon. And though king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons declared those allegations to be vnture and vniustlie fogged, yet by king Henries earnest enforcing of the matter, sentence was given against him, by the generall consent of all the estates there in that parlement assembled. And moreover, to bring king Malcolme in further displeasure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, supposing by this means to make king Malcolme farre more odious to all his lieges and subiects, than euer he was before.

K. Malcolme goeth to Yorke

Fond dealing and not likelie to be true.

Sentence giuen against K. Malcolme at Yorke.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that subtil contriued policie and slanderous report, was besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of Ceredale, and diuerse others. But after it was knowne how euill king Malcolme had bene used, and most vnturle slandered, they desired pardon of their offense, as induced thereto by vnture reports, which once being granted, they brake vp their siege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and most obedient subiects. But king Malcolme sore moued for that he was thus iniuriousely handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to be made of all such things as had bene wrongfullie taken from him, and so detained by the Englishmen,

K. Malcolme is besieged.

Open warres proclaimed against the Englishmen.

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certaine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be brieft) it was finally concluded, that K. Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntingdon: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

A conclusion of agreement

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Whobest shortly after, there arose another peece of trouble, though lesse in outward apperance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving he might not by secret practise atchieue his purposed intent (whatsoeuer the same was) determined by open force to assaie what luckie success fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare late as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Hereupon he assembled together a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilchrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull valiance was before manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somersleids rebellion) discomfited his power, in these sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whiterne, where is a place of sanctuarie privileged for the safegard of all offenders that flee thereto for succor in the honoz of saint Martin.

K. Malcolme hated of his people.

Fears of outward enemies causeth quietnesse at home.

Angus the thane of Galloway raiseth a commotion: vpon what occasion warres make not anie mention.

Angus discomfited by Gilchrist.

Whiterne a place of sanctuarie.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape awaie; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yielded himselfe to the king, who taking his sonne to pledge for his good beaueing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscated to the kings vse. Whereupon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rodd house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacifying of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Purree land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gilbo, wasted with fire and sword the countries of Rolfe, Wolgetwall, or Wougdale, Spar, Carroch, Buchquhane, and the Hernes, in more cruell sort than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would haue done; inso much that when the king sent diuers of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

Angus besieged in Whiterne.

Angus yielded himselfe to the king.

Angus became a canon.

A rebellion moued by the Purrees.

Gilbo capteine of the rebels.

The crueltie of the rebels.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the aboue named Gilchrist was sent with an armie into Purree land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Hereupon the king himselfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to encourage his people after this overthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent forth before, with displyed banner, ouer the riner of Speite, nere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enemies, and in the end (after sore and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloodshed) he gaue them the overthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt

Gilchrist discomfited by the Purrees.

The Purrees are overthrowen.

the like, he commanded that none of those of Spurrey land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation should passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Spurrey land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their romes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

The Spurrey
land destroyed

Somerleith
returneth into
Scotland.

Somerleith
banquished at
Kenfrowe,
Somerleith is
hanged.

King Mal-
colme's sisters
married.

In this meane time, Somerleith the thane of Ar-
gyle, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ire-
land, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Mal-
colme was run, with the most part of all his nobles
and commons, through this slaughter of his people,
and namelie of them of Spurrey land, he thought to
assaye fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon
returned with certeine kernes and naked men into
Scotland. But this last enterpryse of his came to a
more vnluckie end than the first, for being banqui-
shed in battell at Kenfrowe, he lost the most part of
all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and
after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the
king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Mal-
colme hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and be-
ing now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to
gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing
two sisters marriable, he coupled the elder named
Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the
younger called Adhama he married with Florens
earle of Holland.

Parlement
at Scone.

The oration
of Arnold bi-
shop of saint
Andrewes.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone
of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were as-
sembled together in the councell-chamber, Arnold
archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a vertie
pitthe oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to
change his purpose touching his bow, which (as ap-
pered) he had made to liue chaff. He declared vnto
him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not on-
lie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should
take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to suc-
ceed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that
he might not chuse a more perfect state of life (con-
sidering the office wherein he was placed) than ma-
trimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker
or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his
ordinaunces might erre or be deueled. Againe for
pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more de-
lectable to him, than to haue a womanly ladie to his
betfellow, with whome he might conferre all the con-
ceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladnesse, the be-
ing a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woo,
an helpe both in sicknesse & health, reddie to allwaie
anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spi-
rits being wearied or in arte wise faint through stu-
dious trauell and care of mind.

Children an-
aid.

Men not
boine for them
selues.

Commenda-
ble before God
and man.

Malcolme
might not be
persuaded to
take a wife.

When thewed he what an aid children were vnto
their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they
might gouerne vnder them, to the great commo-
dite of the common-weale, and in warre supplie their
romes as lieutenants in defense of their countries,
to the no small terroze of the enemies. Wherefore sith
men are not boine onelie for their owne weale, but
also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of
their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he
ought to persuaide with himselfe to alter his purpo-
sed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie,
and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his
subiects, sith it was commendable both before God
and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as
nothing might be more. But these and manie other
most weightie reasons could nothing moue his con-
stant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeres affi-
anced his virginittie vnto Christ, trusting that God
would so provide, that the realme should not be desti-

tute of conuenient heires, when the time came that
it should please his diuine maiestie to take him
hence to his mercie from amongst his subiects. Thus
broke vp that councell without anie effect of the pur-
pose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell
sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof
he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie
king of England; which being brought to passe, he set
workemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint
Andrewes abbey, which afterwards bare the name of
saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, be-
ing a goodlie pace of twelke, and vertie collic, as
may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assig-
ned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the
canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint
Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the mainte-
nance of superfluous chere, but yet sufficient for
their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the ca-
nons of that abbey liued in those daies in most ser-
uent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to in-
ordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie gi-
uen to diuine contemplation, without respect to a-
uariance, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of
their house. He founded also the abbey of Couper of
the Cisterciour order, and indowed it with manie faire
lands and wealthie possessions. Finallie, being vbered
with long infirmittie, he departed out of this life at
Edinburgh the 12 yere of his reigne. A certeine co-
met or blasing starre appeared 14 daies together be-
fore his death, with long beames verie terrible to be-
hold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after
the incarnation 1185 yeres. In the daies of this
Malcolme, Roger archbishop of Yorke, constituted
the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into
Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed
for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vn-
lawfull meanes.

A peace con-
cluded with
England.
The Abbeie
of saint An-
drewes build-
ed.

Superfluous
rents of ab-
beies, prouo-
cations to in-
ordinate lusts.

The abbey of
Couper
founded.
The death of
king Mal-
colme.
A comet.

1185.
Roger arch-
bishop of
Yorke the
popes legat.

After Malcolme succeeded his brother Willi-
am, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion.
Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadoze
vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that
according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the
earledome of Northumberland, sith it appertained
by god and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance.
King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king
William would come vnto London, and there do
his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he
should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he
reasonable could with or demand. Wherevpon king
William went into England, and so came to Lon-
don, and after he had done his homage for Cum-
berland and Huntington, he required the restitution of
Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer
as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to
the crowne, he might not without the assent of all
the estates of his realme make restitution thereof.
Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he pro-
mised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it
came to passe that his demand were found to stand
with reason, he would do therein according to con-
science, when time expedient should serue thereto.

William sur-
named the
Lion.
Ambassadoze
sent to the
king of Eng-
land.

King William
is required to
do homage.

King William
request for the
restitution of
Northumber-
land.
The answer
of king Hen-
rie.

About the same season, king Henrie passed oner
into Normandie with an armie, and caused king
William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to
go with him in that iourne. For King William would
not disobey his commandement at that present, in
hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his
late touching the restitution of Northumberland (as
the Scottish writers do affirme) but in the end, after
he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and
perceiued no comfort to recouer his lands, he got li-
cence with much ado to returne home: and so com-
ming backe into England, passed through the realme
with

King Henrie
saileth into
Normandie.
King William
with manie
nobles of
Scotland
went with
king Henrie
ouer into
France.

King William
seale of iustice.

Scotland
more indama-
ged by dome-
sticall theues
than by fo-
reigne enemies.

Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.

See more
therof in
England.

A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
piece of North-
umberland
with his right
saue to the re-
sidue.
King Henrie
repenting him
selfe of that
which he had
deliuered to
the Scots
seeketh new
occasions of
warre.
warres with
England.

King William
inuaeth
Cumberland.

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole endeavour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subiects, and speciallie he took order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grow by open warre against anie foreyn nation, it may well appere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to repress the licentious outrage of such arrogant theues and priuie murderers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of foreyn enemies.

When he had once cleared the realme of those misgoverned persons, he sent eiesones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would at last to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiving that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather King Malcolm had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he receiued not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entire right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yeeres after, king Henrie feeling what hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vnto the Scottish kings use, repented him of that bargain: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subiects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands pertaining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken awaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but for so much as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Warrest was also at hand, and thereupon they ceased on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, which to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gilcriff, whose appoynted balliance often helued in the time of king Malcolm, had advanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the bordersmen. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto

king William, offering vnto him, not onlie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redresse of all maner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer heretvnto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was ever willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of bloud, but that he would glablie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to waite such feates as they had imagined, addrested forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season nere vnto the place where the same Scottishmen laie in campe, & diuiding themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid close in a ballie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came even with in sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangeness of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon encouraging one another, they boldlie issued forth vpon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cause the Scottishmen to breake their arrate of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constrained them to flee in good earnest, which they themselves had but onlie counterfeited to doe before.

King William perceiving his people thus discomfited, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his inuour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enemies made onelie at him, he yelded himselfe. There was not much bloud spilled on either side at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush laie, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the hurt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiving they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conueied to king Henrie oner into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yeere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Sauour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agreeable with that which we haue here aboue remembred, who declare how King William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

The offer of
the English-
men.

The answer
of king Wil-
liam.

The English-
men laie in
campe, & di-
uiding them-
selves into
two parts, the
one was ap-
pointed to
abide in the
fields, till
the sunne
were vp, and
then to shew
themselves
to the ene-
mies, to traine
them forth to
battell: the
other companie
was laid close
in a ballie
not farre off,
to take the
aduantage as
they saw their
time.

The English-
men were of
purpose.

The king left
but slenderlie
garded.

The Scots
constrained to
flee.

King William
yelded him-
selfe prisoner.

King William
conueied into
Normandie.

1174.

Discord of
writers.

Northumberland, not ceasing till he came to Antwerp, where he staid for a time to have had battell: but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close together without noise or appearance, in such wise that no Scottishman could have understanding where they were. At length king William wearied with long tarrying thus at Antwerp, and seeing no enemies to appeare, determined to worke some exploit yet before his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to forreie the same, keeping no great companie about him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth. Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them on eche side, and so finally taken and led awaie per anie Scottishman wist thereof, saue a few which were left (as is said) with him for the time. In deed Wilhelmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbey of Wyndlesham in Dorsetshire, in that his booke which he writes of the former kings of England, affirms how there were not manie more than about thre score horsemen with king William, while he was thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past foure hundred horsemen, which toke vpon them that enterpryse; whose captains (as he reciteth) were these: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanuil, Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Captains of the Englishmen.

W. Paruus.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots: for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was present amongst them, they durst not utter their malicious intentions: but now that he was thus taken from them, so manie of the English Scots as fell into the hands of the Irish, paid dearlie for the bargain, being cruellie murdered and slaine: so that the residue were constrained to get them out of the waie into castles and towers, where they might be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that because there was no great slaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithstanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before specified chieftains Gilcriff and Rowland stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken, during the time that king William remained in captiuitie: vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should continue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and Cumberland (with the earldome of Huntington) to remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the Scottishmen.

Gilcriff and Rowland resist the Englishmen.

Northumberland vnder the Englishmen.

David earle of Huntington.

The king of Scots both saile to the king of England for Scotland.
Rog. Houed.
Matth. West.

Immediately vpon the taking of king William thus at Antwerp, his brother David earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme, till the king his brother might be redeemed. So some therefore as he had once established the realme in good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of saint Andrews, with diuerse other noble men, ouer into Normandie, to take order there with R. Henrie for the ransom of the king his brother, which was agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that king William should become and acknowledge himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, against all men for the realme of Scotland and his other lands; and for the same should do fealtie to the said king of England, as to his liege soueraine lord, in like sort as other his liege people were accustomed to do. And further, he should also do fealtie vnto the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sauiug alwaies the faith which he owght the king his

father.) And in like manner it was covenanted and agreed, that all the prelates of Scotland, and their successors, should recognise their wanted subiection to the church of England, and do fealtie to the king of England, so manie of them as he should appoint. And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and their heires for their part, should do their homage and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as thereunto should be required.

Moreover, the king of Scots should paie for his redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure payment of the other halfe, the earldomes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland should be deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage, till the time that the same summe was paid. And for the more suertie of these covenants, and that the Scots should moue no warre against the Englishmen, foure of the strongest castles within Scotland, that is to saie, Berwik, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, & Strueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens hands. These things being thus ordered the eight day of December 1175, & the king restored home, there followed a new stirre in Scotland, for Gilbert of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force, made great slaughter of all them that withstood his desire. And because his brother reprooued his doings, he put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. Against this Gilbert was Gilcriff sent with an armie by the king. There was fought a sore battell betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellows, such commonlie as for murder and other heinous crimes by them committed were in danger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriff with multitude won the field of them, and slue more in the chase than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter somewhat otherwise, as thus: In the armie of king William (saith he) when he was taken nere vnto Antwerp, were two brethren, Gilbert and Wared, that were lords of Galloway, hauiug there with them a great retinue of their countriemen. These were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that prouince; after whose deasse the king of Scots that is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie betwixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest brother found himselfe much grieved to haue anie part of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands, he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother, till it fortune the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had staid his mischievous purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellie murdered him, after no common maner; but rather martyred him in beaustie wise, so to satiffie the instina of his diuall nature. And immediately after inuading the upper countries, he exercised great slaughter of men on each hand. But his brother had a sonne called Rowland, which prouing a valiant yong gentleman, boldlie resisted his vnles rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recozeth) till by the foresaid Gilcriff the murderer was expelled, as before is expessed. In the yeare following came Hugo cardinal of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into England, with authoritie to refozme the English churches, in such cases as were thought requisite; and after he had made an end there, to doe the like in Scotland.

The prelates of Scotland do fealtie to the king of England.
The earles and lords do homage vnto him.

King William ransomed.

Foure castles deliuered to the Englishmen in pledge.

1175.
Gilbert of Galloway rebelleth.

Gilbert of Galloway banquished by Gilcriff.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Hugh cardinal of saint Angelo the popes legat.

The bishops
of Scotland
summoned to
a conuocation
at Porthamp-
ton.

Gilbert a
learned man
defended the
liberties of
Scotland.

Gilbert bishop
of Cathnes.

Wonders.

Haile.

The sun
darkened.

Thunder.

The founda-
tion of the ab-
beie of Ar-
broth, or Ar-
birbrothoke.

1178.

The abbete of
Muntrie of Ha-
dington found-
ed.

Embassadoys
to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcrist mar-
rith his
wife upon su-
spicion and
adulterie.
The kings
indignation a-
gainst Gil-
crist.

Gilcrist pro-
claimed trai-
tor.

Wredus the
brother of
Gilcrist.

Scotland. When he had therefore finished with Eng-
land, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare
before him at a day prefixed at Porthampton. They
came according to his appointment, and being as-
sembled there in consistorie, he went about in most
earnest wise to perswade them to receiue the archbi-
shop of Dork for their metropolitane. But one Gil-
bert a yong man, holobest singularie well learned,
and for his holiness of life much commended (as
Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by
king William unto this conuocation, to foreshew that
nothing were concluded in the same, prejudiciall to
the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme
of Scotland, did argue so stiffly to the contrarie,
that the cardinall left off the pursute of such maner
of matter, and brake vp that counsell without deter-
mination of anie thing to the purpose in that behalfe.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and li-
berties of the Scottish clergie, was afterwards
made bishop of Cathnes, and finally after his de-
parture out of this transitorie life, registred for his
supposed perfect holiness of life among the number
of saints. The chiefest cause that mooued the Sco-
tish clergie to withhold their obedience from the
primasie of Dork, was the dissention and conti-
nuall enmitie betwixt the two nations for superio-
ritie in tempo-ral causes. The same yeare that this
counsell was holden at Porthampton, sundrie wun-
ders were seene in Albion. On the thirtieth
day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint
John the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile,
that it killed manie sheepe and small cattell: people
that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie
where abroad, were beaten to the earth with vio-
lence of that storme. The sunne in September a-
bout noontide was darkened for the space of two
houres together, without anie eclipse or cause na-
tural by interposition of clouds. In Dorkshire
was such terrible thunder with strange lightening,
that manie abbeyes and churches were consumed
with the fire.

About this season, the abbete of Arbroth was built
in most magnificent wise, and endowed with lands
and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses
within the bounds of Albion might compare there-
with. The church was dedicated in the yeare of
Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas
Becket archbishop of Cantuarburie, with whose
as is said he had great familiaritie in time of his yong
yeares. At the same time the abbete of Hadington
was founded by Adhama the mother of king Wil-
liam, and shortly after she had built it, she died. Not
long after, king William sent as ambassadoys John
bishop of saint Andrews, and Regnald abbat of Ar-
broth unto pope Alexander the third, to present unto
him his obsequies, according as he thought stood
with his duteie. The pope seeming to reioice there-
at, sent shortly after unto the king a rose of gold,
filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges con-
cerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At
the same time Gilcrist, having his wife in suspicion
of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards
strangled hir in a village called Panis, not past
a mile from Dundee. The king for that she was his
sister) toke such indignation therewith, that he sei-
zed upon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue
put him to death if he might haue got him into his
hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he
proclaimed him traitor, and rased his castell (where
in he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise
that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where
it stood. This Gilcrist had a brother that hight Wre-
dus, who before this mischance had got the lands of
Dgiltane: of whose house the house of the Dgiltanes toke

their beginning, that after came to great authori-
tie in the court, though at this time (through Wil-
crist's offense) his whole familie was nere hand de-
stroied. About this time also, the quene, king Wil-
liam his wife, deceased. A daughter which he had by
hir, named Adhama, he gaue in marriage unto the
earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the deceasse of
this his first wife married Emengard, daughter to
Richard vicount of Beaumont that was sonne to
a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By
this marriage and alliance, the peace was newlie
confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such
wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to
the other, by means whereof Gilcrist, that before
was fled into England, was constrained to returne
into Scotland, disguised in poore weed, with two of
his sonnes, and there passed forth his life a long time
in great miserie amongst the woods and in out pla-
ces, vnknewen to anie man that he was, by rea-
son of his poore and simple habit. Somewhat before
the aboue remembred marriage, Henrie king of
England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham
rendered by the castell of Edenburgh into A. Wil-
liam his hands.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine
prospered hugely against the christians in the holic
land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to
heare thereof, all christian hearts were moued to
pittifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so
much that Henrie king of England bowed to go
thither with an armie to relieue the common neces-
sities of the christian publike weale, and had gone in
deed, if he had not bene hindered by the conspira-
cie of his sonne, whose latelie before he had caused
to be crowned king, that went about to vnture the
sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers
life time. About the same time William went with
an armie into Hesse, against Hakulzen and Hak-
bein, two capteins of the westerne Isles, which vsed
upon occasion to passe ouer into Hesse, Cathnes and
Murrey land, spoiling and wasting those countries;
when they heard of anie power comming against
them, they would straight returne to their ships,
and repasse againe into the Isles. But at this time,
the king had sent forth a nanie to burne all those ves-
sels, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had
left at anchor, by reason whereof when they were
inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken pri-
soners, they after had suffered death on the wheele,
according to the maner of the ciuill law.

The king in his returne from this iourne, came
by the abbete of Abirbrothoke, to view the workes of
that house, how it went forwards, commanding
them that were ouersers and maisters of the workes
to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection,
and that with most magnificence. After his depar-
ture from thence, he toke the way toward Bertha,
and by aduenture espied where Gilcrist was deli-
uing vp turfes, together with his two sonnes. And
though he knew not what they were, yet he mused
to see two such goodlie yong men, as by resemblance
they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such to-
ling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gil-
crist with his bald head came afore him, and falling
downe on his knees at the kings feet, said: If there
be anie mercie in thee (most ruthfull prince) for them
that are brought through their offenses into extreme
miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for
the same; I beseech thee for the loue that Christ had to
all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most pre-
cious blood for their redemption, to haue some pittie &
compassion on me, & these my poore & miserable sons,
which with me haue suffered much griefe and penur-
rie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by
the m

The house of
the Dgiltane

The earle of
Laon.

Emengard,
1186.

The peace
confirmed
with Eng-
land.

The misera-
ble state of
Gilcrist.

The castell of
Edenburgh
restored.

Saladine the
Souldane.

King Henrie
purpose to go
into the holic
land against
the Saracens
hindered by
rebellion of
his sonne.

Hakulzen
and Hak-
bein captains
of pirates.

Death on the
wheele.

Abirbrothoke
is builded.

Gilcrist deli-
uing clouds

Gilcrist asketh
pardon of the
king in vnk-
nowne ha-
bit.

them committed.

Gilcriff declar-
eth what
he is.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eies, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilcriff (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore disherited of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we haue liued by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauell of hand thus in digging and deluing of clods. Therfore if auncie ruth or pittie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maist not onelie purchase great honor: and fame by example of pittie, being highlie renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afoze God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king taketh Gilcriff to his fauour, and reboyleth vnto him his lands.

Gilcriffs gift vnto the house of Abirborthoke.

Laws devised by king William against thieues.

The king moued by these wordes, and remembering the good seruice which Gilcriff had imploied so oftentimes afoze in defense of the realme; and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottome of extreme miserie, he took him wholie to his fauour, and not onelie forgave him his former offenses, but also restored vnto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes appertained vnto them, except so much as the king had alreadye giuen vnto the abbeye of Abirborthoke. Gilcriff euer after perseuered in due obedience to his prince. And forsomuch as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, that his yonger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnmet for marriage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse vnto the said house of Abirborthoke. His yonger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands therevnto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Katharine within the church of this abbeye, as the superscription of their tomes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the aduancing forwarde of the building of Abirborthoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of thieues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Rome, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Bighne, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Cathness) was declared exempt from all other foreign iurisdiccions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolike see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first yeere of the said pope Clements gouernment. Shortly after, to wit in the yeere 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

The death of Henrie king of England.

R. Richard.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendered into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Berwikke, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also deliuered the earldomes of Huntingdon and Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castles and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his capitens and souldiours, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that present towards the charges of his iourne. When king William had thus receiued his lands and castles by surrendre, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntingdon, who thereupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance devised by king Malcolm the first, went with him also in that voyage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

The castles of Roxburgh, Berwikke, and Sterling rendered to king William.

Earle of Huntingdon, Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

As the christian armie laie at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scottishman borne, was within the towne retained in seruice among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his native countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tongue verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or auncie other fortification. He happened by some good aduenture to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntingdon, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certaine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yett betterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certaine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would see him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before rehearsed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a Scottishman.

John Durward.

Earle Dauid entered the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiving the citie thus wonne, entred the same, and shortly after wane a towre, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres wonne from the Saracens, chiefie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their retorne from this voyage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were atchined therein, I passe ouer to make auncie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was disperied in his comming homewards (as in the

the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle Dauid was in, chanced to be throwne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conuied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, he hired a vessell at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that drove him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Norwaie and Shetland.

Here in the midst of this extreame teopardie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honor of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Taie water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Aledum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before that he had bene dead, he came speedilie vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle Dauid, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honor of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbey in that place if shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as he should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle Dauid not refusing the grant and benenolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundoxis, for monks of the order of saint Benedict. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singularity. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet both no man catch hurt by anie of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie feare or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperor of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, tooke his brother earle Dauid with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnsuethly conceived for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his voiage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue beleefe, that he was dead: and causing it to be bruted abrode, began to exercise all kind of misdeemeanors by inuading the poore and simple people, with spoiling and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinly knowne, that the king was not onelie aliue, but also recovered of his infirmitie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Dykenie, vnto the uttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort gilllesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offences.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowses. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession shoulde follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scottissh called a boll, was sold for five crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sautour 1199, was more plentiful abundance than euer had bene scene afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About thre yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created pryncer of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to R. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Spanie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturday should be kept as holidie from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturday at none, vntill monday in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Roxburgh, berland. Immediatlie whereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bottie of goods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled R. John to make restitution of all the goods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beafts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the twelfth tide till februarye, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

Herald thane
of Cathnes
succourer of
rebels.

Iustice not
destitute of
mercie.

The thane of
Cathnes
taken.
Seuerer pun-
ishment.

Great dearth

1199

Alexander the
pryncer of
Scotland.

A legat sent
from the pope.

A hat.

Defender of
the church.

Saturday af-
ter none to be
kept holie.

King William
did homage to
king John of
England.

Ale sold by
weight.

Earthquakes

a castell in Northumberland ouer against Berthweke, upon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadoers vnto king John, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to take any occasion of new trouble: but forsomuch as he received no towardlie answer againe from him, John, he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew the same, and rased it to the earth. King John so offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William readie to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken by betwixt them, so that on either side the armies were dissolued, & both the kings repairing to Forke, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabel daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres then next ensuing were once expired, should be coupled in mariage with Henrie and Richard the sons of king John, upon this paction and covenant, that if the one died, the other should succed to the crowne. For the which it was covenanted, that king William should giue a right large dowrie. Also the castell which king John had builded, and king William rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king John. In that assemble there at Forke, king William also surrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to doe homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of England, as superior lords of the same. During the abode of these two kings at Forke, there was brought vnto them a child of singular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of great possessions and sundrie diseases; for one of his eyes was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried up; the one of his feet was so taken, that he had no life thereof; and his tongue likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Whereupon king William making a crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health. By reason whereof, manie beleued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of so godlie a prince might be notified to the world.

After his returne from Forke into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, Holie rood house, Dunfermling, and Aberdeen, with manie faire possessions, as the letters patents made therof by him beare manifest testimonie. He also created one new bishopps see called Argyle, giuing thereto sufficient lands towards the maintenance and sustentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising and inundation of the two riuers, Tais & Almond, that through violence of the streame the towne wals were borne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, per they could make anie thist to saue themselves, insomuch that though the king with his wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leopadie, his yongest sonne yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other women perished, and twentie other of his seruants beside. There was heard such clamor, noise, & lamentable cries, with bitter rotings and dreadfull shrieking, as is vsed in time when anie towne is suddenly taken and surprized by the enemies: for as the comon prouerbe witnesseth; Fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of these two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenly breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus destroyed and ouerflowed with water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that ougtht the ground where the same towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted sundrie beneficiall priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the sooner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saviour 1210 yeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called Saint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day. About the same time there rose estates new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gotherd the sonne of Pakkylzen (of whose rebellion ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions and rodes the countrie of Rosse, and other bounds thereabouts. His companie increased daile more and more, by repaire of such number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the westerne Isles. King William, to repress these attempts, sent forth the earles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing six thousand in their companie, the which encountering with the enemies in set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gotherd their chiefe captaine prisoner, brought him vnto the king, who caused both him and diuerse other which were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads. Gotherd himselfe was so wounded, before he was taken; so that if his takers had not made the more speed in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid the said John with such sommes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortly after, William king of Scotland, worne with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the 74 yere of his age, and in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yere next following, there was a colv in Northumberland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in deed, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were seene also two mones in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the moone in his increasing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbey of Balmernoch, but his wife queene Emengard indowed it with lands and possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberdeen, to conuert the same into an abbey for them to

John & kings son drowned.

The towne of Perth builded

Freedom granted to the towne of Perth.

Saint Johns towne. Gotherd murdered a rebellion in Cathnes.

His companie increased.

The earles of Fife and Atholl sent against him. The rebels overthrew. Gotherd taken and beheaded.

The dissention betwixt the pope and king John. The cause.

The death of king William.

1214.

Two blasing starres.

A monstrous calfe.

Two mones.

The abbey of Balmernoch founded.

Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. 3 times of mourning.

3 parliament at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Fraser given to the old queen. 3 parliaments appointed.

Difference between king John and his nobles.

King Henrys son sent to London.

The league between France and Scotland renewed.

The best of the French king's army slain. King Henrys son sent to France. King John's death. King Henrys son sent to France. King John's death. King Henrys son sent to France. King John's death.

to inhabit: and was in mind to have given them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had lived anie longer time.

After the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie, which being finished, he went unto Abirjorthoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the fune- rall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publicke plaies nor great feasts should be held or kept in all that parte, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his servants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole year. The first parliament which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the aies and ordinances devised by his father: and furthermore appointed that all such as had borne offices under him, should still enjoy the same. Sometime he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alan of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw blood of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parliament was ended, because the old quarre his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of her life, in the place where that holie woman quene Margaret sometime led her life, he gave unto her towards the maintenance of her estate, the castles & townes of Strathairn, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certaine sage and most grave personages, to be chosen such as judges, which should be resident in everie citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this same time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres ensued, as in the English historie doth appere. The barons made late both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length the French kinges sonne came over to support them, whereof when king Alexander was advertised, he likewise came with an armie through England unto London, causing his soldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his coming things were partly quietted for a time, and shortly after that he had communicated with the French kinges sonne, they passed the seas towne betwixt over into France, leaving their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king advertised thereof came doloure to Bergheryn, where sitting his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, with this addition, that neither prince should receive the enemies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other partie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and the French kinges sonne returned into England: shortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. Thus for Henry, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the same time had the pope excommunicated both the French king, and king Alexander, with all those that favoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king John, returning homewardes took his

armie, thought he might have passed quietlie with- out anie annoyance by the waie, through meares whereof he lost a certaine number of his men, being suddenly invaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some advantage, in straiting aboard out of order: with which unwarlike king Alexander was so manned, that he spoiled and harried all the countreies by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Guale came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication about remembered, against the French king, and Alexander, with all their fautors: whereupon he accursed not onely the foresaid persons but also interdicted all the places where they came, in so much that in the end the French king was constrained to beg an absolution with no small summes of monie: of that avaricious cardinall Guale: and after upon a agreement also made with king Henry, he returned unto France. Not long after came king Henry with an armie into Scotland, for in damaging the coun- trey: but so soon as he was advertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to give him battell, he returned with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 12000 men of armes, very perfectlie appointed and furnished with all maner and weapon as was requisite, and the king of Scots but onely five hundred. But of soldiers there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with axes, speares, and bowes, ready to die and live with their prince, constantlie beleaguering, that no life this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saved in an other world.

After that king Henry was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he overthrew & beat downe many castles and strongholds, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countreie unto Carlisle, he took that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, leaving finge forte Bergheryn castill, when he had consumed at the same a certaine time, and perceived how he lost but his travell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other achieved enterprises in that tourne. King Henry being once advertised that king Alexander had broken by his campe, unconformable got off from his people together, and coming to Bergheryn, man- bodie the towne and castill. After entering into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countreie along by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Warrington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, preists, and children cruellly executed. He assured to have taken the castill of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the same time, the avaricious prelat Guale, upon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same under pretence of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had invaded England, and as he alleged spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so enraged the hearts of the Scottishmen which hated against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to have ended without the better destruction and ruine of both their realmes. Several shelds at length, by the diligent travail of the bishops of Berke and Salisburie, which came unto king Alexander to treat an agreement, a small peace was concluded, under these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carlisle unto the Englishmens hands, and king Henry the towne of Bergheryn unto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine unto king Alexander, with the one half

King Henrys son sent to France.

Cardinal Guale.

King Henrys son sent to France.

King Henrys son sent to France.

King Henrys son sent to France.

Cardinal Guale.

King Henrys son sent to France.

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King Henrys son sent to France.

King Henrys son sent to France.

come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene waisted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke what soeuer cometh into their hands, is but cast away and clearelie lost.

Legats cannot be receiued.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gillespie Wolfe a rebel.

Exnernes burned by Gillespie Wolfe. John Cammin earle of Buchquhane. Gillespie Wolfe beheaded.

New trouble.

Adam bishop of Cathnes slain by the people of that countrie.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes lost his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The privileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Murray.

These words of this bishop (whatsoeuer he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this counsell, the mariage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed by for a more full and certeine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gillespie Wolfe, who hauing liued most licentiouslie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaing diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewd misdemeanors, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Cnuernes, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cammin earle of Buchquhane coming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gillespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their three heads, sent the same to the king as a witnesse how he had sped.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this maner: The men of Cathnes soe offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he halloed forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceassing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deprived of his earldome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

After this, king Alexander coming vnto Aberdeen, gaue manie large gifts and privileges thereunto, although the same before this time intored sundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The bulls which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murray, who succeeded next after the foresaid Adam in the see of Cathnesse. In the third year after, as king Alexander with his mother Geringard were sitting at their banquet on the twelue day in Christmas, othertwise called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King

Alexander taking ruth & pittie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Wherefore the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterwarde punished by the iust iudgement (as some thought) of almightie God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his owne meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the same went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blache friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first author. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectlie than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a good beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. In the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Manie of them also after his decesse fell to dissolute liuing, keeping no such strict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people intored peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his three daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much seath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with fure thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Stewart of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in mariage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes decesse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was dispersed and ertinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwarde the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Balliol; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into three, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, & Alexander was aduertised of great dissension rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe towards an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Jone, and Isabel his sister. Through his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were remoued, and the parties throughtlie accorded. Which being done, he married

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

The first coming of blache friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne raiseth a commotion.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

King Alexander goeth into England.

Tabi Alexander earle of Buchquhane.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

John Adamson.

Isabell the
sister of king
Alexander
married to the
earle of
Hertford.
Jane queene
of Scotland
deceased.

1 2 3 4

King Alexander
married the
daughter of
the lord of
Conce.

John Cumyn
earle of Angus
departeth
this life.

Patrick earle
of Atholl
married.

John Bissart
suspected.

A conuoca-
tion of the
clergie at
saint Johns
towne.

Somerleid
thane of Ar-
gyle rebelled.

Somerleids
humble sub-
mission.

A castell be-
gun to be build-
ed by king
Henrie a-
gainst Ber-
wikke.
Mauch Paris
disagreeth fro
the Scottish
writers tou-
ching the oc-
casion of this
warre, as in
the English
chronicles ye
may read.

Ambassadors
forth of
France.

Scottishmen
that went
with Lewis
king of
France into
Egypt.

married Isabell his sister unto the earle of Hertford, and in the meane time his wife queene Jane deceased, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which chance caused the king hir husband to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In the yere next following, which was after the incarnation 1239, king Alexander because he had no succession begot of his bodie married at Rockburgh the daughter of Ingelram lord of Concie, a virgin of excellent beantie named Marie, on whome he got a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.

About the same time, John Cumyn earle of Angus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French king, died by the way. Also at Haddington was holden a roiall tournament, where knights and esquires advanced themselves by valiant prowesse to win hono: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and pastime ended in sorrow. For Patrick Cumyn earle of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night, and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But yet was John Bissart, with Walter Bissart his vnkle the whole suspected for the matter, inasmuch that though no euident proffe could be had against him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After these things were thus passed, a conuocation was called of the clergie at saint Johns towne. In the which were diuerse provinciall ordinances and statutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of the realme, which were obserued in the church of Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time also, one Somerleid thane of Argyle, the sonne of that Somerleid of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers steps, rebelled against the king, forsoe indamaging by rodes & forages the parts bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Argyle, till at length the earle of March brought him to the yinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke in token of submission; and being so brought before the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, Henrie king of England, prouoked by the setting on of such seditious persons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell in against Bertwikke, in the same place where the other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as before is shewed) was rased and thowen downe by king William, by the articles of agreement with covenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe. This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of England (considering that the building vp of this castell was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had not staied the worke, and so thereupon that beginning of new trouble betwixt the English and Scottish nations for that present ceased.

In the yere following came ambassadors forth of France into Scotland, declaring that H. Lewes was readie to passe forward on that iourne, which he had taken in hand to make into Jewrie, and therefore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in those warres against Gods enemies. With these ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certaine chosen bands of men of warre under the leading of Patrick earle of March, David Lindseie of Glenelke, and Walter Stewart of Dundonald, three captains of great wisdom, and perfect experience in feats of chivalrie. The most part of all those Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iourne,

perished in Egypt either on the sword or by sickness, so that few or none of them returned home againe. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not long: but falling into a sore and grievous sickness within a certaine ile called Carnere, not far distant from the coast of Argile, deceased in the same ile shortly after, in the 51 yere of his age, the 35 of his reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (according as he had commanded in his life time) was buried in Melroffe.

After that Alexander the second was thus dead and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of that name, not passing nine yeres of age, was proclaimed king. There was no small adu on the daie of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by reason of the obseruation of starres, it was indged to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the diademe. And againe some held opinion, how he ought to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so that thus they were at strife together, in such earnest manner, that it was doubted, least this contention would haue bred some great inconuenience, had not the earle of Fife prevented the same, in causing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, according to the custome, without regard to the stridulous allegations of them that spake to the contrarie. When the solemnitie was ended, there came before him an Highlandman (so they call such as inhabit the mountaine countreies of Scotland) who in a kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak David, and so forth (reciting in manner of a genealogie or pedigree, all the kings in order of whome he was descended, till he came vp to Cathelus the first beginner of the Scottish name & nation.) The words in English are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexander the sonne of David, the sonne of Alex, the sonne of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of David, and so forth as before. This Highland Scot was highly rewarded by the king for his labour, according as was thought requisite.

In the second yere of his reigne, king Alexander (or rather such as had the gouernement of the realme vnder him) assembled together all the prelates and barons of the realme at Dunfermling, and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grand mother queene Margaret, which being done, he caused them to be put into a shute of silver, the 21 day of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it resteth at this present, as it was borne forth toward that place, when the bearers came against the sepulchre of hir husband king Malcolm, they were not able to remoue the reliques anie further, till by the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was then & there present, they took vp the bones of the same Malcolm also, and bare them forth with him to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great veneration of the people. Such as were appointed gouernors (during the minority of king Alexander) doubting least the tender yeres of their soueraine might embolden the enemies of the realme to attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified anew with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to be had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

Shortly after, vpon this motion, both the kings met at Berke with a great number of lords, as well spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where king Alexander (according to the promise before that time made) married the ladie Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephens day

The death of
king Alexander
the second.
38. 10. Ma. but
that can not
be.

Alexander.

Alexander the
third crowned

An infortune
nate day.

The earle of
Fife prevented
the occasion
of further
troubles.

The saluta-
tion of an Hil-
land man.

The transla-
tion of queene
Margarets
bones.

They were at
sanced in the
daies of king
Alexander the
faire, as in the
English chro-
nicle it may
appare.

An interview
of the kings of
England and
Scotland.

11. 11.

1250.

in Christmaste, with all solemnitie and iollfull mirth that might be deuised. The charges whereof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of A. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions done by some of the pæres of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, upon their contempt so to do, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the horne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The king taken by the Cumins.

The great power of the Cumins. Thirtie and two knights of one surname. The height of great families the cause of tentimes of their fall.

The earle of Menteith is poisoned.

The king set at libertie.

John Russell an Englishman.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted. The first coming of the Carmelite friers.

A part of the holie crosse found.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, took the king at Rintrosse, and brought him into Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Although which aduenture much harme ensued, by reason of misdealt persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts prouided, sith the king who should haue sene iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the third. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and maintenance. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre upon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiencie, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mishance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

This woman did thus make awaie hir husband the earle of Menteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namely, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scottish nobilitie, he took the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vnmeet, and thereupon constrained to lie with him into England, he died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urbane the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the thursday after Trinitie fundae. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrose was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Deplis in Lou-

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As sone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then beleued.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbey in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbey afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Marke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realmes continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was sene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be sene at this day, right sumptuously builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet haruest preceeding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

Acho king of Norwaie, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Hereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterpryse, he landed with the same in the westerne Isles, on Lamas day other wise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Isles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Isles, and onelic at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, he took the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being soze astonished with these newes, for that he was yong, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldened upon such frequent victories as they had achieved, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enemies force, by long sojourn in campe without trial of anie battell. Hereupon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first coming before him spake in this manner.

Were it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe be first to seeke redresse of all iniuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold our lord sent vnto you to talke of concoyd, but a mightie armie in ordi-

An abbey built.

An interuiew March. Paris writeth that in the yere 1256, both A. Alexander & his wife came into England to visit king Henrie, whom they found at Woodstoke, as in the English chronicles farther appeareth.

1262.

A great dearth

Acho king of Norwaie.

The westerne Isles vnder subiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

Acho landed in Albion.

The castell of Aire besieged and wonne.

King Alexander's purpose to infect his enemies force.

Ambassadors sent to Acho.

The operation of one of the ambassadors.

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nance

Peace to be preferred before warres.

wherefore warres ought to be moid.

The cause of their message.

Burning of churches.

King Achos answer.

The cause of Achos com.

nance of battell comming towards you to giue the onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so much gaine by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that we account it much better to haue peace, if we may haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some manner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may be purchased with faire and quiet words. Neuertheless, when our iust desires and reasonable motions are refused of the enimies, when we find them not willing to haue peace (for the obtaining whereof all warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting the quarrell: we are ready to rise whole together in reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and violence against our aduersaries. We are sent therefore from our king and soueraigne, to inquire what occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and subiects, in violating that peace and league, which hath bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation, the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to take from him his two Isles of Bute and Aran, but also to invade the maine land of his dominions, with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or person seemeth to be had; but that women, children, and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as well as those that haue stood at resistance with weapons in hand against you. What heinous offense haue the Scottishmen at anie time committed either against you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such crueltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath moued you to burne the churches of God and his saints, with the murther of his people that flee into the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread not God that governeth all things (by his diuine providence) which here in this world we see; if ye dread not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied together in bond of amitie and marriage, which shall come against you with such puissance, that ye shall not be able to resist the same. Wherefore sith ye may depart with honor, we on the behalfe of him from whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already done, and therewith to repaire home, than to adventure to be brought unto such desperate ends, that when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the same in no wise will be granted unto you. These words were spoken by the ambassadors, upon purpose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie king Achos.

Neuertheless he was abashed so little therewith, that he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is (I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your fierce and awfull words, supposing vs so weake harted, that we should leaue off our enterprize through your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceived suerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certaine Isles, we perceiue you are not met nor indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and asseuer, that not onelie those two Isles pertaine to vs and our people by god title and ancient right of inheritance, but also all the other Isles of Scotland, as we are able by firme euidences sufficiently to proue. And therefore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

Isles and profits out of those Isles in thine past from vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing words, nor yet anie other violence that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lusteth to avoid the spoiling and burning of his townes, and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see the utter extermination of his realme afore his eyes, command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thousand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken by and receiued by him and his elders in times past, and further that he make a cleare resignation of all claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto the said Isles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder our dominion in perpetuities without anie contradiction.

When king Alexander had heard what the answer of his enimie was, he was therewith so moued, & perceiving no waie to eschue the battell, but that he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he assembled together an armie of forty thousand men, that though he were not able to match his enimies in prowesse, he might yet passe them in number. He diuided his host into three battells. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a very valiant knight, nephew to that Alexander which indoued the abbete of Dalziel. He had with him all the men that came forth of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Louthian, Fife, Pers, Berwick, and Striueling shire. In the middle ward was the king himselfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger appeared. These battells were ordered in such arrate, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to exhort them to manhood, thereby to win praise and honor.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his enimies, he called his people together, and exhorted them to do their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men, against those enimies that invaded their countrie without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that part, which had most right and iustest cause of battell. He further shewed how necessarie it was for them to behaue themselves valiantlie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with manlie courages, in defense of their townes, children, liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to liue in seruile bondage as their slaues and miserable thralls, and to suffer their townes and daughters to be abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scotland should see them fight that day, noting both their manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust, and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought onelie blood and spoile. These words other the like words king Alexander uttered with bold spirit, to encourage his people. And on the other part king Achos likewise thought it expedient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great number and huge multitude of the Scots.

The chiefe point to encourage them to do valiantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and therefore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also

ming into Scotland.

his demand.

King Alexander assembledly his power.

The ordering of the Scottish host. Alexander Steward leader of the right wing. Patrike Dunbar capteine of the left wing. The king in the middle ward.

King Alexander exhortedly his people to do valiantlie.

Hope of suertie in what point it rested.

The necessitie of the cause.

Speakers of blood & spoile.

Achos exhortedly his people.

Hope of spoile encourageth men of warre.

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandment, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inloie it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunity was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant service. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be achieved without extreme cowardie, it behoued them to attaine to these great commodities by perishing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battels of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might soon coniecture. For though dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie inflebled, that they appeere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Again, in consideration how necessarie it was for euery man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it to fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues dearelie, and not to die vnreuered. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their uttermost forces to vanquish the enemies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their deuours, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (because he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first encounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pressed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceasing to exhort & encourage their men to stand to the bargain with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie valiant capteins.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he sufficed even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiving themselves overpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euery side, did somewhat begin to shrinke, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Steward therfore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certaine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into arais, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to flie amaine.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was fore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing fore discomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recooned new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter thorough all Cunningham, not ceasing from the pursute of the enemies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had wonne before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outrageous tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constrained to come on land for safeguard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

Acho being thus abashed with these two unfortunate mischances, aswell for the losse and discomfort of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his naue on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Orkneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largis on the third day of August, in the yere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about five thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon saith not to agree altogether herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarcked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and took them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriving at Largis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountring with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomforted, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were driven. Amongst other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great valencie, and fore lamented of his uncle. Acho had much ado to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appeere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countreimen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his comming into Orkneie, sent into Norway and Denmarke for a new armie, providing ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yere next following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whom he begot on his wife queene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was bozne, to the great reioicing of the people. For the people conceived double ioy & gladnesse

The left wing of the Scots, in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots.

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

The losse of the mariners.

Acho fleeth into Orkneie.

1263.

John Fourdon.

High enterprises achieved with extreme perill.

The ordering of the battels.

The battels toine.

The valencie of the kings.

The great number of Scottishmen.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians slain.

And sent the king on.

In front of the castle of the king.

The king's army.

The king's army.

Acho prepared to make a new inuasion into Scotland, but died before his preparation was ready.

Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, was bozne.

ne the hereof, because that both a new prince was borne, and that enemie dead which fought the destruction of the whole realme. After the decess of king Aho, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faithful prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eyes.

In the second yere of his reigne, he sent his ambassadoys (of whom the chiefe was the chancelor of Norway) unto king Alexander, whome they found at saint Johns towne, and there signified unto him, that king Magnus their maister would willingly give over all his title, right, and claime unto Aran and Bute, so that the residue of the Isles might remaine in quiet possession of him and his successors in time comming. Whereunto was answer made by king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheritance pertained unto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make anie agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had recovered the full possession of the same Isles.

The ambassadoys being dispatched and sent abacke with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Basile, and John Cumin were sent with an armie over into Man, which Ile they then recovered (though not without blood) forth of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same in possession now for the space of 167 yeres passed, but not without some alteration and trouble, as may appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as should seeme) well instructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore that the same may the better appere to the readers, I have thought it not impertinent to set downe what I have read in the same Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Man, and those Isles which for a season (as should seeme in deed) were submitted by the kings of Norway, though it may also appere, that sometime there was a certaine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c. in manner as if it had bene by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Godfred reigned as king in Man. And in the yere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place. In the yere 1230, the king of Norway appointed one Husbac, the sonne of Olmund (surnamed Harecon) to governe the said Isles called Sodorrenes, that is to say, the Ile of Man, & the other Isles thereabouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbac, together with two other capitaines Olave and Godfred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at Bute, where they won the castell: but Husbac was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe upon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godfred came unto the Ile of Man, where they divided the kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave had Man allotted to him for his part, and Godfred the other Isles. But after that Godfred was also slaine, Olave governed both in Man, and in all the other Isles (those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleith held in possession.) In the yere 1237, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Man, the sonne of Godfred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose decess his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reigned 12 yeres, being but 14 yeres of age when he began his reigne.

In the yere 1247, Vasco king of Norway sent for Harold king of Man to come unto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie received, and obtained king Vasos daughter in marriage: but as he returned from thence, in the yere 1249,

together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of June the same yere, by the servants of a knight called Vuarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godfred Don governed Man one yere, being removed by the king of Norway: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olave began his reigne over Man & the other Isles, by consent of the Manikemen themselves. But in the yere 1254, one Vuarus was ordained king, or rather viceroi of those Isles, & governed the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norway resigned his title to all the said Isles unto king Alexander (as ye have heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whom the first was called Godfred mac Hares, the second Alane. And after him Maurice Dharfaire succeeded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I followe Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeres assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you confer the same with the time of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to have the rule of those Isles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ships, and five hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrlike, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Leintos, sent with a puissant armie unto the other of the weserne Isles, the which those that were greatest, they brought with much ado under the obedience of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Norway informed hereof, sent thither his chancelor in ambassage unto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recover againe those Isles: and if he might not bying that to passe, yet to compound with him for a yerelie tribute. The first motion of the chancelor would in no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend anie longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which toke effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters under his great seale, renounced and gave over his right or claime that he had or might have, both for him and his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of Norway, foure thousand marks sterling, together with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yere. And for the more confirmation of love and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yere of age, was promised in marriage unto Hanigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummated when she came to yeres mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had bene made, it was couenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of poore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whom the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, and diuerse other. King Henrie being not well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested king Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Hereupon shortly after, was Alexander Cumin, with five thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right ballantlie bare themselves in that war which

1249.
Reginald.
He began to
reigne the first
of Maie.
Vuarus.
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.
Vuarus.

Lieutenant or
bailife of the
Ile of Man
under the
Scots.

The weserne
Isles recovered
out of the
hands of the
Norwegians

The chancelor
of Norway
waite ambassa-
dor to king
Alexander.

The release of
Magnus
king of Norway
to the
Scottish Isles.

A yerelie
pension.

Margaret K.
Alexanders
daughter.

warre in
England.

King Henrie
required aid of
the Scots.

Alexander
Cumin sent
into Eng-
land.

Ambassadoys
sent from
Magnus K.
of Norway to
king Alexander.

In time of the
trouble be-
tweene the sons
of Malcolm
Cannmore and
their uncle
Donald Bane
Magnus K.
of Norway
the son of D-
lanc subdued
these Isles.
Richard South-
well.

Godfred king
of Man.
Reginald.
1228.
Olave, or D-
lancus.
1230.
Husbac.
Infatigable Sodor-
renes.
Magnus and
Godfredus.
Bute.
Husbac slaine.

Olavus and
Godfredus di-
vide the king-
dome of the
Isles betwixt
them.

1237.
Alane.

Harold.

1247.
Harold passeth
into Norway.

He returned
in his returne.

king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath writtten) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood liued, with his fellows little John, of whome are manie fables and merie tests deuised and song amongst the vulgar people. But Iohn Maior writteth that they liued (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leueng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbacie foure scope marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall councill: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offences are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuer thelesse if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise forth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforesaid.

Henrie king of England passed much the wiser done of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortly after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his siller the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto the French king, that required his aid in that iournee which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand soldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Stewart brother of Alexander Stewart, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Durward, John Quince, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with king Lewis into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereto they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inuoy his lands, sauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fiftene yeares of age. This yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as the vse is, fortunited by aduenture to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the sonne and heire to Robert Bruce the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of Dauid earle of Huntingdon. The ladie immediatlie became so inamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuite to the matter) she married him in all hast, least anie man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this mariage was borne that Robert Bruce which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soon as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he took such indignation that he should bestow his selfe so lightlie vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized hir cassell of Turneburie into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he took pitie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paid for hir mariage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, suffering hir to inuoy hir husband without anie more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the bethzen of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sifter, & their brother in law the king: after did attend them in their iournee to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a Rozman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he overthrew all men with whom he wrestled, till at length one Fferquhard a Scottishman borne, of the countrie of Kesse, descended of noble parentage, vanquished him to his great praise & advancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerbon of so worthie a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earldome of Kesse for euermore. Of this Fferquhard succeeded three earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Kesse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seventh earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earldome of Huntingdon, as the Scottish writers do testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about three yeares after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hango, or rather Aquine king of Portugal, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the mariage, leauing behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger sonne Dauid deceased: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a mariage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the Sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this mariage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuallie for the space of fiftene daies togither. & This yeare a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Portugal, were lost

Robin Hood and little John his companion.

A legat from pope Clement

The legats demand.

The answer of king Alexander to the legats message.

The more precepts the more offences.

King Alexanders wife-dome praised by king Henrie.

A thousand marks sent to the pope.

Scottish captains sent into Affrike.

1270. Thomas earle of Carrike.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Robert Bruce.

Robert Bruce married to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

King Alexander displeased with the foresaid Martha.

Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland is borne. 1274.

King Alexander with his wife the queene came to London.

A Rozman of passing strength. Fferquhard a Scottishman overthrew the said Rozman.

The earle of Kesse given to William Kesse alias Leslie.

The death of queene Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

The death of Dauid sonne to king Alexander. The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotland.

1279.

lost by shipwacke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the consummation of hir marriage there with king Vnigo or Aquine. Shorlie after, by the force of deathes dreadfull dint, two greivous losses chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For first his eldest sonne pynce Alexander, being not past twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leauing anie issue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margarete queene of Fozwaite deceased also, leauing behind hir one onelie daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of
Alexander
pynce of
Scotland.

The death of
Margarete
queene of
Fozwaite.

A counsell
at Lions.

The foure or-
ders of friers.

A commande-
ment giuen
against dissi-
ling new or-
ders of friers.

The Soldan
contrarie to
the truce in-
uadeth the
christians.

The Scots
contribution
for a iournie
into the holie
land.

A. Alexander
maried the
daughter of
the earle not
of Champagne
but of Duxep,
saith Southw.

R. Southwell
varieth some-
what from the
Scottish wri-
ters in re-
port of A. A-
lexanders
death. See
more in Eng-
land.

35. H.B.
1290.
1285. H.B.
1286. Io. Ma.
Thomas of
Erilton of
the river.

A prophetic of
stampet.

In the same yere was a generall counsell holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelates of christendome being there assembled. To this counsell were summoned to appeare all the prouincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging friers. And for that there were so manie sundrie orders of them, each man deuising of his owne byaine some new alteration; all those orders were reduced into the foure orders, which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A generall commandement was also giuen, that no man should go about to begin anie new forme of such vaine superstitious orders, which appoint themselves to eschue labor, to the end they may liue in pleasure, lust & idleness, vpon the trauell of other mens byoues. In this mean time, after that the christian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan (that truce notwithstanding) ceased not to make great slaughters and inuasions vpon those christian men that remained behind. The christian princes soe moued herewith, made their apperits for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth penie of all their lands, or rather (as some bookes say) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iornie: notwithstanding through such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said princes, that iornie brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander hauing lost his wife and children, in maner as is before expessed, not onelie hee himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great peniuensesse and sorow, each man by a certeine foreiudgement and misgiuing in mind, doubting the mishap that might thereof insue. But yet did king Alexander, by the aduise of his nobles, in hope of new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Champagne in France, named Yolant. The marriage was celebrated at Jedburgh with great feasting and triumph: but that ioy and blithnesse indured not long after. For the same yere on the 18 day of Aprill, as he was galloping vpon a fierce horse at Kingorne, forcing him in his race somewhat rashlie, he was throune ouer the west cliffe towards the sea by a wonderfull misfortune, so rudelie, that he brake his necke, and so therewith immediatlie died in the 42 yere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere after the incarnation 1290. It is said, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwile named Thomas the rimer, or (as the translatour of Hector Boetius saith) Thomas Erilton (who in those daies was reputed for a noble prophet) or (as we may call him) a soothsaier, what weather they should haue on the morrow [before none] should blow the worst wind and tempest that euer was heard of in Scotland at anie time before.

On the morrow when the skie appeared cleare and bright, without cloud or anie other signe of foule

weather, and that it blew nere vnto the midd of the daie, and no wind heard from anie side, but all calme and quiet, the earle of March sent for the fozenamed Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his marks, in prophesying of anie such notable tempest as he had spoken of the night before, considering it proued so lithe a daie, without appearance of anie tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto, sauing that he said it was not yet past none. And incontinentlie herevpon came a post to the castell gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March was then late, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as before is recited. Then said the prophet: That is the scathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was a man in great admiration of the people, shewing sundrie things, as they afterwarde chanced: howbeit they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of darke and obscure speeches.

Manie strange wonders and vnketh sights were seene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the 17 yere of his reigne, there was such an infinit number of woymes through all the parties of Albion, that not onelie the leaues and fruits of trees, but also flowres & herbs in gardens were eaten vp and consumed with them. And in the same yere, the waters of Fozth and Tait rose with such high tides in flowing ouer the banks, that manie towines and villages were drownd, to the great destruction both of men and beasts. In the 20 yere of his reigne, there was a comet or blasing starre seene of a meruellous quantitie, shinning euerie day toward the south, euen about none daies. On the Epiphanie day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of such vnmeasurable great hailestones, that manie towines were throune downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning vp steeples with such force of fire, that the belles were in diuerse places melted, as though it had bene in a forname. Amongest other, those of the abbey of Abirbrothoke were most pretious, which were as then consumed together with the steple wherein they hong. The towines of Aberdeen and Perth were burned the same time: also part of Lainrike, with the temple, and all the towines and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise manie towines and other buildings in Louthian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, so long here to rehearse.

In the 31 yere of his reigne, was the first coming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this sicknesse had come within that realme before that time. In the solemnization of the second marriage of king Alexander, as the bydegrome (according to the manner) led the byde in a danse, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the same danse, there appeared to their sight as it were closing vp the hindermost of the dansters, a creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & liue, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the companie were so astonied, and put in such fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their danse for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the third, lined sundrie great clearkes. Amongst other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent physician, and for his singular practice & knowledge in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in high fauour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

* This

Unketh
lights and
wonders.

High tides.

A blasing
starre.

Great winds.

Fire caused
through wind.

Bells melted

The first com-
ing of the
pestilence into
Scotland.

A strange
light in dan-
cing.

Learned men.

Michaell
Scot a phy-
sician.

Francis Thins
addition, to
this marke.)

The lawes of
Alexander the
third.

The historie of Scotland.

* This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are twome away; so that things so profitablie by him devised, seme rather by report to have bene ordeined, than that they are by custome practised. He divided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progresse almost euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest person might haue free acceſſe vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a cholen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorablie receiued of the next gouernors. The which travelling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which time of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; because he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restrained the troupe of horsemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, because he supposed that the multitude of horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbad his people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the vnskillfulness of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselves to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were bruten to extream povertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yere, and by manie mens speeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arriued such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memoire of anie former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbad his people to buie anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buie of them such things as they needed.)

Scotland
without a k.
and gouernor.

Mischiefes
insuing for
lacke of a
king.

Sir gouer-
nors cholen to
haue the rule
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither left anie issue behind him to succede in the gouernment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or other wise, for anie other to supplie the roome of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinite misorders, by the presumption of wicked and brigatious persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpunished (because iustice was like to want due process) ceased not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts, to the grieuous oppression of the people: which misruled demeriors and disorderd enterprizes of those outrageous persons, when such as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood daile to multiplie and increase, they thought it aperteined to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and therevpon called a counsell togither, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, that sir gouernors should be elected and cholen, of the which thre should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Frazer bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & John Cummin earle of Buchquane. The other thre were appointed to the gouernance of the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glascolw, sir John Cummin (a man of high estima-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and James high steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, cast in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Poiswaie (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she were but verie young in yeres, & not able for marriage: yet to compasse his purpose that wates forth, he sent his ambassadoers vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of seruite subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble progenitors; and if it chanced, that no issue came of this marriage to succede them, then should the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward, or anie of his successors in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir John Scot of Albawore, and sir James Menis, were sent into Poiswaie to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their coming thither, she was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceased. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they severallie made and pretended to the crowne. Thers were thre chiefe that seemed by nearnesse of blood to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: John Balioll, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Isabel the yongest daughter to Dauid earle of Huntingtoun, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that married the inheritor of Carrick, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was, that now claimed the crowne. John Balioll came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid Dauid earle of Huntingtoun: for Alane lord of Galloway, which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest named Deruogill, was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balioll, father vnto this John Balioll, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle Dauid, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next heire to the same king William, sith none other person alieue approached so nere vnto him in blood.

* Here I thinke it conuenient before any more be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (besides that which is alreadie spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Deruogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William the first of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as faith Lelless, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusus gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethelred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be divided betwixt them in equall portions. This ball comming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench

how can this
be true, when
k. Edward
had a wife at
that time but
verie the
Scottish
kings
threw
themselves on
to overcome
with
too much
maice
in most
things which
they write in
the deſamatio
of k. Edward.

The daughter
of Poiswaie
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the kinsmen
of k. Alexander
for the crown,
ſee more of
this matter in
the English
hystories.

The ancestors
of Robert
Bruce.

The line of
the Balioll
with his title
to the crowne.

Of this
ter thou
so false
somewh
created
pag. 275
The cr
of one by
to anoth

Gilpe
other
Scot

Gilpe
spoile
count

What
ſeife
Gall

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Wil. Parus
nameth him
Ethred.

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the said brethren, and for th it cause with indifferencie (as he supposed) he ment to pacifie and satisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betwene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious against him, and the other as an vnequall iudge, in giuing his right from him. Wherefore when king William was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings mishap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to utter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the sudden, he took his brother prisoner, put out his eyes, cut out his tong, and not contented with a simple death (to be giuen vnto him at one instant) did most miserable a long time together put him to paine, by dismembryng the scuerall parts of his bodie, before he should die. After which wretched fact against his owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English nation, and taking preies on the borders, he did vnnaturallie and traitorouslie (as it were an vtter enemie to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens, with all kind of murder and slaughter of battell. In which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if he had not bene resisted by his nephue Rowland (gathering a strong power to him of such common people as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the imprisoned king) he had vtterlie spoiled all the countreies adioining to England, or else would wholie haue brought them into his subiection. For this Rowland a lustie yong gentleman, bold of spirit, indued with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his vncke, but did manie times (and that sometimes most hapilie) fight with the English, when they spoiled his native soile, or that he made ante inuasion into their borders.

At length when king William was deliuered of restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithstanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promised to make recompense of all such damages as he had committed; for the sure performance whereof, he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert shortly after departing this life, they which had serued vnder him, giuen by continuall vse vnto theft and blood, did yeld themselves to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconstancie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched with remorse of conscience for the euill which they had before committed. These men thus shadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes against their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatricke, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had bene authours and executors to Gilbert, of all such euils as were by him performed. Against whom was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set battell slue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which escaped the conflict, did flie to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increase of people, were now growne to some number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euerie place where they set foot: and not so content, did from thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe took in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vtterlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incounterling with this

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine, with the greatest number of his followers, by the said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few missing.

The king of England highlie offended therewith (because the yere before they had sworne themselves to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill to seeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appease the king of Englands displeasure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought so with the English, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the presence of the king of England; the which Rowland did accordingly. At what time before the king of England, refelling the slanderous accusations of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he had done nothing either rashlie, or vniustlie against his and the common wealths entrie) he was honorablie by the English king suffered to depart from Carleill. These things thus done, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall constancie and good seruice, which the father of Rowland had manie times done to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the worthie exploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealth: for which considerations he worthilie recompensed the said Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this vnderferued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of the said Gilbert. All which William Paruus reporteth to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, married the sister of William Moruill constable of Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his notable seruice (imployed in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the said king with honorablie and rich reuenues: for which by the permission of William king of Scotland, he professed himselfe the liege man of John king of England, and swore fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is before said) married Margaret the elder daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, of whome he raised three daughters, whereof the eldest being Doznagill, was married to Balioll, the second to Bruce: in right of which Doznagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the elder sister. On the other side Robert Bruce, albeit he was descended of the yongest daughter to earle Dauid, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his father was first borne, and therefore if king William had decessed without issue, the crowne had descended to him: for which consideration he maintained that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for his part, because he was come of the yongest daughter of king Dauid, married to his father Henrie Hastings, wanted not allegations to propose, why he ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute. This controuersie being brought before the gouernors, was at sundrie times argued with much contention,

Of this matter though not so fullie is somewhat intreated before, pag. 275. The crueltie of one brother to another.

Rowland restored to the fauour of the king of England.

Rowland made lord of Galloway.

Carrike giuen to the sonne of Gilbert.

Rowland constable of Scotland.

Alane lord of Galloway, & constable of Scotland.

The title of Robert Bruce.

Hastings.

Gilpatricke & other spoile Scotland.

Gilcombe spoileth his countrie.

Robert Bruce lord of Galloway.

The doubt of
the gouernours

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The title
doubtfull.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The nobles
swaie to the or-
der of king
Edward.

This report
of the Scottish
writers smel-
eth altogether
of malice con-
cerned against
him, for that
he scourged
them so sore
for their
vnttruths.

Respect of
persons in de-
ciding contro-
uersies is not
to be confide-
red.

tention, not without the assistance of the nobles fa-
uoring the parties: as occasion of friendship or kin-
red moued them, namely Balliol and Bruce had no
small number that leaned vnto their parts, by rea-
son whereof, the gouernours were in doubt to proceed
to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they
declared one of them king, an other would attempt
to surpe the crowne by force.

Whereupon they iudged it best to referre the deci-
sion of all this whole matter to some mightie king,
which was of puissance able to constrain the parties
repugnant to obie his sentence. Wherevnto was
none thought so meet as Edward king of England,
and therefore they chose him [Of whose faith and loue
towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, be-
cause Alexander the last king of Scots had found the
father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to
himselfe, and vpright tutor to his realme. Wherevnto
also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward,
for that the said Edward had of late before tried the
fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testi-
monie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the
heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.]
Whereupon king Edward toke this charge vpon
him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day
to come vnto Berwikke, willing that their counsell
might be assembled there against that time. At his
comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing
heard what could be said on ech part, and throughlie
considering at length their allegations, he perceiued
the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to dis-
cuss the truth by god aduise of counsell: and there-
fore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best
learned and most skilfull lawyers of all the realme to
be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he pro-
mised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest
clerks that might be found within all his domini-
ons, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised deba-
ting of the matter, the truth might appere, according
to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fa-
uor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke
a solemne oth of the ambassadois of Scotland, and
such nobles as were there to stand to his definitive
sentence, further thereupon requiring a writing to
be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.]
After when all such matters and proses as were pro-
poned by the parties, alledged by them for furthe-
rance of their titles were put in writing, as matter
of record, he returned backe againe into England.

Here the Scottish writers report, that king Ed-
ward vsed himselfe nothing vprightlie in this mat-
ter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the
eyes of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine
somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But
how vntuillie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue
to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring
that which the Scots do write thereof, with that
which is to be found in our English historie. But to
proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King
Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth,
sent into France for men learned and of great ex-
perience in the lawes, that he might haue their opi-
nions in the demands of the parties for their doubt-
full rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first com-
manded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute
point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the
plée should seeme doubtfull by reason of their con-
trarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder-
stand that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he
thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Whobeit the most part of the lawyers iudged with
Robert Bruce, both for the wronghines of his person,
and also for that he was come of the first issue male.
But some there were that gaue sentence with John

Balliol, for that he was descended of the eldest sister.
King Edward supposing this to be the time most
conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer
the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwikke, where
he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified,
to be present, that final sentence might be giuen, ac-
cording as he had before promised. When he was
come thus vnto Berwikke, and the foresaid 24 lear-
ned lawyers assembled as assistants with him, and
the parties appering before him in a chamber prou-
ided for the purpose, he caused the doies to be shert
kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man
might come in or out, but by his appointment and li-
cence. His purpose was to make him king, that
would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of
him, as superior lord thereof. And because he knew
that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood
and wisdom, he thought best to assaie him first, and
if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then
he minded to trie what the Balliol would do.

When Robert Bruce had throughlie heard king
Edwards motion, he answered that he weied the li-
bertie of his countrie, more than his priuate prefer-
ment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his coun-
trie (which euen to that day had bene free) into the
bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King
Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomack, brake
off with him, and fell in talke with the Balliol, who
had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he
passed not whether he inioied the same in libertie or
seruitude, so he might haue it. Whereupon when this
Balliol had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king
Edward, that he would do homage vnto him for the
realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the
same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue
sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne
and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of
great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing
the Balliol thus made king, and Robert Bruce with-
out reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Ed-
ward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this
day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this mat-
ter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it
shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth
consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind,
shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day
of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen
sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be gi-
uen on thee. Shortly after, John Balliol went in
great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned
king of Scotland on saint Andrews day, in the
yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next
insuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmasse, he
came to Newcastle vpon Tyne, and there did ho-
mage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scot-
land, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his no-
bles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his
realme (which had remained in freedom vnto those
dates) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but
small felicitie succeeded therof. And here it appea-
reth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland,
which held with Balliol, did also their homage: for be-
ing farre from home, they durst not contend against
the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it
graciously in their hart, dissembled with the present
time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of
a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out,
notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declara-
tion and proue thereof, there was shortly after occa-
sion offered to Malduffe, by the death of the earle of
Jesse, being (in the time when there was no king)
made one of the six gouernours of the realme: for this
earle was not onelie killed by these of Abirneschie

R. Edward
committeth to
Berwikke.

The purpose
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots do
vntuillie re-
port.

The answer
of Robert
Bruce.

The Balliol
promiseth to
do homage to
king Edward

The saleng of
the earle of
Gloucester (as
the Scots
write, but not
like to be
true.)
King Ed-
ward was no
man so to be
dealt with.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland,
1292.

John Balliol
doth homage
to king Ed-
ward.
So say the
Scottish wri-
ters, but how
truilie, read
more hereof
in England.
Fr. Thin.
Buchanan. li. 8.

John
king
Scot
comi
gain
the
of
as
per

It
is

Fr

It
is

The Scots
deceived and
intrapped.

The cruetle
of the Eng-
lishmen.

Berwikke is
swone.

The 29 of
March being
good friday.
1296. H.B.
The abun-
dant of blood
spilled,
Streames
augmented
with blood.

The Scots
discomfited at
Dunbar.

The castell of
Dunbar ren-
dered to king
Edward.

Robert Bruce
occasion of the
overthrow of
Scots at
Dunbar.

Robert Bruce
submittech
himselfe to K.
Edward.

The answer
of king Ed-
ward to Ro-
bert Bruce.

The castles
of Eden-
burgh and
Striveling
swone.
King John
prinen into

John was coming with his armie to their soc-
cors. The Scots that were within the towne, be-
lieving it had bene most true, set open the gates, and
came forth against their king (as they supposed) to
haue received him with all ioy and gladnesse.

But when they came nere vnto the Englishmen,
they perceiued both by their language and habit what
they were: but this was not before the Englishmen
were hard at the gates, so that when the Scottishmen
would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne a-
gaine, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the
heelles, that they entered the gates with them, and so
tooke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the
souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, chil-
dren, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassi-
on, so that they left not one creature aliue of the
Scottish blood within all that towne. Thus was
Berwikke swone the 30 day of March, in the yere
1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thro-
rough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chon-
cles testifie) that where at the falling tide the water
was not able to drine about the milles, some of the
same milles yet, were now at a low water set on gate,
by reason the streames were so hugelie augmented
with blood. There were slaine about seven thousand
persons that day, with the greatest part of all the no-
bles and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people
at Berwikke, in great desire to be auenged, gathered
his power, and sent the same forth against king Ed-
ward, with whom they met not farre from Dunbar,
and there incounting with him in battell, the Sco-
tish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots
being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and
Penteth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dun-
bar, but they were besieged so streitlie by the Eng-
lish power, inuironing the castell on ech side, that in
the end they were constrained for lacke of vittells to
yeld themselves to king Edward, on condition to
haue their liues saued, which covenant was not ob-
serued; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king
Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused
them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported
that Robert Bruce upon secret conference had with
king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solli-
cited all his friends in the Scottish armie, to fle vpon
the first ioining, which the residue perceiuing, were so
discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw athrow
both armes and weapon, and so were vanquished
without resistance.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce
submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring
him to performe his promise touching the right which
he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he recei-
ued no answer to his liking touching that request:
for K. Edward had no lesse desire to inioy the king-
dome of Scotland, than Bruce, as the Scottish wri-
ters affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruce
concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is
said; Belieuest thou that we haue nothing else to do
but to conquer realmes, and to deliuer them ouer
again vnto thee? Robert Bruce hereby perceiuing
the subtle meaning of K. Edward, returned right
forrowfull vnto his lands in England, hauing great
indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed king
Edwards requests: but yet considered with him-
selfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion
serued to reuenge the injuries received, which he
minded to do, and that in most cruell manner, as af-
terwards it will appeare. King Edward after he
had thus wone the castell of Dunbar, got likewise
both the castles of Edinburgh and Striveling, and
pursued king John, till he had constrained him to
take for his refuge the castell of Forfarre. Here with

John Cumyn lord of Strabogie came to king Ed-
ward, and was sworne his liege man.

Shortly after, by a politike practise of the same
John Cumyn, king John with his sonne Edward
came to Spountros, where perceiuing himselfe dis-
wiselie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward,
through feare of death which he doubted by reason of
the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered
himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abilliments,
and with a white wand in his hand (as the maner is)
presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning
there vnto him all his right and title which he had to
the crowne of Scotland, utterlie renouncing the
same both for him and his heires for euer. Hereof
was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confir-
med with the hand and seale of king John, and other
the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might
be deuised, bearing date the fourth yere of his
reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the
lordes and barons of Scotland at Berwikke, where he
caused them to be sworne his liege men; and to do
homage vnto him as to their soueraigne lord and
supreme gouernor. Which William Douglas (a
man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) re-
fused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into pris-
on, where after a few yeres he ended his life. And for
the more suertie of their allegiance, he constrained
them to surrender into his hands all the strengths &
holdes of the realme, both as well those that stood on
the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the
inner parts of the countrie.

These things done, and order taken in each be-
halfe as was thought requisite for the quiet keeping
of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne
Edward Balioll vnto London; where they were
kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the
said king John to returne into Scotland: but lea-
uing still his sonne in pledge behind him, lest he
should attempt anie new rebellion after his depar-
ture; which after was deliuered at the request of the
pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland,
perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his
lordes and commons, he withdrew againe of his
owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the
administration of the Scottish dominion, and final-
lie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inhe-
ritance and lands there; where at length falling
blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed
out of this world in the castell Calliard, leauing
those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto
his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released
out of captiuitie, was come quer to his father be-
fore his deceasse.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well re-
membrance the warres which he had intended to
make against France, had he not bin staied through
the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue
the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing
all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand
the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against
him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressin-
gham regent there, whilst he should be occupied in
France, which Cressingham before was treasurer.
Then hauing provided a great nauie of ships, he
passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots
would not stir, sith they had of late sustained so ma-
nie overthrowes and soe losses one after an other by
the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that
by no kind of prouision it may anie long time be
suertie defended. For those people that be oppressed
by anie tyrannicall seruitude, will not faile to seke
to deliuer themselves from the yoke of that impor-
table burden when better opportunities of time and
occasion serueth. Therefore the lordes of Scotland
hauing

the castell of
Forfarre.

John Balioll
king of Scot-
land resigneth
all his right
to king Ed-
ward.

A charter.

Homage of the
barons of Scot-
land to
king Edward

Fr. Thin.

The holdes of
Scotland deli-
uered into
king Edward
his hands.

John Bali-
oll kept as
prisoner in
England.

He returneth
into Scot-
land.

He renoun-
ceth the admini-
stration of
Scotland.

He returneth
into France,
and deceaseth
in castell Cal-
liard.

King Ed-
ward his
purpose to in-
uade France.

Hugh Cress-
ingham re-
gent of Scot-
land.

King Ed-
ward burde-
ned by the
Scottish wri-
ters of tyrann-
ie.

The S
lordes all
at Striv-
ling.

Twelue
armies
led in
land.

John C

William
left beg
to wor-
mours.

Sir J
wallat
knight
to will
wallat

Robert
Scot
Engl
barons

Cast
by re
wall

Dun
by re
wall

The Scottish
lords assemble
at Striueling.

Wallace go-
uerneour elec-
ted in Scot-
land.

John Cum-
min.

William Wal-
lase beginneth
to waite fa-
mously.

Sir Andrew
Wallase knight
father to
William
Wallase.

Abbeies of
Scotland in
Englishmens
hands.

Castels wonn
by William
Wallase.

Dunnoter wonn
by William
Wallase.

having knowledge that king Edward was passed
ouer the seas, they got them all togither straight-
waies, and assembled in counsell at Striueling,
where by generall agreement, twelue noble men
were chosen to be gouernours of Scotland, euerie
one in their limits appointed, that they might the
better prouide to resist the enimie. Amongest these
gouernours, John Cummin earle of Buchquhan was
principall, a man of great wisdom and singular
knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war.
This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie,
and with the same entered into Northumberland,
where he wasted with fier and sword all that coun-
trie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan
nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In
that season also, the same of William Wallase be-
gan to spring, a yong gentleman of so huge stature
and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and
knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of
such hardinesse of stomach in attempting all maner
of dangerous exploits, that his match was not arie
where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one
sir Andrew Wallase of Cragie, knight, and from
his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the
English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he
wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the
Scots, and was of such incredible force at his com-
ming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without
all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon thre or
foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

When the same therefore of his worthie acts was
notified thorough the realme, manie were put in
god hope, that by his means the realme should be
deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen
within short time after. And herevpon a great num-
ber of the Scottish nation as well of the nobilitie as
other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises.
By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped
nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to
haue got him into their hands. At length, when oc-
casion serued to be the helpe of such a notable chief
teine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Sco-
tishmen as gouernour vnder John Balliol, to deli-
uer his countrie from bondage of the English na-
tion. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall be-
nefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands.
Pouertheless, this William Wallase by commis-
sion had of William Fraser bishop of saint An-
drews, auoided and put them forth of all parts
of Scotland, leauing neither tempozall nor spiri-
tuall person of their blood within that realme. For
thortlie after, by publike authoritie, he rescued the
armie that John Cummin earle of Buchquhan had
led before, and constrained those Scots that fauored
king Edward, to obeye his commandements, in
renouncing all such faith and promise as they had
giuen or made vnto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance
against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castels
within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & man-
hod he wan the castels of Forfair, Dundee, Brechen
and Dountrous, sleaing all such souldiers as he found
within them. Wallase now full of this his prospe-
rous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chie-
fett captaines and officers of those Englishmen that
kept the castell of Dunnoter, were gone forth to con-
sult with other Englishmen of the foris next to them
adjoining, came sudenlie to the said castell, & toke it,
not leauing a man aliue of all those whome he found
as then within it. Then after he had furnished that
hold with his owne souldiers in most defensible wise,
he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in maner
void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so
stronglie garnished with men and munition, that

considering it might not be woone without great
murder, he raised from thence, and returned into
Angus. King Edward as then being in France;
hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallase
his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble capteins vnto his
lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into
Scotland to redresse the matter.

Wallase in the meane time had laid siege vnto
the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of
the comming of this armie against him, he raised
his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge
there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should
not passe the same, according as the report went
his intent was to do. Where incounting with the
enimies, the thirde Ides of September, he obtained a
verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the for-
said Cressingham with a great part of his armie be-
ing passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee,
in such sort, that a great number of them were brow-
ned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing
gotten the upper hand of his enimies here at Stri-
ueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper,
which thortlie after vpon his returne thither, was
renoued vnto him by those that were within in gar-
rison. There were manie of the Scottish nobilitie the
same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the
king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie
and vittels, if he would onelie recieve them into fa-
uour, wherevnto he granted. By which means, sun-
drie other castels were yielded vnto him, the which af-
ter he had garnished with men, munition, and vit-
tels (according as was thought requisite) he brake vp
his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faith-
full friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Afterwards perceiuing that though scarstie of
corne, great dearth arose on each side within the
realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might
best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that
behalf, and herevpon he determined to passe with a
mightie armie into England, and to sojourn there
the most part of the winter, in sustaining the whole
number of his men of warre on such prouision as
they might find within the bounds of their enimies
countrie. He commanded therefore that all the
Scots, appointed to go with him in that iourne,
should be readie at a certeine day and place prefixed.
But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aber-
den and other) for that they disobeyed his comman-
dements set forth by letters and proclamations,
were hanged as rebels and traitors to their coun-
trie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his
commandements were the better obeyed, so that ha-
uing got togither an huge host of men, he entered
with the same into Northumberland, waiking and
spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastle. Thus
putting the enimies in great feare and terro: of his
atofull name, he brought his armie backe againe in-
to Scotland, laden with spoile and glorie of their
prosperous atchiued iourne. They entred into Eng-
land (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All
saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, li-
uing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the
great slaughter of his people, and what damage the
Scots had done in Northumberland, returned in
great displeasure out of France into England, and
sent his ambassadoers vnto Wallase, for menacing
him, for that he had invaded his realme in such cru-
ell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him
word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home
himselfe. Wallase herevnto answered, that he had
taken the advantage for the atchiuing of his inter-
prise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort
as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scot-
land,

Hugh Cress-
ingham sent
into Scotland

Hugh Cress-
ingham slaine
at Striueling
and his armie
discomfited by
William Wal-
lase.

Dearth in
Scotland.
The policie
of wallase to
relieue the
peoples lacke
in time of
dearth.

Disobedience
punished.

Wallase inua-
deth North-
umberland.

Fr. Thin.

Edwards
message vnto
wallase.

The answer
of wallase to
Edwards
message as
the Scots
do write.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and latofull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he innaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole induer: to deliuer the same from all manner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadoers to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Caster in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armoz against him.

Wallase entered England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entered into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seme) to fight with the Scots at that time: who perceiuing them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their rankes to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saing (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honoz enough for him that he had enforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe togither in order of battell, and so preserving them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honozs saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this ioine.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he took in hand, so afterward when his same began to war great, to the derogation of other mens renownes, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that fauor which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honoz and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins blood, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chieft amongst those that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who should haue the leading of the vantgard, which is reputed a most high honoz among the Scottishmen. And among other, John Stewart, and John Cumins, thought coine, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agreement and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith Iohn Maior, the lord Stewart had before vpheld him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chieftains (hauing their breasts filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bring their men into anie perfect arais. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compasse about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his induers notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerfet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left a liue. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, namely one valiant capteine named Bruce Blair, a templer, whom Wallase perceiuing to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and slue him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vniuersal pursue likelie to befall them. In this infortunate battell, were slaine on the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his Wardens (for so they name them that are taken up to serue in the warres south of the Stewards lands) Spaldouie earle of Fife, with sir John Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whom he highly esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Spanie other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was stricken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yeere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his disperled people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Wherevpon each of them (drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the bankes of the riuer in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie companie best heare one another; Bruce began to say as followeth. I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and daillie to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be ouercome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onlie the mercie of thine enimie. And dost thou not see the Cumins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thee? Loke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words Iohn Maior supposeth that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whom Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the king: doing;

The Cumins fled.

The Scots discomfited at Falkirke.

Bruce Blair slane by the hands of William Wallase.

Nobles of Scotland slane at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens day prosperous for the Englishmen to fight against Scots.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Lellius epist. Ross. li. 6. p. 235. Conference betwixt Wallase & Bruce.

Wallase is enuied.

R. Edward innadeth Scotland.

Wallase resisteth a power to resist him.

Strife for the leading of the vantgard.

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dome; for my birth and fortune neither d^{id} o^r could
 deserue it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the
 negligent slouth of the (to whome the right of that
 diademe doth appertene, and who doth graedlie hunt
 thereafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themselves
 destitute of faithfull gouernors) to follow me, and
 caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather
 but cherlie to me, than in honest seruitude to be op-
 pressed) to seeke for libertie. Which fuerlie I had ob-
 teined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so e-
 uillie striued against me, restrained themselves for
 comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds
 (which till their land) forth to the battell, at which
 time I had scarce 10000 men, & those of comon sort.
 Trulie if the princes had not bene impediment
 thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hun-
 dred thousand bold and cherefull souldiers. But now
 in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against
 me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the
 kingdome, I giue thee faithfull warning, expectallie
 to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more re-
 garded the glorie of their countrie, than of secret ma-
 lice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken
 the field, what hate soeuer they had conceiued against
 me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of
 England, they are not bound to keepe it: in a wic-
 ked promise no oth is to be perfozmed. I am now
 wearie of my life, and rather desire to die, than to
 liue in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued coun-
 trie. Wherefore embrace you this thraldome (which is
 so much esteemed of you) to whome filthie seruitude
 with ease seemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie
 with danger: for I had rather chuse willing death
 with freedom (in which I meane to spend my bloud)
 than to doe as you haue done, because the loue of my
 countrie shall not depart from my hart, befoze the
 life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being
 said, I burst forth in teares, considering the no-
 bilitie of the mind of Wallace, although perhaps he
 nothing misliked the misfortune of the man, as doub-
 ting the end of all his pretense to be, to attaine to the
 crowne. This being thus done, they both depart to
 their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee
 bishop of Koffe) this god was wrought to Scot-
 land (to recompense the ouerthrow of Falkirk) that
 Wallace partlie by the bitterness of his words, and
 partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw
 Iuse from the English, to take part with the
 Scots.)

1298.

Wallace re-
nounceth his
office.Philip king
of France.

A truce.

Scottish am-
bassadors sent
to pope Boni-
face.

But notwithstanding all these valiant speeches of
 Wallace, when he considered the infortunat discom-
 fiture by him so treacherouslie receiued, he came to
 Perth, and there uttering by complaint the inuic-
 ous enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced
 and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had
 bene committed to his hands, touching the gover-
 nance of the realme, and went into France, as saith
 Leslee. But Iohannes Maior saith, that he neuer
 came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The
 same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that
 name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in
 his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to
 his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that
 chieflie for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassa-
 dors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie
 befoze married his daughter, requiring that there
 might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted.
 At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt
 the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast
 of All saints, till the feast of Pentecost next follow-
 ing.

The Scots in the meane time soe oppressed by re-
 face, in presenting a verie grievous complaint vnto

him, for the great affliction done to them by king
 Edward, who was fullie bent by inurious meanes
 (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and there-
 fore they besought him to constrain king Edward
 by vertue of his prerogatiue, which he pretended to
 haue ouer the realme of England, to stand to his or-
 der in deciding the right concerning the liberties of
 Scotland, which might no other waies be determi-
 ned, but by intollerable damage falling to the people
 through blind desire and couetous ambition of the
 nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is
 said) after he had by god and deliberat aduise heard
 the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they
 had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of
 their countrie, against R. Edward and his fautors.
 ¶ But for this matter, loke in the English chroni-
 cles, where it shall well appere, that the pope by these
 letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his
 superioritie ouer Scotland.

The opinion
of the pope.John Cummin
the younger
elected gouer-
nor of Scot-
land.
An armie of
Englishmen
sent into
Scotland.King Ed-
wards offi-
cers chased
out of Scot-
land.Scotland a-
gaine inuadedRadeiph Co-
fraie.
I remember
not that anie
of the Eng-
lish nobilitie
bare this sur-
name in those
daies. Where-
fore I thinke
it was the
lord John
Heraug.
John Cummin
and Simon
Fraier.

The Scots somewhat recomforted herewith,
 thozlie hereupon chose John Cummin to their gover-
 nor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their
 liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised,
 sent forthwith an armie into Scotland, which passed
 through the countrie to saint Johns towne, with
 great damage of those that were aduinged rebels to
 king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner
 vnto Forthie, at this season was subiect to the Eng-
 lishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued
 within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient
 liberties of their countrie, than to anie desire of pre-
 seruing their goods or liues. John Cummin therefore,
 desirous to redresse his heauie miserie and lamenta-
 ble case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraier
 fellow with him in the administration of the warres
 against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering
 an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, set-
 teth in hand to reuenge the inurious doings of the
 enemies, chasing out of the realme all such officers
 with their seruants, as king Edward had placed
 anie wayes within the bounds of Scotland; and such
 as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not spa-
 ring to put them vnto the sword in all places, where
 he might find them.

King Edward soe kindled in displeasure with
 these attempts of such desperat persons, called an
 armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same in-
 to Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie stout and
 valiant capteine, named Radeiph Co-fraie. This
 Radeiph at his comming into Scotland, toke
 small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided
 his armie into thre parts, euerie part containing
 ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe forth
 to forraie the countrie, and to meet altogether at Ro-
 sin, in such sort and time as he prescribed. John Cu-
 min and Simon Fraier being aduertised hereof,
 gathered their powers together, to the number of
 seuen or eight thousand men, and determined to trie
 the chance of battell with one part of the English ar-
 mie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the
 vpper hand of one of the thre parts, the other two
 would be the more easie to deale with. The Scottish
 capteins resolved thus vpon that point, exhorted
 their people to remember how they were to fight in
 defense of their wiues, their children, their goods, and
 liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to
 bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

With which words the Scots were so imbolened,
 that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they
 gaue the onset so fiercelie on their enemies, that the
 first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie ouer-
 throwen and banquished. But scarce had they ga-
 thered the spoile, when an other part of the English
 men came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the
 other

The first bat-
tell of the
Englishmen
ouerthrowne.

The second
battellouer:
come.

offer before: neuertheless, the Scots encouraged with their fresh womie victorie, got themselves speedie into arrate, & receiued their enemies with such incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the upper hand of these also. But scarce had they made an end with this second battell, when the third part was at hand ready to charge them, being now sore infested, that thorough wearinesse and wounds receiued in the two former encounters, besides the want of such of their numbers as were slain: yet by exhortation of their capteins, and the valiant presence of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to recieve them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands, had they not bene so wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chase.

The third
battell of the
Englishmen
banquished at
Roslin.

I 302.

The matter
is amplified
by the Scots
to the others
most.

The great
preparation of
king Edward
to invade the
Scots.

The Scots
withdrew to
their holds.
The English
armie passed
through Scot-
land from the
south parts to
the north.

Is. Edward
sendeth vnto
wallase.

Wallase refuseth
the offers
of Is. Edward

The castell of
Sterling ren-
dyed.

This Althred
the Scottish
bookes name
Difes.

The castell of
Arquhard ta-
ken by force.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearsed, vpon saint Patthewes day, in the yere after the birth of our Sauour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, considering that thirtie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & thoroughly appointed for warre, should be thus in one day banquished with an handfull of Scottishmen. For as their histories make mention, they passed not eight thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long inioy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of Englishmen, Gascoignes, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke his part, and having all his furniture and puruei-
ance ready both by sea and land, he set forward with the same to invade the Scots on eche side. The Scots perceiving they were not of puissance able to resist his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means whereof the English armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the south parts to the north, & found few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mountains and woods, to eschue the malice of the Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a messenger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come in and be sworn his liege man and true subject, he should haue at his hands great lordships and possessions within England, to mainteine his port as was requisite to a man of verie honorable estate. But Wallase refused these offers, saieing that he preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotland, before anie possession of lands in England, were the same neuer so great; considering he might not inioy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The castell of Sterling at the same time was in the keeping of one sir William Althred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie summons or other meanes, till after thre moneths siege he was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these conditions: That all persons being within the castell, should depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleasure. Neuertheless king Edward caused the said sir William Althred to be conueied to London, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres after.

Sundrie other castles were taken by force the same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted, being found within anie of them, slaine without mercie or ranfome. Amongest other, the castell of Arquhard in Murray land was taken by force, and not one left alieue that was found in the same (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with

child, was in that respect preserved. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Englishmen toke hir but for some other woman of meaner estate. She therefore with hir life saured, being suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where she was deliuered of a son, that was named at the font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be restored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to do here in, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince should take lands or possessions from noble men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, shewen in defense of the realme; neither iudged he it reason to keepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had lost his father, his friends, and all his whole substance in the like cause and quarrell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in spar, nothing lesse in value (considering the largenesse and fertilitie) than the other of Arquhard were: and willed him to content himselfe with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi-
ed, and no man should seme to haue wrong in being deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbesse, for that he due a beare in those parties, by great and singular manhood. And so the surname of the Forbeses had beginning, as descended from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots living together with Englishmen, vnder one vniuersall manner of lawes, they should finallye sort themselves to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the supreme gouernement of their publike weale, as also in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nation, with all manner of bookes, as well those containing diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of profane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots should perish: and thereto appointed greuous punishments for them that should disobey his commandements herein, in keeping anie of the said bookes vndeaced. And he ordeined also, that the Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of Sarum, and none other. Wherevnto, he compelled all such Scottishmen as were of anie singular knowledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Oxford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing in politike prudence by their instructions, should seeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottish writers doe report) to ertinguish the name of Scots, together with their rule and empire, passed through the most part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his coming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe, which was builded (as before is shewen) in the honor of Claudius the empero, and the goddesse Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immediatlie put in execution, he changed his purpose, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the superscription of his name, should be taken awaie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be set vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hois (as ye would say) Arthurs

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Forbeses.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burnt.

Scottish men
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Oxford.

The temple of
Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, wharfor
uer Hector
Boetius or as
ther dream
thereof.
Arthurs hois,

The
char-
acter
En-
glish
men
of
two
Ed

wa-
chu-
gra-
En

Do
Ar-
tem-
nou-
lar-
hin

Co-
bet-
Co-
Ar-

In
of
bet-
mit-
con

Ar-
du

Ar-
let
spi

Ar-
is

thurs court.

The marble
chaire is con-
ueried into
England, and
placed in west
minster.
The nobilitie
of Scotland
sworne to R.
Edward.

Wallase es-
chuerth to a-
gree with the
Englishmen.

Domare of
Imer de Wa-
lence gover-
nour of Scot-
land under
king Edward

Conference
betwixt
Cumin and
Wylse.

Indentures
of agreement
betwixt Cu-
min & Wylse,
touching the
conspiracie.

John Cumin
doubt.

Cumin disclo-
seth the con-
spiracie.

Robert Wylse
is examined.

Forreuer king Edward at his returning into England, took the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conueried vnto London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet vnto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scotch lords to assemble at Scone, where he caused them to take a new oath, that from thenceforth they should take him for their soueraigne lord, and to obeye him in all things as loiall subjects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworne to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschued more than the companie of a serpent, to haue anie thing to do with the Englishmen, touching anie agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their desires. Forreuer, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Domare de Walence to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And hauing thus set all things in good and quiet order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cumin surnamed the red, and Robert Wylse hauing conference together, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by anie means they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Wylse, and the other, that is to say, the Cumin, should inioyn all the Wylses lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honours and dignities, as next vnto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betwixt them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seales interchangeably, for the full ratiffing of covenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after, vpon deliuerie of those writings, Wylse went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren vnto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

John Cumin (after that he and Wylse were thus agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie deuised betwixt them, would not sozt to anie luckie conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not be great, if the Wylse once attained the crowne: and hereupon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, conteining the covenants of the conspiracie, signed and sealed with Wylses owne hand and seale. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret wise to king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Wylse and his maister, according to instructions given him in that behalfe. But king Edward at the first gaue light credit either to the writings or words of the Cumin, supposing that the same proceeded onelie through enuie, which he bare towards the Wylse, euer dreading lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Wylse once attained anie authoritie within the same. Yet at length, king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he shewed the counterpane of the indenture vnto Wylse himselfe, questioning with him, if he knew his owne hand: Wylse stoutlie denied that he

was pxtie to anie such deuisse or writing, and there-fore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forsaik all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he coniectured at the first how this accusation of Cumin was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did vnwiselie: but such was the ordinance of almighty God, that Wylse should escape that danger, to accomplish that wherevnto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatlie after that Robert Wylse was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, wherevnto he coniectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the waie in most speedie wise, wherevpon he causing a smith to shoo thre horses for him, contrailie with the calkins forward, that it should not be perceined which waie he had taken by the tract of the horses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be traced in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horsemen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Wylse halsted forth with such speed in his iourne, that the seventh day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found David, (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthy yong gentleman, vnto whom (they musing what he meant by his sudden comming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumin, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cumin, signifieng by the same, that if Wylse were not the soner put to death, there would insue shortly such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against R. Edward, that it would be much adoe to appease it.

These letters being found about Cumins servant, through means of yong Fleming, the Wylse after he had apofed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cumin was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first due this felow that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of the same Fleming, where in the quier of the friers church there he found Cumin. And reasoning the matter there with him, for that he had tised him so euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end (after some multiplieng of words together) Robert Wylse plucked forth his sword, and stroke the fore said Cumin a soze blow in the bellie, and therevpon flasing out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindsay, and Roger Kirkpatrick, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church in such hast, demanded of him what was the matter: I trow (said he) that Cumin is slaine. Why (said they againe) hast thou attempted so high an

Robert Wylse
doubt.

He commeth
to Louchmas-
ben.

Robert Flem-
ming.

A servant of
Cumins tak-
en with let-
ters on him.

Cumin was
at the friers in
Dunfrise.

Cum in is
laine.

1305.

Wallase is tak-
ken.Wallase is
brought to
London.He is put to
death.John Fourdon.
John Maior.

Fr. Thin.

Absolution
from Rome.Robert
Bruce is
crowned king
of Scotland,
the first of that
name.John Maior.
King Robert
is discomfited
at Bessan.

an enterpryse, and left it doubtfull. And immedi-
atlie here with they went to the place where Cum-
in lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of
him whether he thought he had anie death wound,
or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian.
And for that he answered how he trusted to do well
inough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they
gaue him thre or foure other wounds so grieuous
and deablie, that forthwith vpon the same he pael-
ded by the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our
Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of February. About
the same time was William Wallase taken at
Claskow by the means of sir John Spenteth and o-
thers, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust;
but they being corrupted with the offers of large re-
wards promised by king Edward to such as could
helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was
apprehended at length by Ddomare de Valence
earle of Penbrooke, who with a great power of men
brought him to London, where he was put to death,
and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in
sundrie great towne there for a spectacle, as it were
to giue example to other. This was the end of that
puissant champion William Wallase, passed a-
mongst the Scottismen aboue all other in that age,
for so much as he would neuer pael or consent to ac-
knowledge anie superiouritie in the Englishmen o-
uer his countrie, no not when all other had submit-
ted themselves to king Edward as his liege sub-
iects and most obedient bassals. It is said, that when
he was yong and went to schoole, he learned by heart
two verses of his scholemaster, which euer after he
bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them,
(when a toy toke him in the head) as followeth.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruis, sub nexu uiuio fli.
My lonne I say, freedom is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thrals arrest.*

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was
blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie
(saith John Maior) composed a whole booke in bul-
gar verse, in which he witted all those things bul-
garlie spoken of this Wallase. But I do not in all
points saith the same author, giue credit to the wit-
tings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and
clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by
reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scot-
land.

But now touching Bruce; after he had laine Cu-
min (as before is mentioned) he purchased an
absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he
might then through authoritie obtaine some aid to
resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward,
he went by support of friends vnto Scone, & there
caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day
of March, though he had no great number that toke
his part in the beginning, as shortly after well ap-
peared. For when he should assemble an armie a-
gainst a power of Englishmen that were sent a-
gainst him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon
knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to
get together anie sufficient number to resist his ad-
uersaries, though with those few which came vnto
him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so
incountering with Ddomare de Valence lieutenant
of the English armie at Bessen the 19 day of June
1306, he was there put to flight; and though the
slaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged
to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke v-
pon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor
spanke greatlie from him.

Ddomare de Valence after he had obtained this
victorie against king Robert, banished the wines of
all those that supported the same Robert, by means

whereof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were con-
strained to flee into woods, and other desert places,
to escape the crueltie of their aduersaries. King
Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl,
and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of
August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe
with the Cumins and other such Scots & English-
men as were assembled in those parties ready to
pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chan-
ced to him before at Bessen; for he was put to flight
after the same maner, though he lost here but few of
his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place
Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Bu-
chan lib. 8, which is also called Dalwhie by I. Maior.
lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruce had so hard
a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cu-
min, laine in the church by him and his friends.
Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto
him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so de-
solat and unprouided of all friendship, that he was
constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the
woods and mounteins, with a few other in his com-
panie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes
for want of other food.

Whilste he remained in this estate of aduerser for-
tune, there were two that shewed themselves right
trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the
rest, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Hare: for
though either inforced by persequer of enemies, or
constrained through some other necessitie, they de-
parted sometimes from his presence; yet did they e-
uer acknowledge him for their soueraigne lord and
onelie king, ready at all seasons to serue and obey
him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his
friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie,
did cleaue for sake him; so that sometimes he was
left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad
to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no
person lightlie vled to resort. His wife & queene fled
to saint Dunstons, and chanced to be taken by William
Cumin earle of Ross, who deliuered hir to king
Edward, by whose commandement she was com-
mitted to safe keeping at London, where she remai-
ned till after the battell of Bannockburne. His
brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards
were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexan-
der, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of
Scotland, of whome some were executed at Car-
leill, and some at Berwike. Nigel was taken at
the castell of Biddome whither he fled, and came to
Berwike. Thomas and Alexander were taken at
Locheis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded.
Io. Maior lib. 4. cap. 19. Finally the most part
of all such as had aided him before, and were now
drawne from him, were within one yeare after, ei-
ther laine or kept as prisoners in England.

Yet though he was thus left desolat of all aid and
succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends
murdered and laine to his vtter discomfort and ru-
ine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued e-
uer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time
to come he might recouer the realme out of the eni-
mies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof
to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke
in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots,
& lodging oftentimes on the bare earth, without house
or other harborough, he was so accustomed thereto
by haunting the warres in his youth, that the same
griued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude,
such was his valiancie and most excellent fortitude
of mind and courage, that no iniurious mischance
of froward aduersitie could abash his inuincible
heart and manlike stomach. At length, after he had
wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of
Scotland,

King Robert
estimates dis-
comfited in
Atholl.

Fr. Thin.

The misera-
ble state of
Robert in the
beginning of
his reign.The earle of
Leuenor and
Gilbert Hare
faithfull ser-
uants to king
Robert.King Ro-
berts wife ta-
ken.Nigel Tho-
mas and Alex-
ander bre-
thren to king
Robert are
taken and put
to death.King Ro-
berts god
hope in time
of extreme ad-
uersitie.His inuinci-
ble hart and
vndaunted
stomach.Kin
bert
ouer
AlesKin
part
aid
AlesHe
the
CalHi
inc
In
collAt
con
ClFi
A
ti
e

King Robert
better getteth
ouer into the
Fles.

King Robert
purchaseth
and in the
Fles.

He winneth
the castell of
Carrik.

His power
increaseth.
Inuerness
castell taken.

King Robert
cometh to
Glennelise.

Fr. Thin.
Simon Fra-
ser and Wal-
ter Logan
executed.

how
the
king
put

ne
ad-

101-
nd
D

Scotland, the better to auoid the sleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Fles, where comming vnto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in those parts, he was most hartlie welcome, and glablie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, hee got suppozt of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer vnto Carrik, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he due all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his souldiers and men of warre. His friends that late hid in couert and secret corners, hearing of these his doings, began from each side to resort vnto him, by whose assistance thortlie after he wan the castell of Inuerness, and due all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castels in the north, racing & burning by the same till he came to Glennelise, where being aduertised that John Cummin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, because he was vpon a strong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durst not approach to giue him battell, but sent ambassadozs vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being done, they pursued him more fiercelie than before. Neuertheless King Robert receiued them at all times in such warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anie aduantage, but were still driuen backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light encounters, where the battels come not to soine puilliance against puilliance. The same thereof yet procured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

* About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cummin) deliuered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, James Dowglas joined himselfe to the part of king Robert. This James being the sonne of William Dowglas, was a yong gentleman very active and forwarde in all chiefe exercises and arts. Who when he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he thortlie after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the aduise of his friends. But being without living, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the seruice of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome hee was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well intertained: vntill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, caried Dowglas to attend vpon him, to the end to prefer him to his living and inheritance. Whereupon the bishop finding the king at conuenient leisure, besought him to be fauourable to this Dowglas: to restore him vnto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and defence) it would please him to implete him in his faithfull and warlike seruice: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of James, as for that time he thought most conuenient. But the king vnder-

standing his name and kindred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father William Dowglas: further answering, that he would neither vse the same James, nor his trauell in anie thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, because he had with the same gratified other that well deserued it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops seruice, vntill Bruce came into Berne, at what time (least he might lose the opportunitie to offend king Edward, whome he secretlie in heart disdeined) this Dowglas departed from Lambert his maister, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best hordes, with the which, hauing in his companie diuerse other hardie yong gentlemen, priuie to his doings, he fled with all speed vnto king Robert, offering him his seruice, and to spend his life in his quarell and defence. The bishop was priuie to his counsils going awaie, yet by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might haue run in danger for his cloaked dissimulation. The Dowglas was iustlie receiued of king Robert, in whose seruice he faithfully continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglases was in some estimation of nobilitie before those daies, yet the rising thereof to honoz chanced through this James Dowglas: for by meanes of his aduancement, other of the same linage took occasion by their singular manhood and noble prowes shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puilliance in mainrent, lands, & great possessions, at length was (through suspicion conceived by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the doings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would renolt wholie from the English obedience: and hereupon purposing with all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than euer he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right fore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died thortlie after at Burgh vpon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie dooth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Biddunnie, after it was wonne by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be done with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinentlie, without respect to their yong peeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pittie. After his decesse, his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succeeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprize, called a counsell at Dunfreis, summoning the lordes of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to do their homage vnto him, as to their superiour lord and gouernoz: but yet diuers disobeyed his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, vpon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lordes and chiefe nobles of his realme.

A craftie dissembling
pyslate.

The rising of
the Dowglases
to honoz.

The death of
king Edward
Longshanks.

The crueltie
of king Edward
as is
noted by the
Scottish writers.

Edward of
Carnaruan,
sonne to Edward
Longshanks.

How came to
king Edward
of Carnaruan

thortlie

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnarvan returned into England, and in the meane time John Cumyn erle of Buchquhane gathered a mighty armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enemies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sicknesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horse-litter to be caried forth with the same against his enemies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cumyn with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Cnuerrour, ten miles distant from Aberdeen, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie therupon restored to his former health, hauing at that time also taken the castell of Aberdeen, which he utterlie destroyed, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enemies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cumyn
discomfited by
king Robert
at Cnuerrour
1308.
Fr. Thun.

Donald of the
Ales discom-
fited by Ed-
ward Bruce.

Argile sub-
dued by king
Robert.
This was in
1309, as Iohn
Ma. saith.

R. Edward
commeth into
Scotland,
Anno 1310 as
should seme
by Io. Maior.

A sore dearth.

1311.
Castles reco-
uered by king
Robert.

King Robert
murdered
England.

1312. Io. Ma.
The towne of
Dorthe reco-
uered, other-
wise called
St. Johns
towne.

Castles won.

In the same yere Donald of the Ales came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against R. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obtaining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obedience, but also toke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shortlie after he deceased. In the yere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where ioining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie unto Kancrich, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprise worthe the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

In the same yere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither coine nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallye through the countrie late vntilled, and beastes with all kind of cattell were giuen auaie, as booties taken by the enemies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constrained to eat horses, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to susteine their liues. In the yere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castles out of their hands, diuerse of the which he rased and consumed with fire. After this entring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yeres before, by the outrageous force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Januarie next ensuing, king Robert wan by fine force the strong towne of Dorthe, sleaing and hanging all the people both English and Scottish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castles of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other

strengths and castles were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir James Douglas on feastings euen, in the yere 1313, when they of the garison were ouercome with immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks excessive taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Murray, wan the castell of Edinburgh. In which yere also, Bruce wan the Ile of Man; Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yere Edward Bruce besieged the castell of Striveling: but the strength of the house was such, that by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligently imployed to win it, produced vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Potowray, a Scottish man bozne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of purueance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finallye Edward Bruce, perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchiue the enterprize, which he had rashly taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well enough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto, inso much as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likeli it would haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargain making: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortreffe were not succoured within twelue moneths next ensuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vnwisely made, as most men iudge: for euerie man of anie wisdom might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his provision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet he would not go about to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid he might not well want.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subiects, but also vnto all his confederats and allies, to haue men of warre taken by and retised to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to solow to the utter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselves of their owne accord to go in that iourne, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scottish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Gascoigne, Normandie, Guien, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

Rokesburgh
wonne on
feastings
day.

1313.

The castell of
Edinburgh
wonne.

Striveling ca-
stell besieged.

Sir Philip
Potowray.

In this
composition.

King Robert
offended with
his brother.

R. Edward
taketh by
souldiers.

Out of what
countries R.
Edward had
aid of men.

But

Fame often-
times excee-
deth the truth.

K. Edwards
promise.

K. Edward
thinketh him-
selfe sure of
victorie.

Robert Ba-
ron a Car-
melite.

John Ma. hath
in his booke
35 thousand.
King Robert
his coming
toward the
battell.

The opinion
of expert war-
riors of king
Edwards.

Trenches
made by
Scots to o-
verthrow the
Englishmen.

But the number of naturall Englishmen excee-
ded ante one nation beside, insomuch that the whole
armie what of one and other, contained (as the same
went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and
almost as manie horsemen, beside cartage-men,
coffers, women, and lackies, but the same herein
belike (as often hapenech) did farre exceed the truth.
For it is not to be thought (as John Maior himselfe
writeth) that he should get such a number together,
not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth
such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie
men as are to be found in England of lawfull age,
so manie able personages may be found there to
passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of
abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and
sufficient provision, or else they will not streine them
selues thereto. Penethelesse, the whole number by
all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers
as Englishmen, brought their wiues, their children,
and whole household-maine with them, in hope after
the countrie were once subdued, to haue dwelling
places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit:
for so had king Edward promised them. By reason
whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike disci-
pline might be obserued amongst them: for men, wo-
men, and children, were all mixt together, with such
clamor and noise, through the huge number of peo-
ple, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing
right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie or-
dered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and inso-
lent of such incredible number, took no heed at all
to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be al-
readie in his hands; insomuch that at his comming
to the borders, he tooke aduise with his counsell to
what kind of torment and death he might put king
Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all.
He also brought with him a religious man somewhat
learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to de-
scribe the whole manner of his conquest and victorie
ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all
things would come to passe as he could wish or de-
uise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in John Bales
booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great
Britaine, was named Robert Basson, and had the
gouernance of an house in Scarborough, of the Car-
melites order, he being (as before is said) of that
cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all
his doings by good & prudent aduise, and with
men, right hardie and thoughtlie exercised in wars,
came forth against his enemies, shewing no token
of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his
tents in god order and warlike arate, vpon a plaine
a little aboue Bannockshorne. Whether he did this
for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of
his people, or for that he would shew how little he
doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they
should haue him in contempt, it is uncerteine. Indee-
d there were diuerse expert warriours amongst the
Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the
Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie
would not be had, except it were dearelie bought:
the wisdom and manhood of king Robert was
knowne so well amongst them, that they were assu-
red he would not leopord himselfe in such a case, but
that he knew he had such fellows about him, as
would sticke to their tackie.

Spoeouer the Scots by appointment of their
king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprize, had
cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was
iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe
stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer
slighlie with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that

a few footmen might passe ouer well inough; but if a
nie great number should come preealling together, or
that anie horsemen came therevpon, the sods would
shinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with
extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure
to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or
else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to
get out of those pitts. By the place where king Ro-
bert was thus incamped, there runneth a great
broke or water called Bannockshorne, so named of
open-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to be
made commonlie at the mills standing on the banks
of the said water. It falleth into the forthright fa-
mous afterwards by reason of this battell fought
nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a
mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred
horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Striue-
ling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbraye the cap-
taine, that he was come with his armie to succour
him. K. Robert being aduertised of their gate, & be-
holding them which way they took, he sent Thomas
Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue
the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood
incountered with those Englishmen in sight of
both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt
them for so small a number, continuing a long space
with uncerteine victorie. In the meane time sir
James Douglas, dreading that his speciall friend
the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with
multitude of the Englishmen, came to K. Robert,
and falling on his knees before him, required li-
cence to go forth to the support of them that were
thus fighting with their enemies: which because the
king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of
the campe without licence, hauing in his companie
a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the pur-
pose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, hee
might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the
place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had
got the victorie with great murder of the English-
men, he traied and went no further: least he should by
his comming seeme to berewe them the glorie of the
victorie, which had twone it with so great proweesse
& singular valiancie. All those in the Scottish campe
were relieved, in god hope of greater successe to fol-
low in the whole enterprize by so happy a beginning.
The Englishmen passed litle thereof, but yet for that
the Scots should not waie proud, and take ouer-
much courage thereby, they determined to giue them
battell the next morow. King Robert with great di-
ligence caused his people to prepare themselves rea-
die to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing a-
ble to match them in number, denifing which waie
he might traine them into the ditches before prepa-
red. He commanded through the armie that euerie
man should on the next morow receiue the sacra-
ment of the Lords bodie, through the which they
might haue the better hope of victorie against the
vntust intruders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that
all things would prosper with them, even as they
could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they
hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of
the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seeme
to them good, and most for their owne auaille. But
king Robert all the night before the battell took litle
rest, hauing great care in his mind for the suertie of
his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration
his chance, and an other while that; yea and some-
times he fell to deuout contemplation, making his
prayer to God and saint Phillip, whose arme as it
was set and inclosed in a silver case, he supposed had iane.
T. j. hane

Bannock-
shorne.

The fight of
Th. Randall
with 500 Sco-
tishmen in his
companie a-
gainst 800
Englishmen.

The English-
men deter-
mine to giue
battell.
King Robert
prepared to
receiue the e-
nemies by bat-
tell.

bene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the case suddenly opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, least that relike should haue bene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the arme otherwise than well.

The king verie ioyfull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thanksgiving. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine service, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchaffraie did celebrate before the king that day, and ministered vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessary it was for them to shew their wanted manhood, considering that such an huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as alies to the Englishmen, with full purpose of heart to extinguishe the Scottish name and memorie, and to plant themselves in their seates and comes, as in possessions vtterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scottishmen against the enemies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enemies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their hearts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed that a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warrelke affaires, not taken by choice and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference together, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else wherevpon to liue at home in their countries.

Whereouer, if nothing else might raise their hearts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrey against iniurious invaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Here to be added, that the greater multitude there was of the enemies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their hearts to doe valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that euerye of them would but dispatch one of the enemies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safely undertake for them that they would slea two of the enemies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to encourage his people.

* But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Wile, further saying, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he uttered these words, and bareheaded embraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerye man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was over- wearied before he had shaken 35000 men by the hands. On the other part, king Edward caused the colonels of eche nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superiortie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance that irrecoverable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

* Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kingle robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the armie. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clothes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall come, will soon subdue them. Maruell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits; and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Wile (nourished by my god father) to the end that he might receiue worthy punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (alike) these other two wicked and wavering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) given to you by my father, in that kingdome. Wherefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recover the same, at this day possessed by the vnjust and vnrighfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in arraye of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoe, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the hoisemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the midst of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randulfe, & James Douglasse, capteins of verie approued valiance, under whom went seven thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Waterars or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was governed by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him

The exhortation of king Edward.

Fr. Thn. Iohannes Maior maketh R. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he said himselfe.

Io. Maior forgot that guns were not yet inuented.

R. Edward a good mathematician by Maiors hyperbolicall speeches.

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the English battels.

The appointing of the Scottish battels. The first battell.

The second.

A subtill chapleine.

A matter devised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

Fr. Thn.

The third.

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobrietie and circumspection, to qualifie his harkie and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftene thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, shewing a verie cherefull countenance amongst them, so farre forth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceived in his mind an assured hope of victorie to succed.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie bearing a croffe.
Fr. Thin.

Letellus episc.
Ross. li. 7. pag.
244. faith, it
was Mauri-
cus the abbat
a man of sin-
gular pietie
and puritie of
life, such ver-
tue they can
find in their
cleargie.

The first join-
ing.

Thirtie thou-
sand English
horsemen o-
verthrowen
in trenches.

Fr. Thin.

Nothing o-
mitted for the
glorie of their
nation, since
valure is com-
mendable in
all men, but
most in a king
Fr. Thin in
histe laudator.

King Robert
killeth an
Englishman.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie aforesaid (who as be-
foze is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore
the king) came forth before the battels, with the cru-
cifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard, ad-
monishing them valiantlie to take in hand the de-
fense of their countrie, and the libertie of their posses-
sion: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as
it were for his owne priuat defense, his owne house
and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men
for euerie man must fight for the libertie, life, patri-
monie, children, and wiues of all the realme: for such
and so great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they
which deface or spoile it, are to be punished with per-
petuall fier, and they which do preserve it, are to be
recompensed with an eternall crowne of glozie. And
herewithall this abbat instructed them of manie
things touching the loue of their countrie, which na-
ture hath so planted in all men, that for the preserua-
tion and libertie therof, none should refuse anie dan-
ger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were pos-
sible) that it might be manie times lost therfore.
Which done, he feared not to admonish them to wor-
ship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the
croffe. Incontinentlie wherupon, the Scottish armie
fell on knees before it, deuoutlie commending them-
selues to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on
knees, thought verelie they had yielded without
stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise a-
gaine, and to come forthward, they began to be some-
what doubtfull. And hereupon rushing together, at
the first joining a great number of people on either
side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which
were arraied on the vtter skirts of the English
wings, soze annoied the Scots, till finally Edward
Buse came on their backs with a thousand speares,
and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did
but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinent-
lie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of
thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once
in shooke, to haue borne downe and overriden the
Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with
most violence towards them, they tumbled into the
fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one
vpon another, that the most part of them was slaine,
without all recouerie. Neuerthelesse the Scots in
maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the
enimies, were nere at the point to haue bene van-
quished. [During which conflict saith Buch, this
happened (which though it be a small thing to put in
writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chancess in
battell, and as brought no small benefit to the per-
fection of their businesse) that king Robert (who
continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his
gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand
(and keeping the first order in the arraie) was espied
of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and
forthwith rode full against Buse with his spere.
But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his
English aduersarie, overthrow him by the force of
his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so
left him dead. Whereupon, the common people be-
holding the valure of their king and capteine, did
with great force by the instigation of their fierce and
ferie minds (and not by the kings perswasion) fall
vpon their enemies in such sort, that they seemed to

haue had the victorie of the aduerser battell of their
enimies: had it not bene for the English archers,
which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom
Buse (sending out certeine light horsemen) did
sone repress: whereby the Scots encouraged, made
their partie good, rather by hidden policie, than
prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots de-
uised, and an error by the English therof conceived,
did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power as-
sembled in the field. For that deuise in the end was
the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in
this sort.]

The Scots which were appointed to attend the
carriage, as carters, wainemen, lackies, and the
women, beholding in what danger their maisters,
friends, & countriemen stood, put on shirts, smocks,
and other white linnen aloft vpon their vsuall gar-
ments, and herewith binding towels and napkins
to their speares, and to other such stauces as they got
in their hands, placed themselves as well as they
could in arraie of battell, and so making a great
muster and shew anew, came downe the hill side
in the face of their enemies, with such a terrible noise
and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting
as then with most furie against the Scots with vn-
certeine victorie, and beholding this new reinforce
coming downe the hill vpon their faces, supposing
verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts
began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw
themselves vneth able to susteine the violent in-
counter of the Scots then present. And hereupon
they began to turne their backs, and fell to running
away as people clearelie vanquished: on whome the
Scots followed with insatiable ire, and slue them
down on all sides where they might ouertake them.
Sir James Dowlglas with foure hundred chosen
horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to
pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie
if he might ouertake him.

Dowlglas (according to his charge) followed him
in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwix that and the
borders, laie in wait to haue taken him, if he had
returned by land; but he being receiued into the cas-
tell of Dunbar by Patrick Dunbar erle of March,
with fiftene earles in his companie, was by the
same erle of March conueied into certeine vessels,
lieng there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst
by the shoze into England, to shew an example of
the vnstable state of princes: for though this Ed-
ward was that day in the morning right proud of
the great puissance and number of people which he
had about him, not vnlike sometime to the great
armie of king Ferris, yet he was constrained before
the evening of the same day, to saue his life in a
poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie
thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers af-
firme) amongst whome was the erle of Gloce-
ster, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish
part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst
other two balliant knights, sir William Wapount,
and sir Walter Kosse. The spoile was so great of
gold, siluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that
the whole number of the Scottish armie was made
rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse mo-
nie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at
this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe,
and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine,
that died amongst other in this mortall battell, was
so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie
which he had sometimes with him in England, that
he reioiced little of all the gaine got by so famous a
victorie. He caused his bodie to be buried right ho-
norable in saint Patricks church, beside Edenburgh.
The queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept
in

The English
mens hearts
begin to faint.

The English
men put to
flight.

King Ed-
ward escapeth

The vnstable
state of world-
lie puissance.

The number
of Scots
slaine.

Sir Giles
Argentine
slaine.

The queene
king Roberts
wife restored
to hir husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England
now deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles
of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich
clothes of silke, velvet, and gold, which were found
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The
Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought
thither by king Edward to describe the victorie of
the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst o-
ther, and commanded by king Robert to write con-
trarie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had
sene: who thereupon gathered his rustic wits tog-
ther, & made certeine rude verses beginning thus.

Verles made
by Robert
Baston the
Carmelite.

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo cum tali themate ludo.*
With barren verse this rime I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.

Miracles if
ye list to be-
lieue them.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie
was attained by the singular fauor of almightie
God, by reason of miracles which they rehearse to
happen at the same time. The night before the day
of the battell, there came to the abbeie of Glasneir
burie two men in compleat armour, desiring to
lodge there all night: the abbat keeping an house of
great hospitalitie, receiued them right glablie, and
making them good cheare, demanded what they
were, and whither they were going: who answered
that they were the seruants of God, and going to
helpe the Scots at Bannockburne. On the morrow
the chamberlaine found them departed before anie
of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was
sene shortly after to passe ouer Pictland firth on
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this
was saint Pagnus, sometime prince of Dykene,
and for that cause king Robert endowd the church
of Dykene with five poundes sterling of the cu-
stomes of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church with
bread, wine, and wax.

Robert fles-
hing reward-
ed for his
faithfull ser-
uice.

Manie noble men for their approued manhod
shewed in this conflict, were highlie rewarded at
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,
by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought a-
gainst him by John Cumyn, with slaughter of the
same John, had the lands of Cummernauld giuen
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the
said Cumyn. It is reported by writers, that two
knights of Wabant that serued amongst the Eng-
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,
who being somewhat moued therewith, and misli-
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which
with h. Edward informed thereof, caused them by
a trumpet to be conuied vnto the Scottish campe,
with commandement to aid king Robert to the vt-
termost of their powers, purposing to punish them
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before
the iointing of the battels, he caused proclamation
to be made, that whosoener brought their heads vnto
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

Proclama-
tion.

The Scottis
house in An-
tuerpe build-
ed.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-
turning into Wabant, built a goodlie house in An-
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and raising
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Wose to be
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

ceiue them of the Scottish nation that should resort
vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this
day. And this was done for a memoriall, to the
that loue and hartie beneuolence these two knights
bare towards king Robert and his people, for the
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glo-
rious victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not vn-
worthy the reporting. For John Mentith, which
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-
lie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof
beside manie other rewards) benefitted with the go-
diansthip of the castle of Dunbryton: which fort (after
all the other castles before said were recovered to the
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few
others) that remained in the hands of the English:
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnable,
king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as
were friends and of kindred vnto him) to betraye the
castle into his hands, promising great recompense
therefore. Wherevnto this Mentith by no means
would agree, vnles h. Robert would giue to him the
earldome of Lennox for his reward. Whereupon
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox: who had
in all his calamities bene the most certeine, and al-
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when
the earle vnderstood, he forthwith came vnto him,
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition: wher-
upon the bargaine was concluded betwene John
Mentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was
most solemnelie confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the
wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a cer-
teine carpentar called Rowland came thither secret-
lie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake
to the king, for he would discouer a great matter
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-
gainst him, by the capteine of Dunbryton. Which
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Wose, that be-
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number
of English inclosed, which at dinner should either
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he
had obtained the castle. Whereupon the king no-
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued
by the said John Mentith in the castle of Dunbry-
ton: after that he had searched all other places, and
was courteously inuited to sit downe to dinner;
answered that he would not eate, vntill he had lo-
ked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse,
and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the
smith was absent and carted the key away with him.
But the king not waiting for the coming of the
smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar
dore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,
the armed men were brought forth before the king,
who being severallie examined, confessed the whole
matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in
the haven to haue caried the h. prisoner into Eng-
land, if they had taken him alive. Whereupon the
rest being punished, John Mentith was onlie cast
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because
the king would not offend his friends & kindred in so
dangerous a time as that was. For this Mentith
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of
this

1314.
Fr. Thin.

Ruchanan.

John Men-
tith made cap-
teine of Dun-
bryton castle.

Englishmen
inclosed in a
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his en-
terance into
Dunbryton
castle.

this appointment was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, reſtozed to the fauor of Bruce, vnder whome he did after ſerue moſt faithfullie.

1314.
The crowne of Scotland inſtaled.
Margerie the daughter of king Robert by his firſt wife.

Immediatlie after, king Robert called a parliament at Aſtre, where, by conſent of the three ſtates he was confirmed king, and the crowne inſtaled to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of ſuch heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without ſuch heires, then ſhould the crowne deſcend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull ſucceſſion. In which parliament it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he ſhould then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie miſfortune chanced vnto the ſaid Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings perſon and kingdom ſhould be committed to James Douglas.

The ſecond marriage of king Robert.

The iſſue of king Robert by his ſecond wife.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the carle of Mar his liſter, his firſt wife, and was married by the aduiſe of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Alſo king Robert, for that his firſt wife aforeſaid was deceaſed, married ſhortlie after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Alſter, on whome he got a ſonne named David, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maude. The firſt was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a ſonne named John: the ſecond departed this world in hir infancy. After the marriage ſolemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the aforeſaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onlie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and towneſ in all places where he came, but alſo augmented the ſame, and granted vnto diuerſe, aſwell towneſ as baronies, ſundry new prerogatiues and franchiſes, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the ſame, ſpecially to the towneſ of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

1315.

The lordes of Ireland require aid of king Robert.

Alſter.

Edward Bruce proclaimed king of Ireland.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppreſſed (as they toke it) with long and inſufferable tyrannie of the Engliſhmen, and truſting by ſupport of Scots to recover their libertie, now after ſo notable an ouerthrow of the whole Engliſh puiſſance, ſent ambadoz vnto king Robert, requirung that it might pleaſe him to ſend his brother Edward Bruce, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This requeſt being granted, Edward prepared to take that iourne in hand, and ſo with a ſmall power of Scottiſhmen tranſporting ouer into Ireland, and joining with an armie of ſuch as were readie to aſſiſt him there, he toke the towne of Alſter, and ſue a great number of Engliſhmen which were found in the ſame. Then afterwards, by the generall conſent of all the eſtates of Ireland, Edward Bruce was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irith nobilitie ſent ambadoz vnto the pope, to ſue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the ſuertie and weale of their countrie, ſith they were not able longer to ſuſtaine the grieuous poke of the Engliſh thalldome. Theſe ambadoz, through their earneſt diligence, got ſuch fauor in their ſute, that the pope ſundry times charged the Engliſhmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they ſeemed to paſſe little of his commandements in that behalfe, for they daillie ſought how to make themſelues ſtrong in that part, leaſt they ſhould loſe the poſſeſſion of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

The Engliſh men paſſe little on the popes commandements.

King Robert being informed how through the reſenforcement of the Engliſh armie, being daillie re-

freſhed with new ſuccozs, his brother was like to run in danger to be caſt away, he left ſir James Douglas gouernor in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himſelfe with a great power of other ſouldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to ſupport his brother: but ſuffering great diſtreſſe at his firſt comming thither, for want of vittells & other provisions, he loſt almoſt the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the reſidue were conſtrained to eate horſes and other ſuch lothſome meates, therewith to ſuſtaine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iourne of his brother, in purpoſe to haue ſupported him with thoſe people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vniuerſellie with the Engliſhmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was ſlaine himſelfe with a great number of other. It is vncertaine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through deſire of fame he feared leaſt if he ſtaied till his brother came, a great part of the praile (if they got the victorie) ſhould remaine to him: and therefore he made ſuch haſt to fight. But howſoeuer it was, thus he was ſlaine on the fourthent of October, in the yeare 1317.

He more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert paſſeth ouer into Ireland.

Edward Bruce is ſlaine in Ireland.

He more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was paſſed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to ſerue well for his purpoſe, eſſones to inuade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purpoſed to haue done ſome great feat. But ſir James Douglas the gouernor, hauing likewiſe gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were ſlaine three notable capteins on the Engliſh ſide: as ſir Edmund Lilaw a Calcoigne capteine of Berwike, with ſir James Penell, and the third ſir James Douglas ſlue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he ſhould doe anie good at that time againſt the Scots by land, thought it beſt to aſſaile them by ſea, which way forth the Engliſhmen commonly were euer to god for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ſhips, and ſent the ſame into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each ſide, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the ſhoze.

Edward ſendeth a ſhip into Scotland.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of theſe cruelties done by the Engliſhmen, came forth with five hundred hardie ſouldiers, to defend the countrie from ſuch inuaſions: but when he perceiued that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to encounter, hauing but an handful of men in compariſon to them, he gaue ſomewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair biſhop of Dunkeld, hauing about three ſcore armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his ſaintneſſe of courage, cauſed him to ſet forth againe towards the enemies, & finding them buſie in ſpoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onſet vpon them ſo ſeruelle, that there was ſlaine at the firſt incounter to the number of ſue hundred of the Engliſhmen, and the reſidue chaſed to their booties lieng at Dunbriffell, which they entred in ſuch haſte, that one of the booties being peſſered with ouer great number, ſanke with them befoze they could get to their ſhips. King Robert euer after cuſtomable called this Wil. Sinclair his owne biſhop, for the noble prowes which he ſhewed in this enterpriſe.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

William Sinclair called King Roberts biſhop.

In the ſame yeere Robert Steward the ſonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of King David Bruce was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Surrey, the ſecond day of April recovered

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

Berwikke re-
couered.

recovered the towne of Berwikke out of the Eng-
lish mens hands, which they had held for the space of
twentie yeeres before. It was taken now by prac-
tise, through meanes of one Spalbein an English
man, who for his labour had certeine lands given
him in Angus, which his posteritie inioieth to these
daies.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

¶ Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare
what mischiefes came through hunger and other mis-
fortunes, by the space of 11 yeeres in Northumber-
land; for the Scots became so proud after they had
gotten Berwikke, that they nothing esteemed the
English nation. But (amongst other things by the
Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de
Gardonne came with 160 men, to drive awaie
the cattell pasturing by Forham, which the people of
the towne perceiuing, ran forth and encountered
with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them,
had not Thomas Grey capitaine of the castell, seeing
them in some teopardie, issued forth with 60 of his
souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their
horses. The which Grey had bene twice before besie-
ged in the castell of Forham, once almost by the
space of a whole yere, and another time by the terme
of seven moneths, in which he behaved himselfe like
a worthy gentleman, in that his enemies got none
aduantage of him, although that during the siege,
they had erected manie fortresses before the castell,
to annoie such as were within: of which forts they
made one at Wpittington, and one in the church of
Forham, the castell whereof had bene twice tein-
ted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Persie
and Penill (being great succourers of the marches)
rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of
Forham castell was taken in the time of this Grey
on saint Katharins euen, which the Scots kept not
but thre daies, and their purpose in winning the
same did vtterlie faile them.)

Ri.Southwell.

The Scots
enter further
into England
tha they were
accustomed,
euen unto
Werherbie (as
Foord, faith.)

After that the earle of Surrey had recovered
Berwikke, he and the lord James Dowglaste in the
moneth of Maie inuaded England with a puissant
armie, passing further into the countrie than the
Scots had bene accustomed to do before time, bur-
ning as they went forward the townes of Northal-
lerton and Burroldysdige; and coming to Kipon,
they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein;
but compounding with them that kept the church a-
gainst them for a thousand marks, they forbore to
burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried
here thre daies, they departed thence, and went to
Banarsburgh, which towne they burnt, and brating
the woods (into the which the people were with-
drawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great
battie, and returning homewards by Scipton in
Craven, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt
it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came
backe into Scotland with their spoiles and pris-
oners without ante resistance. [This castell of Ban-
arsburgh was taken by John Lilleborne, which after
rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine condi-
tions.]

Fr.Thin.

1319.
Berwikke be-
sieged.

Ri. Southwell.

In the yere following, king Edward came and
laid siege vnto Berwikke, but the towne was so well
defended, that he was constrained with small hono-
r to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in
the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege
before Berwikke, Thomas Randall earle of Sur-
rey, and the lord James Dowglaste assembled their
forces together; but perceiuing themselves too weake
to remoue the siege by force, they passed by, and en-
tring into England, wasted and spoiled all before
them, keeping on their way vnto Burroldysdige:
whereof when the citizens of Forke were aduertised,
with their capitaine William Apelton their archbi-

William Apel-
ton archbishop
of Forke.

shop, and the bishop of Ely, not making them of the
countrie once priue to their purpose, but hauing in
their companie a great number of priests and men
of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day
in the after none, not farre from the towne of Spit-
ton vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Forke
northwards.

The battell at
Spitton vpon
Swale.

But forsomuch as the most part of the English
men were not expert in the feates of warre, and
came not in anie orderlie arraie of battell, they
were easilie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots,
who were readie to receiue them in good order, close
together in one entier squadzone, and after their ac-
customed maner, at their first ioining they gaue a
great shot, wherewith the Englishmen out of
hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots
perceiued, they got them to their horses, and follo-
wed the chace most egerlie, beating downe and slea-
ing the Englishmen, neither sparing religious per-
son nor other, so that their died to the number of
four thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst
the rest was the maior of Forke one. In the water of
Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the
number of a thousand. To be short, if night had not
come the sooner vpon, it was thought scarce there
should anie of the English part haue escaped.

The English
men discom-
fited.

The maior of
Forke slaine.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of
Berwikke, vnderstood what mischiefe the Scots did
within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to
haue encountered with his enemies: but the Scots
aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their pri-
soners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through
Gilland, and the west marches, withdrew home
into their countrie. About the feast of All saints,
when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in
their harvest, so that their barnes were now stuffed
with corne, of the which provision they were to liue
all the yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the
said two capitaine, the earle of Surrey, and the lord
Dowglaste, entered into England, and burnt the
countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people
as they toke prisoners, and also all the cattell which
they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iourne
till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destrui-
eng all afoze them, & then returning through West-
merland, practised the like mischiefe there, in bur-
ning vp houses and corne in all places where they
came, as they had done before in Gilland. And fi-
nallie passing through Cumberland with the like ha-
uocke, at length they drew home into their owne
countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and
plentie of great riches which they had got in that
iourne. [And the souldiers going backe againe to-
ward Scotland, fought with the commons of Ber-
wikke at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures
done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Berith
knight was slaine, and manie other squires belong-
ing to the constable and marshall. About which time
also, king Edward lieng at Leth to go vnto Eden-
burgh) was constrained to returne for lacke of vi-
tels.]

The Scots
inuaide Eng-
land.

Burgh vnder
Stanemore.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

About the same time died Margerie Wyse king
Roberts daughter. Shortly after also was a truce
taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scot-
land for a certeine time. When king Robert hauing
no trouble, neither within his realme nor without,
caused a parlement to be holden at Perth, where he
required the lords to shew their deeds and charters
whereby they held their lands. The lords after long
aduisement taken herein, at length pulled out their
swords all at once, declaring that they had none o-
ther euidence nor charter to shew for the tenure of
their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at
this sight, and toke no small indignation therewith,
but

Margerie
Wyse decess-
ed.

A parlement
at Perth.

The euidence
and charters
whereby the
lords of Scot-
land held
their lands.

Conspiracie
of the lordes a-
gainst king
Robert.

A palmer ta-
ken with con-
tingings on him.

The lordes
that had con-
spired, are
committed to
ward.

The blacke
parlement.
1320.

Dauid Aber-
nethie loseth
his head.

Among other
were these,
Gilbert de
Galeit, John
Coch knight
and Richard
Wion a nota-
ble warrior.
John Maior.

Execution
without respit

but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuertheless, he purposed to be reuenged of their proud presumptions, when more opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselves how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceived thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inbelling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, inso-
much that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastily sent for the whole number of them, as though there had bene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but straightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castles, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwik, and there arrested the capteine of the towne, named sir William Soules, and caused him to be conueied to Berth (committing the said William Soules (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straberne, to perpetuall prison) where shortly after he called an assemble of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was Dauid Abernethie, the sitters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason aforesaid, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to soine with them therein, he refused so to do, but yet for that he did not utter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great valiance which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorable manie yeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chualrie.

In deed the king himselfe would gladlie haue saued his life, but for that he minded to do iustice on the resouse, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution to proceed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without delay that they should be executed. Then came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuousslie, in comparison of them for whom they now made sute, and therefore he had them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make hast with the execution, which was done incontinent-

lie without any further respit.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Sparwell, with Walter Berclaie thiriffe of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Reidinton, and Gufface Kathre, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straberne & William de Soules were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchananes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of John Quincie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Keth, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the see apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to cease from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as were furnished that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie proceed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, seeking to conquer that realme without any iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the losse stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were any thing worthy to be reformed on their behalves, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand (sauing (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.)

Shortly after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and wasted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemore. Howbeit it should seme by that which Richard Southwell writeth hereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this tourne, but that he appointed the earle of Murray to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphanie entered into England, and comming to Darlington, staid there for a season, whilst the lord James Dowglaste, and the lord Steward of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on each side, the one of them passing forth towards Hartlepole and Cliueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondschire, hauing no capteine amongst them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuasion of the enemy, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie spared from fire and spoile.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repaired vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Womfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoeuer the matter went, king Edward sore grieued in his mind with such inuasion made by his enemies the Scots, he gaue order to leaue an armie of an hundred thousand men, what on horsebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be ready to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, ment to prevent him, and therupon in the octaues of the feast of saint John Baptist,

A legat sent
from Rome to
the Scots.

The answer
made to the
legat.

Fr. Thir.

King Robert
with an armie
in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell.
1321.

The bishops
rike of Dur-
ham burnt by
the Scots.

Richmonds-
chire redeemed
from spoile
with a summe
of monie.

The duke of
Lancaster
disolacate.

King Robert,
inuaith
England,

The abbey of Holme burnt. Baptist, he entered into England with an armie neere to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that some time belonged to him at Rolfe, and Allerdale, and spoiled the monastrie of Holme, notwithstanding his fathers corps was there interred.

Fourneis abbey. From thence he marched forward, destroyed and spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping by, on his iournie, passed Woden sands, towards the abbeie of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the waite, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought king Robert to his house, and made to him great chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and marching forward vnto Cartmelle beyond Leuin sands, burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a priozie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they also burnt, saue onelie the priozie of blacke monks, and a house of preaching friers. Here came to them the earle of Murray, and the lord James Douglas with an other armie, whereupon marching further southwards, they came to Preston in Anderneis, and burnt that towne also, the house of friers in noz onelie excepted.

Leuin sands. And thus being foure score miles within England from their owne borders, they returned homeward with all their prisoners, cattell, and other booties which they had got in that iournie, comming to Carleill on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging about that towne the space of fife daies, they wasted and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came within their reach. Which done, on saint James euen they entered into Scotland againe, hauing bene within England at this time thre weekes and thre daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie came to Newcastle, and desirous to be reuenged of such iniuries done to his subiects, entered into Scotland, and passing forth till he came to Edinburgh, through want of vittells and other necessarie prouision, he was constrained to returne home within the space of 15 daies. For king Robert advertised of his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into certeine forre, wherevnto the Englishmen might not come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue themselves therewith. But in their returning homeward, somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Wiburgh, with diuerse other religious houses and places, not sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the inhabitants that fell into their hands.

King Robert entered Scotland. In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after entered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling & wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Porke. At length, hearing that king Edward was comming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Sauour, there to abide battell; which king Edward refused not to giue, though in the end he was put to flight with his whole power, and chased with great slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and Henrie Dowrie, with others. This battell was fought in the yeere of our Sauour 1323, 15 daies after the feast of saint Michael the archangel. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbey of Kinsale, advertised of this ouerthrow, fled and got him into Porke, leaving his plate and much other stuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sudden departure, which the Scots comming thither found, and took a waie with them. And from thence they passed forth into Yorkeshold, spoiling and wa-

The abbies of Melrose or Melrose & Wiburgh burned. King Robert invaded the north parts of England, approaching almost to York.

King Robert invaded the north parts of England, approaching almost to York.

King Edward is put to flight.

The earle of Richmond is taken.

1323. Ri. Southwell. Kinale abbey.

Yorkeshold wasted by Scots.

King the countriemen vnto Beuerleie, which towne for a summe of monie they were contented to spare, and so then they returned homeward, entering againe into Scotland on All soules day, which is the second of Nouember, after they had remained within England at that time the space of a moneth and foure daies.

Shortly after, king Robert sent an ambassado: to the French king [to pacifie him offended with them for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, which was accomplished with this new condition added to the former articles, that if it chanced that succession failed touching the inheritance of the crowne of either realme, so that a doubt should rise, who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles of both the realmes; and further, that they should not onelie remove and exclude all such as went about wrongfullie to usurpe the crowne, but also to defend and mainteine the true inheritor to the bittermost of their powers. In confirmation of this covenant, both the kings received the sacrament. And for further ratifieng of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas (then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he, nor anie of his successors hereafter should dispense with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void and of none effect.

In this yeere 1323 (as Richard Southwell reporteth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto Newcastle, there to treat of some agreement of peace. For the king of England came Amarie de Valence earle of Penbrooke, the lord Hugh Spenser the younger, and foure other persons sufficientlie authorized. And for the king of Scots came the bishop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randall earle of Murray, and foure other persons likewise of god calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon a truce to indure for 13 yeeres, which was proclaimed in both realmes about the feast of saint Barnabie next ensuing. About this time also, or not long before, an Englishman descended of noble linage, called Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwards priue chamber, named John Spenser; in somuch that fighting together about the same words, Hamtons hap was to slea this Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scotland vnto this day, increased so in kindred and honor, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with the kings blood, that few linages in that realme are of like estimation. They are now called Hamiltons, somewhat changed from the name of their first beginner. [Donald earle of Murre, was made by king Edward the second gardian or capitaine of the castell of Wilsford in England, the which he kept untill the comming of queene Isabell against his husband Edward the second, at that time he deliuered the same into the hands of the said queene, and returned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogether by two of the Spensers, as Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre into the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as commons, that in the end he was deposed of all kinglie

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The bond of amitie betwixt Scotland and France renewed with new articles.

I prouiso.

Ri. Southwell.

Hamton an Englishman, of whose the Hamiltons are descended.

Fr. Thin.

The Hamiltons mingled with the kings blood.

Fr. Thin. 1325. Scala chron.

Ed. Edward deposed.

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murdered, as in the English historie moze plainelie appeareth.

King Edward the third crowned. 1326. At Southwell. The castle of Roeham.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his crone, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he receiued the crowne, the Scots ment to haue scale the castell of Roeham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the wals: but the capteine of this castle Robert Baners being warned aforehand of their comming by one of his souldiers that was a Scotishman borne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and took five prisoners alive, but fore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue bene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

Whilste these things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might seme to haue title iust inough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Ballioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglas into France vnto the lord John Ballioll, to require him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might seme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Buse, and his heires. In consideration of which resignation, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

The Ballioll being now fore woone with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he toke it to be the ordinance of almighty God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scotish kingdom, as most worthy and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Dowglas forth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert vertie iofull thereof, assembled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David deceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Stewart begotten on Margerie Buse his daughter, should succeed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworne to mainteine this ordinance.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but so much as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusion thereof ensued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert shortly after fell sicke, by reason thereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

earle of Murray, and to the lord James Dowglas, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble valiance in those daies greatlie renowned. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting & spoiling the countrie on each side. [And in countering with an assemble of the English at Warlington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and townes, where the enemies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without tarrying here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortly, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies south. But comming to the riuier of Tyne, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constrained to incampe there for the space of thre daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which was about 22. miles thence) for provision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horsemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of yrelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Hokebeie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:)] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mountaine, not past fife miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared wh at they had seme and learned of the enemies doings.

King Edward right iofull of the newes, caused his armie to be diuided into thre battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enemies laie. And comming about none daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, that with the height of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuier, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chose forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some even ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alleging that sith the Englishmen were thre to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defense.

Thus were they incamped nere togither either in sight of other for the space of thre nights, euery day shewing themselves in order of battell, without breaking their arrate, except certeine of the horsemen, which on either part now and then came forth and

Randall and to James Dowglas.

They innade Northumberland. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. 1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie against them.

James Dowglas sent into France to the Ballioll.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

The English men sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

James Dowglas sent into France to the Ballioll.

The resignation of the Ballioll to king Robert.

A parlement at Cambuskenneth. In act for the succession of the crowne.

The rule of things committed to Thomas

The Scots
dislodge.

The English
armie raised.

An enterprise
exploited by
Sir James
Dowglas.

The Scots
secretly re-
turne home to
their countrie.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue sene god emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceived how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but removed to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same river, and there lay incamped more strongly than before. Incontinentlie hereupon, King Edward rasseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, James Dowglas took aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprise.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted vpon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed sillic by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the mouing of the horse set, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet yer the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had perished through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots withdrawen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enemies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglas yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this bunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, took better heed after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightene daies, till at length the Scots pynlie in the night conuied themselves away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the evening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scottish campe, that euery man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglas at a certeine houre the same night, but whether they intended to go, it was vnknowne, saue onelie amongst the captiues. Hereupon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a cambrado that night, placed themselves in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hastned to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the greene hides of beasts vntanned. Also they found three hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind them five hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not drue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found five Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgeons. The enemies being thus departed, King Edward by aduise of his counsell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

In this yeare died Walter Stewart, father to Robert Stewart, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, D. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruce the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the birth of our Sautour 1328. In the same yeare, King Robert wan the castell of Northham, and shortly after besieged the castell of Alnwick, where were slaine William de Mountaile knight, John Clapen, and Malisus de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from King Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that K. Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of King Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that King Robert should pay to King Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this small agreement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of King Edward should be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, whereby to all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Berwick within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardus the seventh day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grievously vered with a leprosie, which thus finally made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knownen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it might haue brought him in despair of all recovery: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enemies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of seruile bondage (which he beleued would succed by the government of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole induers, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

His same therefore did spread hugelic, not onelie amongst

King Edward
ward brack-
eth by his
campe.

1325, as lo.
Maioi saith,
but that can-
not be, if he
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Stanhop
parke.
Northham ca-
stell was.
Alnwick
besieged.
Ambassadors
sent from K.
Edward for
a peace.
A peace con-
cluded with
England in
the yeare
1328, after the
account of
them that be-
gan the yeare
at Christi-
masse.
Jane, or ra-
ther Jane, the
sister of King
Edward, ma-
ried to Dauid
Bruce prince
of Scotland.

The death of
King Robert.

1329.

King Robert
tasted both
prosperous
and aduers
fortune.

The fame of
king Robert.

his praise a-
mongst the
enemies.

A question
proposed to
an English
herald by king
Edward the
third.

The heralds
answer to the
question.

The herald
is scorned.

The heralds
excuse.

The heralds
opinion.

The opinion
of the herald
concerning
king Roberts
valiance.

amongst his owne people, but also amongst stran-
gers, insomuch that his due praise was not want-
ing, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his
verie enemies. For (as it is said) on a time it chan-
ced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet
amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of war-
like enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had
excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, af-
ter much reasoning to and fro, he proposed this
question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by,
commanding him to declare which were the three
most worthie & valiant capteins that he had knowne
in all his daies. The herald aduising with himselfe of
this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all
the companie were quiet, longing to heare his an-
swere therein, both for that they knew his skill was
such as was able best to giue sentence in such a mat-
ter; and againe, for that manie of them thought he
would haue numbred some of those that were there
present amongst those three. But the herald did not
onelic knowe all the noble men within the realme of
England, but also all such strangers as had in anie
wise excelled in partiall prowesse, hauing all their
acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and there-
upon boldlie vttered his mind as followeth.

The first, most worthie and valiant chiefeine (said
he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie
the emperor: for he subdued three kings and three
realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and
prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was
sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels
against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of
their principall capteins with his owne hands. The
third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise
the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king
of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named,
but all those that were present, with scornfull laugh-
ter began to least at the heralds presumption, for
that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence
honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at
the heralds request, the king commanded them to be
still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech
your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to
take my words in good part: for I haue bene euer
of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case
be vttered, received, and allowed in your presence;
namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie
man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I
shall desire you to consider, that if a man must
needs be banquished, it is lesse dishonor to be ban-
quished of him that is knowne for a right valiant
personage, than of him that is but a coward. Where-
ouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much
I esteeme the valencie of king Robert (whome I
perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred
with the two former most valiant capteins) if truth
might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with
good cause before them both: for the valiant acts at-
tributed by Henrie the emperor may be ascribed
rather to the wisdom of his counsellors, than to
his owne valiantnesse and pudence: but contrar-
lie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie,
and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, re-
couered the realme of Scotland, by his singular
manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and
established it with such tranquillitie, that he appea-
red more terrible to his enemies of England, than
euer they had bene afore to his subjects of Scot-
land. These of the like words vttered by the he-
rald, were well allowed of the king, and stopped the
mouthes of them that toke the matter so strange-
lie at the first.

But now to returne to the purpose. King Robert
a little before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he late, the chiefeest pères of
his realme, and there in presence of them all, com-
mitted vnto them the government of his sonne Da-
uid, a child as then not past seuen yeres of age. He
also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule
of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued
was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no
wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord
ouer the Isles, because the people of the same are of
nature bittesfast, and some seduced and brought to
moue rebellion against the king, into the which be-
ing once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their
due obedience againe, by reason their countries are
of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by
sea, as inuironed with the same. Secondarie, he ad-
uised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the
Englishmen, nor to leopord the realme vpon the
chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe
them off from indamaging their countrie, by often
skirmishing, & cutting them off at streits & places
of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be dis-
comfited, they may haue some power yet reserved to
make new resistance. Thirde, he forbade them in a-
nie wise to make any long peace with England: for
naturalie men war dull and slouthfull by long rest
and quietnes, so that after long peace, through lacke
of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to
sustaine anie great paines or trauell.

Whereouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen would
continue in peace no longer than they wanted o-
pportunitie and conuenient occasion for them to at-
tempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best,
that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetu-
all peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than
for three or foure yeres at the most. He willed them
further, to consider one thing, that when their appea-
red least occasion of warres with England, then
they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduen-
ture their enemies should come at vnwares, and find
them vnprouided for timelie resistance. Wherevnto
he desired them, that after his deceasse, they would
chose some one of the most worthie capteins within
the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Ierusa-
lem, and there to see it buried within the temple, be-
fore the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had
not bene for a long space hindered by urgent busi-
nesse of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by
death, he had solued to haue passed with an armie
into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, a-
gainst the Turkes and Saracens.

Whereupon when he was dead, the lords by one as-
sent, appointed sir James Dowglas to take this
enterprise in hand, who willinglie obeyed their order,
as he that had euer during the life of king Robert,
serued most faithfullie the bodie wherein the same
heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Dowglas
beare the bloudie heart in their armes. The com-
mendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth
forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to
be: that he was euerie way a most worthie person,
and that there were few to be found (from the for-
mer heroicall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of
vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so
was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though
his vndiuided good successe and perpetuall course of
victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or ra-
ther wieted with his misfortunes) were verie great,
yet he seemeth to Buchanan to be farre more won-
derfull in his aduerse fortune: whose balure of mind
was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much
as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto
him at one time: whose singular constancie appea-
red by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his
valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were

The admie
given by king
Robert vnto
his nobles be-
fore his de-
ceasse.

his desire to
haue his heart
borne to the
holie sepulchre

The cause
why the Dow-
glas beare
the bloudie
heart.

Fr. Thin.

There is no
hodie but hath
his shadow,
no reile but
hath his
picks.

at one time hered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most reable in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. *Pea*, so farre was this Busse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was giuen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did he said anie thing unbecoming the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marcus did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred. For when he had recouered his former estate, he so liued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enemy vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were deppriued of so iust a king and goodlie father.)

Hyperbolicall commendations.

The valiancie of James Dowglasle shewd against the Turkes.

James Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

James Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine.

How often James Dowglas had got the victorie.

1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarce seuen yeeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernour of the realme, who for the space of foure yeeres in the latter end of R. Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernour by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addrest therefore certaine ambassadours immediately after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armour and weapon for defense of the countrie, if neede shoulde be required. [Wherefore when he was going to Winton (a towne in Calloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strang assemblee of theues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: whereupon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saying, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Moreover, for the better p[ro]ofe of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more reable occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bydes, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the thirifte of the thire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against theues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Spaine insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuerer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science therewith to get their livings. By this meane he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull rogues and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilst such strict punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the thirifte: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search and

Dauid.

1331.
Earle Thomas Randall gouernour of Scotland.

Ambassadours sent into England.

A truce for three yeeres.

Fr. Thio. Buchanan.

It meane to haue iustice executed.

Punishment of theues.

A lawfull ordinance against vagabund persons.

At this time.

Justiced m[er]ci

Stu rebel lie pi

R. C. enu felici Sci

R. C. put str the for thi of 1 mo to f der poj pri cor

A in to gi q b th

and trillall, who had the plow irons, that finally the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie falshe how the partie guiltie was hanged, as he had well deserved. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought vp in Southfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he might the more easilie oppresse all stubborne offenders, which would not submit themselves to his commandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon summons given, had favourable iustice, tempered with much mercie ministered vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threescore euill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side: and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a pursuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which followed the said pursuant at the heeles, and without respect hanged them vpon gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yerres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theenes and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the Scots, but also make for the saertie of the realme of England: for the singular manhood and high prowess of this earle was by him and other his nobles so suspected.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by sleight, which might not be done by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more infiebled, and as it were made open to receiue displeasure at his hands. For king Dauid was young, and manie of his nobles bare small god will either towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parliament. Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best deuioise earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to achieve anie luckie enterprize against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch him by poison: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finally he found none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order and facultie of those, that wandering from place to place, can with dissembling visage say that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypocriticall cotwoles.

This monke, finally instructed in that wherabout he was sent, came into Scotland, and setting himselfe to be a physician, got credit within a while amongst the people, to be a man of most excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, set forth his cunning and practise to the uttermost, declaring what notable and most desperat cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: namely he bruted it abroad, that for healing of the stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernour was sore vexed with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie worke his diuellish enterprize.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe: for being taken for such a man as he was named to be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handled the matter so with words, that the gouernour was contented he should take him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention, that perswading him to keepe such diet as he prescribed, and herewith to take such sirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he most traitorously poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by little and little waste his entrails, that the monke might haue leasure to escape home into England, yet it were perceiued what he had done. He therefore after he had ministered his wicked poison, found meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waie, and returned most speedilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernour feeling himselfe tormented with the worse and worse in his stomach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the venem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purposing to invade Scotland, for that he thought how the gouernour was either dead, or at the vertie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion to achieve some enterprize, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a power, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he caused himselfe to be caried forth in a horrellitter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation, he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communication of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing else was ment but that he should escape how all things in the Scottish campe stood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrayed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appere he was rather recouered of his infirmities, than otherwise weake and feeble thorough his disease, and then causing the herald to be brought before him, where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his message was, which consisting in certeine demands not greatly agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold countenance answered, that he trusted within short time to make it knowne, what right the Englishmen had to moue such unreasonable requests, and thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such gorgeous and rich apparell as he ware at the same time when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the gouernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euerie man to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he took it) caused him to be burnt for his vntut. Thus was the wretched righteonslie recompensed, as he had most iustlie deserved. In the meane time, the gouernour returning homewards, though force of the venem still increasing, deceased at Dunferburgh, and was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere of our redemption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes,

Al,

Thomas

The gouernour is poisoned.

The monke fleeth.

King Edward his purpose to invade Scotland.

The gouernour in an horrellitter is caried forth to encounter the Englishmen. An herald sent to the gouernour.

The gouernours answer to the herald.

The monke is burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. 1331.

Justice tempered with mercie.

Justice tempered with mercie.

Stubborne rebels sharply punished.

King Edward enuies the felicitie of the Scots.

King Edwards purpose to deuioise earle Thomas (as the Scots deuioise). But this is a kind of practise amongst men to forge slanderous reports to bring princes in contempt.

Comment.

A monke sent into Scotland to poison the gouernour. The fittest instrument to bring such a thing to passe.

me to notice.

Comment.

Doubleance & baggage.

Thomas and John, two of the such a father, they being persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

After his deceasse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and David earle of Mar were chosen gouernours, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus: It chanced there was one Twynam Loxison, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put vnder censures of the church by the official of Glasgow: he toke at length the same official as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Dowlgasse, before his passage to the holie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safegard.

Twynam Loxison.

Scottish lords banished into England.

Twynam Loxison sent vnto Edward Balioll.

At his comming into England, he met with David Cumin earle of Atholl, and manie other Scottishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driuen out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to see some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pitthie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to atchieue, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scottishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland if selfe, after he was once entered: finally he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Edward Balioll cometh into England

The promise of the Balioll to Edward. Edward doth agree to aid the Balioll. The English writers speak but of two thousand, or 2500. at the most. Ric. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

At his comming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bying to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superior lords thereof. King Edward gladly upon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king David, by the marriage of him with his sister. Wherewith he appointed forth sir thousand men well apparelled and araided for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumont a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchan's daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Perrie and Maile, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferres, John Spotsbrate] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when David Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the

Balioll to assist him in that enterpryse: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English captains, whereupon when all their provision was once ready, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incounting with Alexander Seiton, they slue him, and put his folkes to flight.

Edward Balioll landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Seiton is slaine.

The earle of Mar and March gather their people.

Balioll verie ioyfull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called S. Johns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hastened toward the enimies, not as though they should haue to doe with men of warre, but to chastise a number of thieues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioine both together in Stratherne, that they might iointlie set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auale him, boldlie came forthward, and pitched downe his tents at Duplin nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fve miles from thence, at Athirardour.

Edward Balioll at Duplin.

The negligence of the Scots.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, having knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither took heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselves, but fell to singing, dancing, reueling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assaulte the same night in their campe, and thereupon causing his people to make them ready to accomplish that enterpryse, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passeth the same by the fow, where one Andrew Spurrey of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to shew them the waie. Thus having got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lying fast asleepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in sleepe without all defense. And thereupon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes ready to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to weap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The earle of Mar is slaine in his bed.

See more hereof in England.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be killed with the blood and murder of them, so that they saved none whome they might overtake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable of the commons. A certeine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed themselves together, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellows, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselves euerie mothers sonne. The chieffest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

The great slaughter of Scots. Sir Iohnne Douglas slain Ric. Southwell.

The earle of Mar was not slaine in the night as before ye have heard, but

now in the
moor fol-
lowing as
saith South-
well. Noble
men slain at
Duplin.

Fr.Thin.

The earle of
Fife taken.

1332. H. B.

Perth towne
by the Balioll

Perth belie-
ged by the
erie of March

The raising his
siege.

Edward
Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland,
not the 24 of
September,
but the fourth
of October, as
Ri. Southwell
saith.

King David
is conveyed
ouer into
France.

Ri. Southwell.

Saint Johns
towne be-
sieged.

at
red

e
saith

ie of
as not

the
re-
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ut

these, the earle of March generall of the armie, Robert Bruce earle of Carrick, Alexander Fraser knight, William Hay constable of Scotland, with all his linage so whole, that had not his wife as then being great belied, bene afterwards deliuered of a sonne, all his surname had bene utterlie extingui- shed. [Whereupon saith Buchan. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, William Seintclere bishop of Dun- keld, and Doncan Spaldusse despairing of good suc- cesse, swore fealtie to Balioll.] There were slain also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with ma- nie of his surname, David Lindsay of Glenelke, Alexander Beiton, George Dunbar, Robert Stra- thauchen, Thomas Haliburton, and John Skrim- geour knights, with manie other ouerlong to re- hearle. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirteenth day of August, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Ba- lioll had attained this vidorie thus at Duplin, he went straightwaies vnto Perth (otherwise called saint Johns towne) and giuing assalt thereto, quick- lie entered it by force, without anie great resistance. The earle of March that lodged (as is said) the same night that the battell was fought, not past five miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and towne, came with his people arrayed in god and per- fect order vnto Perth aforesaid, to besiege the Eng- lishmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But hauing lien there a certeine space, and filled the ditches in the meane time to such ad- uantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the as- salt, he must needs haue entered, he suddenlie rais- ed from thence, and departed, to the unspeakeable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scottish na- tion. The siege being thus raised, there came daillie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Ba- lioll, offering him their aid and seruice as his loiall subiects, towards the attaining of his right to the crowne.

Hereupon, perceiuing his power sufficientlie in- creased, and receiuing the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dun- keld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, vnto Scorne, where he was crow- ned the 24 day of September, in the yeare last be- fore remembred, and receiued there the same time the homages and fealties of a great companie of no- bles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assem- bled. King David being not past nine yeares of age, to auoid all dangers in that troublesome time, as destitute of succors, by aduise of his counsell, was conueied ouer into France with quene Jane his wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was most friendlie receiued by Phillip king of France the first of that name, so that they remained there with him for the space of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king David, vnderstanding that R. Edward le Balioll totourned within the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, which standeth almost in the middle part of the realme, and was at that present not closed with anie wall, or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged him within the same towne, he hauing as then no great companie about him.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertise- ment, because the king was their speciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they assembled togither vnder the conduct of the lord Cusace de Spakeswell, and inua- ded the lands of those Scottishmen that had thus be- sieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means constrained the aduersaries to leaue their siege. Whereupon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murray, with the lord Andrew de Murray, and

the lord Archembald Dowglasle, with an armie as- sembled in all speed, entered into Galloway, doing all the mischief they could deuise, with fire & sword, taking & bringing away from thence a great num- ber of cattell and other goods; but they slue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawn out of the way for feare of this terrible inuasion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll for- tified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whilist he with an ar- mie passed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduersaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them that had bene slain at the battell of Duplin, Ro- bert Keith, Alexander Lindsay, James and Simon Fraser, wan S. Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius saith. But whether that is to be intended after the first besieging thereof, or now after their last comming thither, I can not affirme; but as the same Boetius writeth, now when the towne was twome, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Tullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and childzen were sent to the castell of Kil- dunnie, there to remaine vnder safe keeping; but Andrew Murray for his treason afore committed, was beheaded. The towne being thus twome, was deliuered to the keeping of John Lindsay. But Buchan. out of an other author supposeth that it was not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gain- ing of this towne put the Scots in hope of more prosperitie to succed.

And thereupon John Randolph the earle of Mur- ray, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memo- rie, and Archembald Dowglasle lord of Galloway, the brother of James Dowglasle latelie slain (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fra- seir and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the same [and William Dowglasle lord of Lid- desdale to Haulst] against the Balioll, who being ad- uertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where in- countering togither, after cruell fight & great slaugh- ter on both parts, at length Baliolls part was put to the worst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, ha- uing got an horse without a bridle, and rested not till he came to Korburch, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slain sir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiancie, sir John Spotsbracie, Walter Cummin & Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruce earle of Carrick, and the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and sa- ued by the helpe of the earle of Murray, for that they had submitted themselves to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortlie after the atching of this vidorie, Andrew Murray a man of great puissance and pos- sessions was chosen to be gouernor, as colleague and associat with the earle of March. These two gouer- nors, hearing that the king of England was min- ded to inuade Scotland with a maine armie, sent sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen vnto Berwick for defense of that towne and castell, [Alexander (as saith Buchan.) being capitaine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capitaine of the castell and borders adjoining.] Shortlie after, the new go- uernor Andrew Murray was taken prisoner at Korburch, by reason that hauing put his entimes to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at the bridge without the castell, he pursued ouer rash- lie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and so taken yet he might be rescued. [At which time also William Dowglasle lord of Liddesdale was sent to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There

W. ij.

Galloway in-
uaded.

Saint Johns
towne fortis-
fied.

Saint Johns
towne twome.

Fr.Thin.

The battell
discomfited
and put to
flight in An-
nandale.

Andrew
Murray cho-
sen fellow go-
uernor with
the earle of
March.

Fr.Thin.

Andrew
Murray the
new gouer-
nor is taken
prisoner.

Fr.Thin.

was

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirate
taken.

William
Dowglas of
Liddesdale
taken prisoner.

Edward king
of England
purposeth to
subdue the
Scots.

The earle of
Murray is
sent into
France.

Berwikke is
besieged.

Buchanan.

Sir Alexander
der Seiton
capteine of
Berwikke.

Archembald
Dowglas
chosen gou-
ernor in place of
Andrew
Murray.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirate named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransom him, but to his further grieue had slaine his sonne within Berwikke, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

About the same time William Dowglas of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, The flower of chivalrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance sworne and promised to king David: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and herebyon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whom he retained out of Flanders, Arrou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Balioll. The Scots perceiuing themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king David, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwikke both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfully that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths; during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchieued with variable fortune.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilest things passed thus at Berwikke, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglas to be gouernor in place of Andrews Murray. This Archembald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withdraue king Edward from the siege of Berwikke to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vnlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the covenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his aduantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respite. Sir Alexander Seiton being holding that pitifull sight, and weeing with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had overcome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should rebound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorouslie deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renowne of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yong enough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recover honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraye their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and souereigne.

With such & manie other the like wordes, this noble & worthy ladie perswaded hir husband to restraîne his inward grieue, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that though commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarrell of their countrie: [at what time R. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglas the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from R. Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwikke from further danger of the enemies force.

Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skilfull warriors on his side, hauing set with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and sleepe for that night, and to prouide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arrated his people in order of battell. The bauntgard was giuen

Sir Alexan-
der Seiton in
doubt what to
do.

The manlie
stomach of A-
lexander Se-
tons wife.

Sir Alexan-
der Seiton
sonnes ex-
tremely
fr. Thin.

Archembald
Dowglas
purposeth to
giue battell.

The appointing of the Scottish battels.

men to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraiser, and John Purrey lieutenant to the earle of Purrey, who as then was soze tormented with a grievous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were ioined Alexander Gordon, Keinold Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The poticke of the English men.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they hauing once got, boldlie turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them ouer rashlie, in hope that the victorie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so sue no small number of the enimies: yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were flaine miserablie on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their rancome. There were flaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archem-bald Dowlglas the gouernour, John Stewart, James Stewart, and Alane Stewart, the sonnes of Walter Stewart; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruce earle of Carrike, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraiser. This battell was fought on Spagdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

1333. H. B. Buchanan.

Fries,

¶ That this number and therewith manie more abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the * feries, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Spagdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwikke was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margent the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Spagdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walf. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the nineteenth of Iulie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Hallidon hill.

The towne of Berwikke yielded to R. Edward on St. Margarets day, as R. Southwell saith.

Immediatlie vpon this overthrow of the Scottish power, Alexander Selton and Patrike Dunbar capteins of Berwikke, despairing of all support, yielded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saued, and to become subiects to king Edward. Herevpon, when they had receiued their oths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build vp againe the castell of Dunbar vpon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he

was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. R. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vsing the aduise and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll herevpon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandeement, sive of them onlie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbretton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumrinald, Lochleuin by Alane of Geyont, the castell of Kildunnie by Christine Bruce, and Argubart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip the French king] These capteins would by no means neither yield themselves nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the uttermost for the behofe of their souereigne lord and maister king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further vexing the Scots, by their cruell inuasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by sollemne oths, neuer to remoue any rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great alteration betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Spowbraz for certaine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had giuen John Spowbraz, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Spowbraz claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Spowbraz had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, David Cunnin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Spowbraz, and by new sentence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheritance thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. ¶ Balioll (fauouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceived that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which faction Talbot, while he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbretton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dungard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onlie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adioining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cunnin (returning to the part of David Bruce) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and sending the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force, if

Richard Talbot.

With the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, sive onlie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwixt Spowbraz & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

1334. Fr. Thin. John Maior.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changed his iudgement, and awarded the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortly after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also diuinen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) for taking the Balioll, ioined him selfe with Andrew Murray gouernour of Scotland (for David Bruce) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at seuerall times) we haue ioined together, leass by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might frelie repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Perthcastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as he. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Kainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothfate and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane the thirffe of Wute [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothfate, hauing before made him thirffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as daile submitted themselves vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fifteene yeres, was conueied [with bote and horse, by the helpe of William Hariot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dumbarton, where he was iustlie receiued by Malcolm Fleming the capteine.

The Balioll being soze offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiving that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michaell Hariot, David Wennis, and Richard Paleuill, with diuerse other. These captiues aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Serfe, beside Kintrosse, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for their

more safegard. Within the castell were tooo valiant captiues to defend it, the one named Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andriew.

The enemies assaied all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell moze speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfermling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime queene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Wepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engines as he had deuised for the purpose, assaied to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quicklie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with moze violence, it finally brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afoze it, drowning by the bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yet they could make ante thist to escape. Alane Wepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, sue part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischiefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a vow neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that foztreffe, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a soze tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forth land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glasgou, and perceiving there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernour in his come, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernour in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murray and Buchquhane, which pertained to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be swozne vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that hee was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of his

Alane Wepont and James Lambie captiues of Lochleuin.

I deuise to drowne the castell.

The Durken Fr. T.

Ch. Bu.

Fr. 1.

Fr. 1. Buc. Iohn.

The bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege drownd.

Fr. 1. off.

R.

Fr. 1. off.

Fr. 1. off.

Ed. Edward innabeth Scotland both by sea and land.

Fr. 1. off.

Fr. 1. off.

David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernour of the Balioll in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1334. Scala chron.

Scala chron. Iohn Maior.

Scala chron.

The castles of Rothfate and Dunnone deuiered to the Balioll, Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin besieged.

The castell of
Dunnone ta-
ken.
Fr.Thin.

The shiriffe of
Bute slain.
Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.
John Maior.

Fr.Thin.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.
John Maior.

A releasement
of tribute.
Fr.Thin.

The earle of
Murray re-
turneth fro
of France.
Fr.Thin.
Countries re-
duced to the
obedience of
king David.
Fr.Thin.

The earle of
Atholl sleit
into the moun-
teins.
He submittedt
himselfe.

He submittedt
himselfe.

S'r William
Dowglaste,
and Andzew
Murray ran-
omed.

his owne, would yet neuer usurpe anie superiortie to him himselfe in title, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publickly professe him a subiect to David Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, David Bruce.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhony, and suddenly toke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith John Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimony of Buch. was a man of great power in Argyle.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprises: and being encountered by the waite by Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute, they laid lo lustilie about them, that they slue the shiriffe, [with John Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Batodanus) seeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the shiriffe, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicities succeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselves with Robert Stewart, in hope to recover the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carrlike, and William Canther [whome John Maior calleth Carrucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned froth of France, and landed at Donbaiton, where he was most iustlie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfrie Kofse, and others] came into Clibedale, Kanfrew, Kille, Cunningham and Aire, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king David. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kanfrew come to his old lozds the Stewards.] The earle of Murray also, to reuenge the iniuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he sojourned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie toke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with heards and roots for a time, and durst not come forth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waite to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submittedt himselfe to the lozds that defended the part of king David. They receiuing him vpon his submission, swore him to be true vnto king David, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king David, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, Sir William Dowglaste of Liddesdale, and Andzew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of three yeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edinburgh, they found the lozds assembled in counsell, at

the which John Randolph earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall boies were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time reuolted from the king of England, submitting themselves to king David, as Alexander Ramsay, a verie skillfull warriour, Laurence Preston, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

After this, John Randolph, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat David Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to David Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: whereunto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowglaste latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long losshomnesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andzew Murray, which was taken at Bokesbozowe. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garbed with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowglaste, and David Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglaste did object vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no longer deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cumin, and almost all the other toke part with Dowglaste. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeine rumors spread abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defense.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well fitted and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arrived, burnt and spoiled the townes on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called faint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accoringlie, with Godfrie of Kofse, & Alexander Mowbray, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, whilst the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Hamure (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of
Murray and
Robert Stewart
ward cleared
gouernours.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.

He for Boet.
saith it was
holden at
Dartre.

Ye may read
more of this
matter in the
histories of
England.
A nauie sent
into Scotland.
Shipwracke.

K. Edward
inuaith the
Scots by
land.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

Not the duke
of Gelderland
but the earle
of Hamure,
named Gog.

John Fourdon.

William Dowglasse com-
meth to the
succour of the
Scots.David de An-
dand a Sco-
tish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of
manlike force
and stature.The earle of
Murray is
taken prisonerThe earle of
Atholl resol-
ving to the
Bailiol is estab-
lished governour.
The king of
England re-
turneth home
taking the
Bailiol with
him.

consisted on the Burrowe moze, beside Edeburgh,
by the power of the governours, and others, which
were there assembled against him. There died manie
on both parts in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth)
for the strangers fought verie balliantlie: in so much
that if William Dowglasse, with diuerse other, had
not come downe from Hieland hills to the aid of the
Scots, whilste they were thus fighting, the strangers
that day had wonne the victorie. But now discour-
aged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to
their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew
towards Edeburgh: neuertheless keeping them-
selves in order of battell, they fought still: and at
length comming to Edeburgh, they were driven
by thorough the friers street, and so by an other street,
called saint Marie Wind, where one sir David de An-
dand, a verie balliant knight chanced to be wounded
by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so
kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with
an are which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduer-
sarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder,
that he claue him downe together with his horse,
that the are staid not till it light vpon the verie hard
pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke re-
mained to be seene a long time after in one of the
stones of the same pauement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defen-
ding themselves, at length got to the hill where E-
deburgh castle standeth, and there due their horses,
making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to
defend themselves from the force of their enemies:
but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that
night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke where-
with to susteine their languishing bodies, the which
beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with
cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they yel-
ded themselves the next day, with condition to haue
their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where
they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bo-
dies there was found a woman of an huge stature,
who in the beginning of the battell slept forth before
hir companie, and incountered in singular fight
with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shabo,
she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe
hir enemies on ech side, long it was per the might he
ouerthrew, which chanced not before she was inui-
roned about on ech side with hir enemies.

The earle of Hamur having yeldded himselfe
into the hands of the governours, was verie courte-
ouslie vsed, the earle of Murray not onelie rende-
ring vnto him all his goods, but also granting him li-
cense to depart: and for his moze suertie, he went
himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him
safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush
that lay in wait for the earle of Murray, he was ta-
ken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. David
Cummin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of
Murray one of the governours was thus taken, sup-
posing king Edwards part to be much aduanced
thereby, came straightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue
his faith effionnes vnto Edward Bailiol, and was a-
gaine established by him governour of the realme of
Scotland, as he was before. The king of England,
hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of
Perth, returned into England, and toke the Bailiol
with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the
whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke
awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now
regained his former authoritie, began to exercise
great crueltie against all those that were enemies to
the Bailiol.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike
Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murray, & Wil-
liam Dowglasse, with other) toke great despite ther-

at, and raising an armie to restraine his insolent do-
ings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised
(as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kil-
dumme) rose and met them in the fields within the
forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore bat-
tell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not
John Crag capteine of Kildumme sallied forth of
the castle with three hundred fresh men, and com-
ming to the succour of his friends, renewed the bat-
tell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby
were discomfited, earle David their chiefeine being
slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cu-
min, and a great number of other, both gentlemen
and commons. Sir Thomas Cummin was taken
prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being petyeres
day. For the battell before mentioned was fought
the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth). Who
further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him
three thousand men against his aduersaries, which
were not past eleuen hundred.

* This David earle of Atholl was verie incon-
stant & greedy of gouernment, who if he had brought
all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part,
would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with
king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scot-
land by violence; he did most grieuouslie oppresse the
giltlesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all
things after his own fantasie, without reason. Cummin
earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew
Murray was chosen gouernour in place of the earle
of Murray, taken (as before is said) by the English
men. This Andrew Murray in the beginning of his
new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a
mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cu-
mins made foule worke in the north parts of the
realme, against such as fauoured not the English
part, he left that siege, and went against them, with
whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their
armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins,
Robert and William, Thomas Caldor, and diuerse
other balliant men, though enemies for the time vnto
the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north
parts of Scotland vnto the obissance of king Da-
uid. Few Englishmen after the same abode within
the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were
within the castle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At
length this castle was wonne, & all that kept it slaine,
except Hentie Beaumont the capteine, who being
sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland,
was licenced by the gouernour to depart into Eng-
land without anie interruption. After this the gou-
ernour came to the castle of Lochindoyls, and laid siege
to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the
wife of the late slaine earle David. This woman ha-
uing knowledge aforesaid, that hir house should
be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and
to Edward Bailiol for succours.

The king of England now doubting least all the
strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his
friends, would be lost without reuerie, if the same
were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of for-
tie thousand men, and entering therewith into Scot-
land, came to the castle of Lochindoyls aforesaid. The
Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had
of his comming towards them, brake vp, and depar-
ted from thence. Wherevpon, when he had refreshed
the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he
toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with
blondie sword thorough Murray, euen to Elghine,
and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberdeen.
When he went to Striuling, where he strongly re-
paired the castle: from whence he toke his iourne to
Bothenill, and there also in winter he made the ca-
stle

The earle of
Atholl is
slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
John Maior li.
5. cap. 14.Andrew
Murray chosen
gouernour.The Cumins
put to flight.The north
parts of Scot-
land reduced
to the ob-
issance of king
David.
The castle of
Dungard
wonne.The castle of
Lochindoyls
besieged.The king of
England com-
meth to raise
the siege of
Lochindoyls.The towne of
Aberdeen bur-
ned by the
Englishmen.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

the stronger, in which he placed a balliant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleye conceived vittels from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Douglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortly lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His name being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (for so they call them) were laden, sank to the bottome of the sea, without force of anie tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The towne of Perth newlie fortified.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, forly of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne unfortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with wals and bulworks, at the charges and onerous expenses of these six abbeies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundor, Balmerinoch, Dunfermling, & saint Andrews. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capitaine of saint Andrews. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capitaine of the castle of Lucres, William Montacute of Strueling, William Felton of Rockburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Wylred. Whilste king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enemies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in so much that passing through Galloway, Carlike, Kile, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and sword that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharpelie reprimed him for the same: and for so much as he answered him somewhat frowardlie, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and fo, place hallowed and unhallowed, as being no reason, that the church should be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

King Edward slew his brother Eltham.

It may be, that king Edward slue some other man in this sort, as the Scots here doe write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmite, as by our English writers it manifestlie appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balioll behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont slue all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Bilsbaine, where his cosine Dauid Cumyn was slaine. Whereuer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murray came forth of the mountains, into the which he was before withdrawn, to eschue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the castle of Hincelwin, and raised it to the earth. Shortly after he came into Hpernes, and there toke the castle of Bilsneffe, and likewise raised the same.

Then passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on eche side where they came, so that the Hpernes, Angus, Stermond, and Colvrie through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murray assembling a great power, with support of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enemies at Panmore in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who lastelie before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balioll, beside foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasing to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murray passed thorough Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper anelie excepted.

Andrew Murray gardian of the Scots (and sir David Bute) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastened to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countreimen within the towne. By means whereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Brechtowne not farre distant; betwene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots setting that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Caluscheil. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capitaines with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was encountered by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransom. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Drexon and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, slue the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 weeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Gloucester, the lords Persie and Beuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron.] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed Blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without sped of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vsed manie pleasant words in teasing and taunting at the enemies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir followers.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had deuised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or covert wherof they might approach safelie to the wals: the beholding this engine, merueille said, that vnlesse the Englishmen kept their sow the better, they would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so she after deuised it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth throught all the bounds of Scotland,

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countreies of Scotland thorough continuall wars. The victorie of Andrew Murray gotten at Panmore. Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucres ouerthrowne. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Tailbot, or rather Tailbois is taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort or Montacute is slaine.

The castell of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337. Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and al-

for a death in
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Couper
left void.

The castell of
Louthian in
the hands of
the English-
men.

The death of
Andrew Murray the
gouvernor.
1338.

Widdall re-
covered out of
the English
mens hands
by William
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.
Io. Maior. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

land, with such mortallitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene seene nor heard of. The cause of which mortallitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay untilled and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Bersefen: where Robert Baners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasing words amongst them, which caused that they brake order, divided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittells left the house void, and coming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell upon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edinburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomach named Robert Denbergess; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Kinatoun, he ceased not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and after ward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edinburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen sleeping in sleepe and drunkenesse, before they were able to make any resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murray the gouernor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Roslinarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his pursuit of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murray the gouernor, Robert Stewart toke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king David returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Widdall also was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiantie of William Dowglas and other Scottish captains; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioined the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancastier and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthy captains, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramsay, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iusting. Whereupon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwick by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Craue, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain.] The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right valiant knight named Sir Thomas Berkeley with a great powder of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewart the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two captains saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited Sir John Strueling, who had with him nere hand fure hundred Englishmen and Scots, that toke his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas toke the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balliol, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enemies, and toke prisoner their capteine the said Sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbarton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthy enterprises hardlie atchieued, his Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said Sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Stewart into France, as ambassadoe to king David, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Stewart the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their captains in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to Maurice of Motobray lord of Clidisdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutly defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they won. At length when they were in manner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the late, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castlegalliard, and two esquires, Giles de la Hois, and John de Wesse; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpyle, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turnie, the earls of March and Northland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Baners, & John Copeland, with the garrison of Koksborow, then in the hands of the English, but after wone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the verie houre of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof seemed to be fatal, because all the captains of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramsay the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie enmie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken effronies

Sir Thomas
Berkeley.

The battell
of Blacke-
borne.

Sir John
Strueling
discomfited.

The castell of
Hermitage
wonne.

Sir Laurence
Abernethie
taken prisoner.

Sir William
Dowglas
sent into
France.

1339.

The towne
of Perth be-
sieged.

There was
also in that
armie beside
other noble
men William
Keith of Cal-
leton.

William
Dowglas re-
turned out of
France.

John Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

The towne of Perth rendered to the gouernour.

1341.
John Fourdon.

Fr.Thin.

A large dearth.

Children taken.

The castell of Struchking rendered.

Alias Ruggie.

Fr.Thin.

Edward Walloll with- draweth into England.

The castell of Edinburgh twone.

Fr.Thin.

A policie.

the castell of Conper to the king of Englands be, but by perswasion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it by againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortly after his coming was rendered into the gouernours hands, by Thomas Wthzed the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the coming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Handpile, taking vpon him on a day to approach the towne with his ships, and to giue an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessel he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the same ship to be to him againe restored, and with great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation; although in their returne, as they passed out of Dumlie firth, they escaped verie hardlie from the shore. The winter after the siege of Turneie, king Edward went to Melrose, but from thence riding through part of the forrest of Etrike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrose, where Henrie earle of Lancaster lusted with William Dowglas (by couenant) in the kings sight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrose, halfe overcome with melancholie against those that first moued him to this tourne, not succeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue done.]

In the same yeare (as some do write) or (according vnto other) in the yeare following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like vnused kinds of meats, to susteine the ir languishing liues withall, yea, in somuch that (as is said) there was a Scottishman, an vplandish felow named Trifficloke, spared not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a wolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernour, he went with his armie to Strueling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his coming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might safely passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Purrey was made capteine.] Edward Walloll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus baille fall vnto his enemies, to auoid further danger, after oft removing from place to place, at length he was constrained to flie into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edinburgh was twone by policie on this wise. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towlers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to prouide a ship, and to arrive therewith in the forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garrison that kept Edinburgh castell. This Towlers according to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things necessaries for the purpose, & so coming into the forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edinburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of household to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning by to the castell, that they might be receiued in. Towlers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions by to the castell gate, earlie vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a trefge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Dowglasse hauing in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Frascie, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuers other hardie and bold personages, laie in couert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by found of home, or otherwise, when to come forth, he hastened therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortres, within the which for capteine they left one William Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whose conduct chieflie, both this enterprise and diuers other were luckilie achieved. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recovered out of the enemies hands, the Englishmen, and all other that took part with the Balliol, constrained to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edinburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in the yeare last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yeare, or in the next ensuing, the second of June, king David with his wife queene Jane, and sundrie nobles both french and Scottish, came safely through the seas, and arrived in Innerbernie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsay of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most egerlie, killing and slaying a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongest the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scottish historie saith) was one, and the capteine of Rokesburgh another.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, perceiuing that the most part of the garrison of Rokesburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with their capteine, came hastily thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it. Wherefore king David in recompense of his valancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, together with the shirftwoike of Cindale. Whereat William Dowglas took such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsay with in the church of Hatwike, and put him in prison with in the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time, by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by David Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done vpon William Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other how they went about ante the like offense. Nevertheless, the Dowglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

1341. H.B.

1342. Io.Ma.

King David returneth into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsay ro- beth into England.

This Ramsay was so renowned, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his soune and kinsman to serue vnder him.

The castell of Rokesburgh twone by Alexander Ramsay.

Alexander Ramsay taken by William Dowglas, & imprisoned.

Fr.Thin.

The earle of
Salisbury
exchanged for
the earle of
Murrey.

Froilard.

1342.

Parlement
at Perth.

The bounde-
ous liberalitie
of King David.
This Hugh
was grand-
father to Hen-
ry Boetius.

King David
inuateth Nor-
thumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David
the second
time inuateth
the English
borders.

Five Scottish
knights ta-
ken prisoners

King David
the third time
inuateth
England.
Foule wea-
ther.

Calis be-
sieged.

Ambassadors
fro the French
king into
Scotland.

teins and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into favour againe, and had all his lands and livings restored unto him, as well in Tutdale as elsewhere.

Some after the earle of Salisbury was taken by sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murrey, that had bene holden manie yeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisbury was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen, & now was exchanged for the earle of Murrey. But howsoever it was, king David after the realme of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all such as had either done any notable service themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recoverie of the realme out of his adversaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance of the baronie of Balbrid given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortly after upon the breaking up of this parliament, king David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murrey as lieutenant generall, he wold not that a nie of his owne banners should be spread and borne in all that voyage [although himselfe were there in person, serving secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iourne.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueying awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortly after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his owne standard to be carried afore him at that time, as he that toke upon him the whole gouernance of that enterprize himselfe. The Englishmen withstanding all their goods into strengths, minded not to giue the Scots any set battell, but to take them euer at some aduantage, if they straid abroad any where vnwarilie to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglington, Craggie, Boyd, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, king David perceiuing that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much adoe to saue themselves from perishing through the vnmearurable force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable manner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Whereupon king David, to the end that his enterprize should not seeme altogether to want effect, ouerthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or received. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore deuising all waies possible whereby to saue that towne, and to cause his aduersarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might vnto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constrained to leaue his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering vnto king David, vpon condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwike, but also Edward Balioll his old aduersarie, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wisser sort gaue aduise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought up) and other of the nobles hauing pong heads, vpon desire to be renewed of the Englishmen by practise of warres (wherevnto they were inclined) wold needs condescend to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Whereupon an armie was leuied, and solempne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certaine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therfore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seuen of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross [whereby the armie was greatlie diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongst the families departed home.]

King David, though he was sore displeased here-with, and desired most earnestlie to haue punished that heinous act; yet because he wold not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment therof, till more conuenient opportunity might serue thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglas of Liddell did earnestlie perswade him, at that time to leaue the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence.] At his comming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do valiantlie, but first he created William Dowglas an earle, which William was sonne to Archembald Dowglas, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was vndoubtedlie a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; in so much as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) thre score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a foztrelle not farre off from the borders called Liddell, they late round about that place for the space of thre daies, without giuing thereto anie assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, sleaing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The captaine sir Walter Selbie was taken alive, but immediatlie by king David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to haue so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to haue done, but it wold not be granted. From thence the armie remained, and went vnto the abbie of Lauercoft, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Salward castell, and the towne of Redpeth, kept on

Ambassadors
from the king
of England
into Scotland

The king of
Englands
offers.

The Scots
readie to helpe
the French, &
hinder their
neighbors the
English.

An armie raised
to inuade
England.

The lord of
the Isles slain
by the earle
of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Dow-
glas created
earle of Dow-
glas.

Ri. Southwell.
Two thou-
sand men of
armes, 20000
hoblers.

King David
inuateth Eng-
land.

The fozt of
Liddell.

Sir Walter
Selbie beheaded
by the
Scots.

Lauercoft.

on till they came vnto the priozie of Berham, which they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king David, who in this iourne appointed to preferre foure towne onelie from burning; to wit, Berham aforesaid, Colstodge, Warrington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay vp such store of vittels, as he should prouide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Berham, where he laie thre daies, he marched to Cheshel, waisting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurepaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne vp the towne and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and laughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither young nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbete of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserable sacked, although it was said king David was admonished in a dreame, that he should in aie wife abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and joining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had lately sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king David, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a small peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maister: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the utterance within thre daies after. King David contemning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enemies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into thre battells. In the first was Robert Steward prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Dowglaste: in the thirde was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Dowglaste in the first, the king in the middle, and Steward in the thirde.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglaste departed from the armie to descrie the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible:); but entring somewhat backwardlie within danger of his enemies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather sixe hundred (as some booke haue) of young gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he tooke forth with him, escaping vertie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into thre battells, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Whereupon David Graham with a wing of sixe hundred horsemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfitures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enemies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end,

Robert Steward, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrink backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this fleeing backe of the earle of March and Robert Steward, brought the discomfiture vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king David fought, that within a short while after, the same was utterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this business king David himselfe did in euery point plaie the part of a most valiant chieftaine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to do their indeuours. Neither would he stie after he saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aide, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more displeasing than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and told him to yield; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yield vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onelie called Constaunt, but also reported by him to be a Calcoigne, whereas it is euident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reuerward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Stratherne, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancelor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray]. There were taken with the king sixe earles, that is to say, Dowglaste, Fife, Sutherland, Wigfoun, and Spenteith [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Spenteith (as saith Scala chron.) byatone and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king David, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be inuincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English histories.

In the yere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddesdale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfort for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Steward as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Dowglaste the sonne of Archibald Dowglaste, that was brother vnto god sir James Dowglaste, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Dowglastdale, Twidale, Twidale, Etrike forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capteine of Roxburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men, A. J. and

The cause of the overthrow

The Scots discomfited.

King David his baliaue.

King David taken by John Copland.

I 246.
Scala. chron.
Nobles slaine in this battell.
Fr. Thin.
Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balioll sojourneth in Galloway.

Robert Steward gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recouered out of the Englishmens hands.

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Lesleus episc.
cap. Rollz. lib.
cap. 257.

he was of R. Edwards blod of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than upon him. This Balioll is by no autho^r (as Lesleus saith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, against the gouernement & maiestie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force invading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other autho^rs do agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents untill the yeere of 1342, at what time he yelded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recovered a good part of England. Wherefore it seemeth strange to me, that Rosse will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him under that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming also Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both these writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agree on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings. After this, king Edward passing forth to Hadington, spoiled and wasted the countie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had bene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a rigorous tempest bene sore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned together with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbeys as all other churches and religious houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish writers) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our ladie, & by reason the Englishmen did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it ever after: The burnt Candlemas. Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Douglas of Biddendale recovered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Widdale were in like maner recovered by one Rirpatrike. In the same yeere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwise named the Blacke prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and took king John prisoner, with his yongest sonne Phillip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Douglas, & to the number of three thousand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the same battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holiburton, and Andrew Claus, knights. The earle of Douglas escaped with life and untaken, but Archembald Douglas, son to sir James Douglas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ranfome, by reason that William Ramsay of Colluthie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Douglas had bene some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and to do other such dundging seruice, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feast of Christmase, making (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in that season) a great banquet. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bnted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King David within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Southampton vnto Berwik, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled together to consult with him touching some agreement to be had for his ranfome: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in prison as before. In the meane time, Roger Rirpatrike was slaine by James Lindseie, in a castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled upon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offense.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next ensuing, after king David had bene at Berwik, there was an agreement made for his ranfome, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durhamfield. It was agreed that there should be paid for his ranfome one hundred thousand marks sterling, at sundrie dates of payment, as was accorded betwixt them. After he had bene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala Chron. saith, that at the feast of St. Michael, David king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of siluer: for which, his hostages came to Berwik, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was bozne of the sister of king David; Thomas Senescall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurrisse baron of Borthuill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.]

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in England, till the monie were paid, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ranfome.] R. David was also bound by couenant of agreement to race certeine castles within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he cast downe the castles of Dalwinton, Dunfreis, Bortholme, and Duridere. He also called a parlement, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punishment of them that fled from him at Durhamfield: and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was vterlie reuoked and disannulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane his yongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworn to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John, in hope that his sonne should inioy the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuertheless deceived of his hope. For shortlie after his son being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ranfome

Two kings
prisoners in
England at
one time.

Roger Rir-
patricke slaine.

King David
is deliuered.

1357.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Truce for
14 yeares.

Fr. Thin.

Castles ra-
ced.

A parlement.
Robert Ste-
ward disher-
ited of the
crowne.
John Sou-
therland made
heire appar-
rant.

The death of
John Sou-
therland.

As. if.

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Whitekirke
burnt.

1355.

The burnt
Candlemas.

Galloway re-
covered.

The battell
of Poitiers.

The French
king John ta-
ken prisoner.

Archembald
Douglas
taken prisoner

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ck.

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chron.

like
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by king
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Balioll
with his
in.
chron.

Robert Steward againe
opined here
apparent.
The contri-
bution of the
cleargie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.

A demand
proponed to
the lords of
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.
Their an-
swer.

1357

Queene
James death.
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.
5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David
marrieth Mar-
garet Logie.

The repenteth
his marriage.

The banisheth
hir.

He complai-
neth to the
pope.

Sentence ge-
uen on hir
part.
He depar-
reth this
woyde.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings sauer, and ordeined here apparant to the crowne in semblable manner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the payment of the kings ransom [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.] Not long after, king David called an other council, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he moued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter wherof he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie answer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires: [Which thing John Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and done by the perswasion of Jane the queene, forgetting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

The lords hearing what was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King David right tofull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scottish lords would agree, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, queene Jane the wife of R. David went into England to see hir brother king Edward, & died there before she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sca. chro.) in the greie friers in London beside hir mother. This woman doth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsoke hir husband in his banishment into France, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she inioyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the marriage bed. For

*Si nihil infausti durus rulsset Vlyses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of this woman, that she might haue bene counted happy, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worlds end she hath amongst the wisest.]

R. David, after hir deceasse, married a yong litle gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daughter to sir John Logie knight, but within three moneths after he repented him, for that he had matched himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished both hir and all other that had counselled him to marrie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Augnon, where as then the pope with all his confessorie remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, followed the same with such diligence, that in the end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say) that king David should receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vse hir as his lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had she not departed out of this life by the way in return-

ing homeward. * Charles the fifth surnamed the hoise, being king of France (supported by the aids of Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in which iornie, when a greivous contention fell among the French and English, the last were overcome by the first through the singular manhood of the Scots. Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an order of an hundred archers to be about his person, and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the night) within his court gates: which (upon this original) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in this our age. R. David in the meane time repaired sundrie places and strengths of his realme, & built a tower in Edinburgh castell, bearing the name after him euen vnto this day, called Davids tower. About this time (or rather more trulie as others haue before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or shortly after the deliuerie of David Bruce from captiuitie as the third sort do say) William Douglas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the seas (at such time as king John was preparing his host against the Blacke prince) went with R. John vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands with the title of knighthood: but after, hauing manie of his men slaine, and being enforced to forsake the field, he returned home into Scotland. William Douglas shortly after, upon the deliuerie of David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was created earle of Douglas. Such about which

at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots advanced William Ramsay to the earldome of Fife, by the means of the wife of the said Ramsay, whom the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The right of which countie king David affirmed to be tustie in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as trulie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in R. Robert Bruces daies; in murdering of an esquier called Michaell Beton, whome he miserable slue in a river for ertreame displeasure. Wherefore this William Ramsay surmized that Duncan (to obtaine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make Robert Bruce R. of Scots his heire in reuerfon, if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester, and daughter to the king of England) which was entertained in England, and should haue bene sold to Robert the seneſchall of Scotland. But she (rather respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the honor of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife, than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William Felton, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the said time when William Ramsay was made earle of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the said Ramsay went away with the honor thereof. After this appealing of certeine rebels that fought to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing provided all things necessarie for such a iournie, he fell sicke of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of Edinburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne, and fortie seventh of his age, which was from the incarnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house, where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

* During the time that this David Bruce was prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his louing affection vpon Katharine Portiner, a damsell of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him; whereat the lords disdaining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de

Fr.Thin.
Lectures.
page 16.

Davids tower
built.
Fr.Thin.

Scala chron.
Of this man
Douglas
ent his death
in France, the
English chro-
nicles do also
report.

William Douglas
made earle.

Scala chron.
William Ramsay
made earle
of Fife.

The death of
king David.

1370

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

buill, a ballet of Scotland (in feining some matter vnto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so couertlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenlie murdered hir riding from Spelros to Seltre. Whereupon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorablie buried at Newbottle, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare vnto hir in hir life.)

Strange
wonders.

5 to 10
1.

yeses barren

hron.
8 man
laffe
3 Dords
ince, the
chyo-
wassa

Great raine.

John Duns.

m Dow
made

chron.
m Rom
ade carie
6.

The assemble
of the lords
for the election
of a new king.

William earle
of Dowglas
claimeth the
croune.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He resigneth
his right to
the Steward.

Robert.

Robert Ste-
ward is crow-
ned king of
Scotland.

1370.

death of
David.

370

Thin.
a chron.

The first com-
ing of the
Stewards to
the croune.
Fr. Thin.

Sundrie marvellous things were seene in the daies of this king David, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crookes, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrary to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the same yere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plenty of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the riuers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of harvest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & towne were borne downe and destroyed. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as John Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

King David being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that should succede in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by full title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Dowglas purposed to vsurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine [which three were captiues of Dunbarton, Sterling, and Edinburgh] and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Steward, assisting his side to their vttermost powers. The Dowglas perceiuing hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the discussing.

Then was Robert Steward conueled to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Moreover, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Dowglas aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in marriage to James sonne to the earle of Dowglas aforesaid. & Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue intioied the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles James that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained vnto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Ross, by whom he had two sonnes, Walter and David. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth pure in place of his wife, and had by hir three sonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to John Dunbar erle of Murray, and another to John Leon lord of Clames. The earldome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle John & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the intioing of that earldome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the same Dowglas came by that means to the said earldome of Murray. King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Glenelke was made earle of Crawford. His wife queene Eufemie deceased the third yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth pure [or Dore], daughter to sir Adam pure knight] his old lennman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they intioied in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne John, begotten on Elizabeth pure aforesaid, earle of Carrick: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Menteith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchanane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne David, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto John his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yongest sonne David the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires general either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemn maner.

About this time, the borderers, which are men neuer desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieflie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarell piked, sene certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George soze offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requirring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to re-

A. lii.

ccine

Elizabeth
pure king
Roberts
concubine.

How the
Dowglas
came by the
earldome of
Murray.

Eufemie the
queene de-
ceased.

Fr. Thin.
Elizabeth the
pure married
to king Ro-
bert.
Fr. Thin.

The prefer-
ment of the
kings sonnes
to dignitie.

Fr. Thin

What for suc-
cession of the
croune.

The border-
ers desirous
of warre.

Roxburgh
faire.

1370.
Buchanan.
The truce
violated.

Rotheburgh
surprised by
the earle of
March.

The English
men invade
Scotland.

The English
men discom-
fited.
Sir John
Lilborne
taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-
se earle of Por-
thumberland.

A policie to
afright hoies

Tho. Mus-
grau captaine
of Berwike
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from
the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.
Buchanan.

celue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yere following, against the next faire to be holden at Rotheburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretlie together, and comming to the said towne, toke it, due all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Whereupon the Englishmen hostlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and dowing much hurt upon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon vertie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great botie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carran, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a foze fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncertaine, that sir John Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were fiew times that day had in chase, and as oft got the like advantage of their enimies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelie discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the manner whereof John Maior condemneth and laith the fault of breach in earle Dowglas.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Perse earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seuen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed togither, of dyie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running by & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens hoises breaking their halters and bydles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottish men got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enimies) perceiving themselves set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgrau captaine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waite with the upper hand. [All which before (vntill the death of Eufemie the quene) Buchanan appointed to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the quene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignon to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the first king of France sent ambassadours into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to perswade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordingly.]

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, David Stewart was bozne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andzeus day next following, towne of Berwike was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir or seuen other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen finally reioised at this gains, for with such cloth & other warres as they brought awaite with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and foze pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as faith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and invading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiew hundred men, & stood in a strict till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for half drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the botie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduenturs daillie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadours vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his god fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renew the old leage & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the manner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadours from king Robert vnto their master the said R. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glasgou, with manie other noble men, who in like manner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelor of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tresse in forme and fashon as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancelor, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attained to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finally through earnest sute made to

1378.
Berwike taken by Scots

Recovered againe out of their hands.

1380.
The faire of Pennire.

The third time that the pestilence came into Scotland.

1380.
Fr. Thin.

The English men invade the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

Ambassadours to the French king.

1381. 1. c. l. Anno Reg. 11. The renewing of the leage betwixt Scotland and France.

The chancelor of Scotland slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

his pardon is begged.

to the king by the earles of Dowglas and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaur, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Saviour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whom were appointed James earle of Dowglas, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to indure for three yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Straw and others to their captains, whereupon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conveyed by William earle of Dowglas, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edinburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their captains slaine or taken, and put to execution.

As soon as the truce was expired, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daile harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dowglas, and George of March, and therewith laid a strong siege unto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien thereat the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assault to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house unto the Scots even the same day without more ado, upon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of ante overthrow given to those that should come from Carleill, in manner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dowglas had got knowledge that the same castell was bitterlie unprouided both of men and vittells necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglas and Dunbar, who joining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at ante hand. Whereupon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters unto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to understand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittells. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should do his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to do as he should see cause. Whereupon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remove their siege, he would yeld the castell unto them, the liues and goods of them within saved. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assaults: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they receiued the castell into their possession, according to the covenant. And so the Scots having

thus wonne the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite downe to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had achieved this enterprize, appointed the baron of Graistocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittells and munition unto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it unprouided, they might peradventure bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to invade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster having the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea that they should doe, entered himselfe by land, and waiking the countreies of March and Louthian, came to Edinburgh, and toke the towne. But whereas his souldiers would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing ante more damage.

His nauie being as then arrived in the Forth, tarried behind, & first burning the abbey of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their captains landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunningham of Kilmauris, set upon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dowglas recovered all the strengths of Tuidale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held: ever since the battell of Durham unto those daies. This earle of Dowglas, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dowglas, shortly after he had achieved this enterprize, and was buried in the abbey of Melroffe.

After his deceasse, his sonne James, (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earldome of Dowglas, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Peter-castell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came unto Perth, where he found the lord John de Hain, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectly furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 haggbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crokbolues: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforehand, and had brought vittells with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dowglas was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that joining with these

The baron of Graistocke taken.
Anno reg. 15.
1383.1. Ma.
An armie by sea and another by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh,

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife.
The strength of Tuidale recovered.

The earle of Dowglas deceased.

James earle of Dowglas.

The Scots invade Northumberland.
1385.

John de Hain admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 25 barons, 800 men of armes or knights.
I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any haggbutts used in those daies, though guns were sometimes used before that time.

French.

The earle of
Fife.
An armie of
Scots and
Frenchmen
enter into
England.
Castels won.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglas, and March, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castels of Marke, Foud, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Wernike and Newcastell, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field nere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wonne, they left that enterpryse. For the Frenchmen required that if they wan it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, wherevnto the Scots would not agree.

The French-
men & Scots
cannot agree.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterpryse, went to the west borders, where joining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carlisle, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rochelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next ensuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first comming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboard to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, passed through the Pers and Louthian, putting all the towne, countries, and houses vnto bitter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere.

They inuade
Cumberland.

The French-
men returne
into France.

King Richard
inuaedeth
Scotland.

1387.

An armie of
thirtie thou-
sand Scots
inuaed Eng-
land by the
west marches.
Cokermouth
taken vpon
the sudden.

The forme of
an old deed of
gift.

The true me-
ning of men
in old time.

In the yere next ensuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glasgou and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Stewart earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, comming so secretlie thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of three daies, got a rich botie togither, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iourne, there was a charter found of certeine lands given by king Athellane, in this forme: I king Athellane giues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als faire, als euer yai mine waire, and yarto winesse Mauld my wife. By tenure of which ded it may appere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few wordes barelie expressed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bassard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiance, shewed as well in certeine approaches made vnto Carlisle, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthy of some high advancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in marriage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beaultie, as hir match in those daies was not to be found: [with whom for hir dowrie, he gaue the lands of Fiddeldale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after married to the earle of Dykenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not ouercharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, bright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merite, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whome soeuer he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon faith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against three thousand Englishmen, of whome two hundred he slue in the field, & brought five hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

William Dow-
glas honored
for his high
prowesse.

Fr. Thin.

In the yere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched awaie great boties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The townefemen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and joining with them, they diuided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Stewart of Durldeir, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afoze the towne.

1388.

Irishmen
fetch preies in
Galloway.
William Dow-
glas inuaedeth
Ireland with
five hundred
men, as Iohn
Fourdon faith,
Carlingford
besieged.

The craftie
dealing of the
townemen.

The Irish-
men assaile the
Scots in two
seuerall places.

Nevertheless, the said Robert and William received the enemies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they toke thre score ships which they found in diuerse hauens and crabs there on that coast, and fraughting fittene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortly after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Pers, in burning and overthrowing diuerse towres and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberdeen: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those iniuries done by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

The Irish-
men put to
flight.

Carlingford
sworne by of
salt.

The Ile of
Man spoiled.

Englishmen
burne in the
Pers.

Two armies
of Scottish-
men assembled

of Fife, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Walscop. The other containing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindseie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Haie the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie (both which (saith Froissard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.)

Fe. Thun.

Cumberland
invaded.
Northumber-
land invaded.Ten thousand
of the choicest
men with the
earle of Dow-
glas.
The assist-
ance of the
Englishmen
at Newcastle.Henrie Hot-
spur.The earle of
Dowglas in-
campeth fast
by Newcastle.The earle of
Dowglas and
Henrie Percie
run together.
The Percie
dismounted
before his
horse.An assault gi-
uen to New-
castell.Froissard saith
what varieth
from the Sco-
tish writers.Dowglas in-
campeth at
Dunbarne.

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fife with his people entered into Cum-berland by the west marches, and the earles of Dow-
glas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the coun-
trie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fife spar-
red neither fier nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a
ten miles from Newcastle. Here the earle of Dow-
glas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men
that could be found amongst all the numbers, with
the which he went to Newcastle, to trie if by anie
meanes he might take the towne. There was gather-
ed into Newcastle before his coming thither, the
most part of all the chosen men from Forke to the
borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by
reason of extreme age was not able to stirre abroad
(anie thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him
two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and
the other Rafe, verie forward and lustie gentle-
men. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed
for his often picking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that
seldome times rested, if there were anie seruice to be
done abroad.

The earle of Dowglas comming to Newcastle,
incamped with his people on that side the towne to-
wards Scotland, and viewed the towne earnestlie,
which way he might best come to give assault to win
it. Henrie Percie desirous to shew some proofe of his
singular manhood, wherein he greatly trusted, re-
quied to fight with the earle of Dowglas man to
man, which request the earle granting, together they
ran, mounted on two great couriers with sharpe
ground speares at the bitterance. The earle of Dow-
glas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in
the end he droue the Percie out of his saddle. The
Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to
the rescue, recovered him on foot, and brought him
forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie her-
upon, the earle of Dowglas caused the assault to be
given, and filling the ditches with hate and sagots,
came with ladders to the walls; but the Englishmen
so well defended themselves, that the Scots were
beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter
of their people.

Froissard making mention of this enterprise thus
made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Sco-
tish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing
that the Dowglas and the Percie should thus run
together on horsebacke (as before is specified); but
that in giving assault to the towne, it chanced, that
as the Englishmen defended their barriers without
the gate, the Dowglas fortun'd to be matched hand
to hand with Henrie Percie, and there by force pluck-
ed the Percies staffe from him, and in returning
hoisted it up on height, saing, he would carrie the
same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day af-
ter, he raised his campe and departed home towards
the borders, & comming to a place called Ot-
terborne, about twelue or foureteene miles from
Newcastle, pitched downe his tents there, that his
souldiours might take some rest, & refresh themselves
after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to anie purpose, since
their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was high-
lie increased at Newcastle, for a great number of
the countie came, and entered into the towne the
same night that followed the day of the assault.
Henrie Percie then perceiving his number suf-
ficient to fight with Dowglas, set them in order of
battell, & determined to issue forth upon the Scots,
and to give them an encounter: but when he under-
stood that they were gone home wards, he followed
them with all speed, for he would by no means that
they should passe into Scotland without battell, trust-
ing to recover the dishonor which he had sustained
by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of
Newcastle. Earle Dowglas advertised that the
Englishmen were comming to give him battell, exhort-
ed his people with few words to remember their
wanted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they
might win euerlasting fame and honor, with safe-
gard to themselves and their countie. The Percie
likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing
them to fight manfully in reuenge of their injuries
done to them and their friends by the Scots, and
herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he
gaue the onset fiercelie.

Here both the armies joining together, a right ter-
rible encounter ensued: but because the night was
at hand, before they began to joine, through want
of light to see what was to doe, they were seuered
in sunder for that time; but remembering that the mone
would shortly rise, they determined so soon as the
began to give light, to renew the battell againe.
As soon therefore as the mone began to appeare,
they joined againe with more malice than before.
The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting
the Scots backe, and causing them to give ground,
they had wonne the Scottish standards, and so by all
likelihood got the upper hand, had not Patrike Hep-
borne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as
attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight
was begun afresh. Herewith also came the earle of
Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid
such force strokes round about him, that none came
within his reach, but downe he went.

The said Dowglas the younger, hauing with
him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which not-
withstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his
friends (comming about to succor) found then cast
upon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named
Hart most miserably wounded also. At what time
a priest (which had faithfullie assisted this Dowglas
in all distress) did (now the bodie being faint and de-
caied) defend the same from other hurt of the aduer-
sarie. Dowglas lieng in this estate, his nere
friends (John Lindseie, John and Walter Seint-
clere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To
whome he stoutlie answered (as one whome the pre-
sence of death nothing dismayed) that he was verie
well; for said he, I doe not now die in my bed (by
suggish destinie) but in the field, as almost all my
ancestors haue done. Wherefore, this shall be the last
thing that I will require of you: first to keepe my
death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my
standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you
revenge my death; the which if I may before hand by
your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more
patience endure all other things. Whereupon they
first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowne;
then they erected his standard, crierig (as the maner
is) A Dowglas a Dowglas. At which voice, there
was so great a concourse of people, & such a foistill
assault vpon the enimie; that forthwith they drave
them from the place of the battell. For at the verie
name

The English
power increas-
ed.Henrie Per-
cie followed
the Scots.The Dow-
glas exhort-
eth his men
to fight man-
fully.The Percie
with comfort-
able words
encourageth
his men.The onset is
given.They were
seuered by
comming on
of the night.The battell is
renewed.Patrike Hep-
borne releas-
eth the
Scots at
point to be o-
uercome.
The battell
of the earle
of Dowglas.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.This priest
was William
archdeacon of
Aberdeen, as
saith Io. Maior
lib. 6. cap. 3.
& Lescus lib. 7.
p. 263. calleth
him William
Lountie arch-
deacon of
saint An-
drews, kin-
man to Dow-
glas.This Dow-
glas was
hurt in the
shoulder in the
lower part of
his backe, and
in the thigh
with severall
arrows, and
had a badlie
blow on his
head being
wounded.
Io. Maior.
lib. 6. cap. 3.

name of Dowglas, not onelie the common people, but John earle of Murray (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

The English men put to flight.

At last, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfully, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slain & borne downe. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever done, though the more part in deed were taken with their liues saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Rafe Perrie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne.

Fr. Thin.

Other persons taken,

The number of prisoners taken,

Fr. Thin. There were slain but five hundred Englishmen as Hector Boetius saith. The death of James earle of Dowglas.

See more of this matter in England.

Archibald Dowglas succeeded James the earle of Dowglas.

The first advancement of the Hepburns.

The earles of Bothwell.

1370.
12. kal. Aug.
Buchanan.
1388.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan.

But Lescus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransom did build the castle of Bonnune, which his heirs to this day do inioy. There was also taken besides the two Perries, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilborne, William Mauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortye, and slain what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) above an eightene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slain, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scottish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglas himselfe was thise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthy a chiefe, than for the gainc of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied vnto Helros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbey church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cousin Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wife.

It chanced in the daies of king Dauid the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vncrule fade, in fetching and singing aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bydle reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue vnto this Hepburne certeine lands in Lothian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right worthy fame and estimation. This battell of Otterborne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the first of August, in the yeare 1388.

Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Patrike Kedman gouernor of Berwik, whom James Lindseie (supposing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did behementlie followe by the space of thre miles. At the last, Kedman perceiving that he was not by flight able to escape (and deeming it better to hazard his life, than otherwise

to be slaine without aduenture) alighted from his horse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordingly; in the end after a long conflict betwene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the borderers, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betwene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie do not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set vpon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they vse that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceiued by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be seene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the defecuers thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not afford them good report or intertainment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made direclie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so neke vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Petowcassell (to ioinc with Perrie at the battell of Otterborne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioinc vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he took his iournie towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterborne battell towards Petowcassell) that Perrie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Petowcassell, to consult what he should do against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to seke the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speed) he should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the success of battell, for the Scots (said they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second battell. With which speeches they persuaded themselves of an easie conquest. Wherevpon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murray (whom now all men did followe after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie together to consult what should be done with the prisoners, whom they could not in iustice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ransom) but it would seme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies, and almost an equal number to themselves) it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should sweare, that they would not stirre whilst the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were overcome, and they (being now their prisoners) recouered from them, that yet they should still remaine prisoners vnto them as before, and so returne to them at a certeine day. These things thus done, they left the prisoners

in the campe, with a small garb which should execute a present reuenge vpon them, if they did at anie time seme to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories lately obtained) afresh descended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right side with the dead bodies of the former conflict: at what time it was also commanded that euerie one (as he did approach the enimie) should blow the home he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as lowd as he could, which sound being of it selfe terrible, was in the echo (by reflection of the hilles) so multiplied, that it forced the enimie to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entered into the battell (as saith Iohn Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March encouraged his soldiers with these words. We haue this night (most noble Scots) sustained the chiefe heat and force of the battell, we haue ouerthrowne the youth and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause why we (after such honor obtained against those valiant princes) should now feare this little priest. Trulie there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euerie one of vs giue but two strokes, because the leader will die at the third, and all the stocke will follow, since the shepheard is stoken, the sheepe will be disperfed. But if they shall so long contend with vs, that (as God most rightlie forbid) we chance to be overcome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glorie which we before haue honorably gained by this nights trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on vs such valiant hearts (as the preservation of honor requireth) we shall easilie teach this mitted priest, that it had bene farre more honor to him, safetie to his, and most commoditie to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct vnbyded and negligent scholers, than with sword to enter battell against growne and bearded souldiers.

This being spoken, and the English now come to the point to ioine with the aduersarie, the Scots began the alarms with their hornes, whereupon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnaccustomed to them in such multitude) remembering that they must fight in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and kintred latelie slaine (a spectacle to discourage most valiant hearts) and somewhat abashed at the cherefulness of the Scots standing against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (I say) considering these things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and suffered the Scots to returne without anie other pursute against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindsay (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in Newcastle) chanced to be seene and knowne by Redman (his pelded prisoner) he was most courteously (after congratulation of amitie betwene them) suffered to depart fro Newcastle to Scotland.

In the yere following, a parlement was holden at Perth, in the which demonstration was made by king Robert, that forsomuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through febleness occasioned thereof attend to his office in gouernement of the realme, it was necessarie that some gouernour should be chosen; wherefore he required that his second sonne Robert earle of Fife might inioy that office, considering his eldest sonne John earle of Carrike (by reason of a stripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horse of sir James Dowglas of Dalkeith) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might sturre no way forth abroad. The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Fife was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common con-

sent of all the lords of the realme (before which time (as saith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernours.) Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Percie prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scottish writers, that this earle should make stout bags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Stewart the Scottish gouernour was entered into Northumberland with an armie, hee withdrew into places of safegard, and suffered the most part of the countrey to be harried and burned. In deed our English writers affirme, that the said earle, hauing with him but fise hundred men of armes, was not able to accomplish anie notable exploit available against the great multitude of his enimies.

In the same yere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would so agree) being comprised therein. Whereupon there came ambassadors forth of England, to vnderstand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was answered, that he would with god will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded. Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Stewart earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Murray, the lantern and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of the same place. Whereat his father the king took such indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was brought to his presence, he commanded him to be committed vnto stret prison, wherein he remained till after his fathers decess. The realme being in this maner brought to god tranquillitie, king Robert falling into great infirmite and febleness, by reason of extreame age, without any maner of other accidentall sicknes, decessed at his castell of Dundonald, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yere after our redemption 1390, being as then aboue 75 yeres of age, and hauing reigned the space of 19 yeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

This Robert the second, though by reason of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himselfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happy successe by the conduct of his capitaine which he sent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of such constancie in promise, that hee seldom spake the word which he performed not. Such an obseruer he was also of iustice, that whensoever he remoued from anie place, he would cause proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken by anie thing vnpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due should come in, and immediatlie he should be satisfied. He willingly heard the complaints of the poore, and was no lesse diligent to see their wrongs redressed.

After the decess of king Robert the second, his son John Stewart earle of Carrike was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the Assumption of our ladie. And forsomuch as John was thought to be an vnfortunate name for kings, they changed the same, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. But whether the same was so altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the god successe of the two former Roberts (Bruce and Stewart) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuersall happinesse in what they attempted:

Fr.Thin.

The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernour of Scotland, warden of Northumberland.

A truce taken English ambassadors sent into Scotland. The king of Scots agreed to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Murray burnt.

The earle of Buchquhane imprisoned.

The decess of king Robert the second.

2390.

His happy successe in warres.

The constancie of Robert in word and promise.

His vpright iustice.

His diligence to redresse poore mens wrongs.

Robert. John Stewart earle of Carrike admitted to the crowne.

1390. Fr.Thin. Buchanan.

The manner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a home about their neckes like hunters, and in the battell encourage themselves to fight with that, so. Ma. li. 6. ca. 4. which I suppose was also the manner of the English (as may be by many substantial reasons approued.)

A parlement at Perth.

Robert earle of Fife is chosen gouernour of the realme.

of

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it hat hee 1210 with c. 4.

John Ma. lib. 6.
cap. 6.

Buchanan.

William Dow
glas of Strids
desoale chosen
admirall by
the lords of
Strutsen.He is slaine
by the lord
Clifford,
Duncan Ste-
ward inua-
deth Angus.

Fr. Thin.

The north
parts of Scot-
land fore dis-
quieted by
two clans.With Scots
called Kater-
rans,
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.A desperate
fight.

I will leane vncerteine, hauing no certainte deli-
uered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather
lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraor-
dinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in
name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one
vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.
The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daugh-
ter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his
bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the hono-
r of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow
to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the
beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene
England and Scotland, for the space of three yeres,
which shortly after was proroged to the terme of
four yeres.)

About the same time William Dowglas of
Stridsdale was chosen by the lords of Strutsen,
to be admirall of a nauie, containing two hundred and
fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed
to set forth against the miscreant people of the
north-east parts. But being appealed by the lord Clif-
ford an Englishman (who was there likewise to
serue with the fore said lords in that iournee) to fight
with him in a singular combat: before the day
came appointed for them to make triall of the
battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dow-
glas, and vpon the bidge of Danzke met with
him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and
fay of the whole iournee. Whereafter, shortly after the
coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came
that Duncane (whom some call Daich Steward)
sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother a-
foye rehearfed, was entred into Angus with a great
number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thiriffe of
the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist
him from spoiling the people, whom he miserablie af-
flicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not
long vnpuished. For the earle of Crawford being
sent against him with an armie, caused him to dis-
perse his companie, and to flee his waies; but being
apprehended with the most part of his said com-
panie, they were punished according to their de-
merits.

At this time also the most part of the north coun-
trie of Scotland, was fore disquieted by two clans
of those thirith Scots, called Katerans, which inha-
bit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaires
and the other Clankubattans. These two being at
deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with
continual slaughter and reise. At length it was ac-
corded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls
of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the
one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, a-
gainst thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe
swords to the bitterance, without anie kind of armor
or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarell, for
the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both
these clans right iofull of this appointment, came to
Perth with their number, where, in a place called the
North indy, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the
king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought
according as it was agreed, and that with such rage
and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaires part
were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life,
after he saw all his fellows slaine, leapt into the wa-
ter of Tait, and swam ouer, and so escaped. Where
were 11 of Clankubattans side that escaped with
life, but not one of them vntounded and that vertie
foye. At their entring into the field or lists where they
should fight the battell, one of the clans wan-
ted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld
haue supplied it, was priuilie stolen awaie, not wil-
ling to be partaker of so deare a bargain. But there
was a countie-felow among the beholders, who be-

ing soze that so notable a fight shoud be passed ouer,
offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill
vp the number, though the matter appertained no-
thing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man
(as saith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker,
who for halfe a French crowne, and his diet during
his life (if he were victor) took the matter in hand, in
which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than
he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, him-
selfe making vp the number.] This battell was
fought thus betwene the two clans, in maner as
is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second
yere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wher-
in, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances en-
acted for the aduancement of the common wealth,
the king made his eldest sonne named David (that
was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of
Rothesay, and his brother Robert (that was earle of
Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue
heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the
first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for
till those daies there was neuer anie within the
realme that bare that title of honoz. [Which virgin
title (saith Buchanan of that honoz) gaue neuer good
successe to the matters]. During the time that the
peace continued betwixt the two realmes of Eng-
land and Scotland, there were sundrie iustices and
combats put in the, and exercised betwixt Scots and
Englishmen, for pfoofe of their valliant activitie in
feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honoz. But
amongst the residue, that was most notable, which
chanced betwixt David earle of Crawford Scottish,
and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men, to
run certeine courses on horsebacke, with speares
sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed
for these iusts was London byrge, and the day the
thre and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of saint
George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came
redie to furnish their enterprize, and being mounted
on their mightie courlers, they ran together right
egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted,
yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of fal-
ling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Da-
uid sat without mouing, cried that the Scottishman
was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt be-
side his horse, and verie nimble mounted vp a-
gaine into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great
wonder of the beholders. This done, he took ano-
ther staffe, & so together they ran againe right fierce-
lie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt
on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles
was bozne out of the saddle, and soze hurt with the
griuous fall.

And for because the earle of Crawford thus ban-
quished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he
founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our
ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of S. George,
which they did vnto our time, not without singular
commendation of the said earle. After this, he re-
mained thre moneths in England, in sporting and
feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into
Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his no-
ble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst
them. Not long after, one sir Robert Douglas an
Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his man-
hod in singular battell, with whome sooner would
come against him: he vanquished one Archembald
Edmondson, and Hugh Wallace: but at length he
was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Perth, and
died shortly after vpon displeasure thereof
conceiued.

In the same yere, Richard king of England,
married

Fr. Thin.

1396.

1398.

The first
dukes that
were created
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Iustices and
combats be-
twixt Scots
and English-
men.The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Welles
of England
infled for life
and death.The lord
Welles bozne
out of his
saddle.Praise of the
erie of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Douglas.

Richard
of England
goeth into
Ireland.

Richard
is deposed.

He is adu-
ged to perpe-
tual prison.
He escapeth
forth of
prison.

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of the
Craw-
Robert
ue.

married Isabell daughter to the French king, and
some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish
rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie.
But in the meane time, his lordes at home rebelled
against him, and determined to depose him from the
croune, so that vpon his returne into England, he
was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after
constrained to renounce all his right to the croune,
and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at
length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth
of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came in-
to Galloway, where he fell in seruice with a Scottish
man named Makdonald. But at the last, being be-
trayed and known what he was, and therevpon
brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by
him interteined: neuerthelesse, knowing himselfe
deposed from his roiall estate, he gaue himselfe whor-
lie to contemplation, till finally he departed this
world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke
friars there within the same towne, as the same
Scottish chronicles vnturly do report. But to the
matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, some-
time duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard
was deposed, was crowned king of England at
Westminster, the thirtenth day of October, in the
yere 1399.

1400.

The occasion
of the falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March

The earle of
March flieth
into England.

The castell
of Dunbar
seized to the
kings vse.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
sitteth vnto
the earle of
March.

In the yere next insuing, that is to say, 1400,
king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie
to him aforehand paid, contracted couenants of ma-
riage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke
of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But
Archembalde earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation
that the earle of March should be preferred before
him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a
councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to
assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie
(as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie,
& with all speed went about to consummate the ma-
riage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all
doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing,
came to the king, and required to know his pleasure,
if he minded to performe the couenants concluded,
concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his
daughter, or not; making as it were a great com-
plaint of that which was already done to the breach
thereof; and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to
his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking
to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth yer it
were long. Shortly after he fled into England, lea-
uing his castell of Dunbar well staffed of all things
necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters
sonne named Robert Wattland. But when Archem-
bald Dowglas came thither in the kings name,
and required to haue the castell rendered into his
hands, this Robert Wattland obeyed the kings com-
mandement, and deliuered the house to the said
Dowglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procu-
red all his friends to conuene themselves into Eng-
land, and determined with himselfe to do all the dis-
pleasure and mischief he might inuent against his
owne native countrie. King Robert soze dreading,
least by this earles procurement some trouble might
hap to follow amongst his subiects [did first consi-
dering his goods] send an herald at armes into Eng-
land with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure
of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offences
committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or in-
uries which he had anie waies forth receiued, if he
would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the
earle of March refused this offer, the same herald ac-
cording to instructions giuen him at his departure
from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie
king of England with other letters, earnestlie desir-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of
his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scot-
land into his bounds, whereby the peace might be vi-
olated, which as yet remained betwixt the two king-
domes.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he
pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions
in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake be-
twixt them and their subiects, without anie further
tracting of time. For shortly after, Henrie Perse,
surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle
of March entered into Scotland, and got together a
great bootie of goods and cattell [in aouthian about
Haddington, at what time they did in vaine bessege
the castell of Hais or Hais, who being at Lintone
were come vpon by the Scots, for to haue returne of
the booties taken) Archembald earle of Dowglas] ha-
uuing assembled a power of men, came with the
same towards the enemies, immediatlie wherevpon
they fled to Bertolke, and left all their bootie behind
them, which being recovered by the said earle of
Dowglas and his companie, he returned backe vn-
to Edinburgh, where he shortly after being taken
with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leaving
behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for
his high prowesse and noble valiancie shewed in ma-
nie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie achieved
for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his
terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, The grim
Dowglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was cal-
led likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dow-
glas; for his eldest sonne William Dowglas died
in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie
king of England came into Scotland with an ar-
mie, without doing anie great damage to the peo-
ple; for he required no more of them that kept anie
castles or strengths, but onelie to put forth a banner
of his armes as he passed by. At his coming to Ha-
dington, he was lodged in the nunnrie there, & shew-
ed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and
all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of
thing to be done preiudiciall to the same. The like
gentlenesse he vsed towards them of the Holie rood
house, at his coming to Edinburgh, wherein he
likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the
friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke
of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of
his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in
England, through Jacke Straw and his complices,
he shewed such fauour towards them at this present.
To be briefe, it should appere, that king Henrie
came into Scotland, as it were enforced, more tho-
rough counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he
bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in retur-
ning backe againe, without doing them anie fur-
ther iniurie.

[In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter
Traill bishop of saint Andrews, and the] Scottish
quene Annabell Dowmond, after whose deceasse
hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir
gouernment had bene well and vertuously brought
vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to
all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defile wiues,
virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all
places where he came. At length, his father percei-
uing his sonnes youthfull nature to rage after that
manner in vnbridled lust, beyond the bounds of all
measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to
his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to
take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his cu-
stodie, and to see him so chastised for his wanton beha-
uour, as he might learne to amend the same. Here
is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long
time

sent letters
also vnto the
king of Eng-
land.

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of March
enter into
Scotland.
Fr. Thin.

The deceasse
of Archembald
earle of Dow-
glas.

Henrie king
of England
inuaeth
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
The death of
quene Annabell
bell.

The insolent
outrage of the
duke of Roth-
saie.

15 b. j.

The duke of
Rothsane com-
mitted to pri-
son.

The duke of
Rothsane fa-
mished to
death.

Miracles.

The displea-
sures done by
George earle
of March.
The earle of
Dowglas go-
vernour of
Louthian.

Thomas Ho-
liburton.

Patricke Hep-
borne slaine at
Prestet.

1402.
Archembald
Dowglas in-
vaded Eng-
land.

The nobles of
Scotland in
this armie.

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of
March assaile
the Scots at
Homildon.

time before, desired to see the duke of Rothsaie dispat-
ched out of the way, as the person whome he most
doubted; & therefore having commission thus from
the king to take him, he reioised not a little, trusting
thereby to compass his purpose without danger.
And hereupon taking the duke of Rothsaie betwixt
Dundee & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falk-
land, where he shut him vp in streit prison, and kept
him without all manner of meat or drinke, so to fa-
mish him to death.

It is said, that a woman understanding the duke
of Albantes intention, and taking ruth of the others
pitifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe
thorough a rift of the loof that tolwer wherein he
was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was cer-
taine daies sustained; but after this was once know-
en, incontinentlie was the woman made awaie. On
the same manner, an other woman through a long
reed fed him with milke of hir owne breasts, and was
likewise dispatched as soone as hir doings were per-
ceived. When after this, the duke destitute of all
worldlie sustentance, thorough verie famine was
constrained to eat not onelie all such filth as he could
find within the tolwer, but also in the end he gnawed
off his owne fingers, and so finally in this miserable
state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his
tormented life, and was buried in Lundorke, where (as
the same wench) manie faire miracles were done
nere to his graue, till time that James the first be-
gan to punish the murderers, for since that time such
miracles ceased.

About the same time, George earle of March did
manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie
rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The
earle of Dowglas that had the gouernement of
Louthian in those daies, took order, that certeine
captains of that countrie should euerie one of them
for his turne, with a competent number for the time,
make a rode into England, to reuenge such displea-
sures. The first that went, was Thomas Halibur-
ton of Dirlington, who returned in safetie with a
great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto
him was Patricke Hepborne of the Palis the pon-
ger, appointed to go forth as capteine generall with
a certeine number, who entering into England, got
a great botie together; but the Englishmen follow-
ing thereupon to recouer it, incountered with him at
Prestet in the Pers, and there not onelie slue him,
but also distressed his people. Besides them that were
slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that
were taken, as John and William Cockborne, Ro-
bert Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Hal-
burton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of
Louthian (as Iohn Maior writeth) perished in this
battell, which was fought the 22 of June, in the yere

1402.

Archembald earle of Dowglas soze displeased,
and wonderfullie wroth in his mind for this over-
throw, got commission to invade England with an
armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same
once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage,
he set forward, and entering into England, burnt
and harried the countrie, not staing till he came as
farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with
the Dowglas, Murdoch eldest sonne to duke Ro-
bert earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murray, George
earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles
of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning
homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches,
Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a
great power of men met them, and assailed them so
with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the
earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage
of an hill, called Homildon, he was constrained to

take the same; and coming downe vpon the
Englishmen, was neuertheless put to the worse,
the most part of his people being either taken or
slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put
to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the bat-
tell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon, & sir John
Swinton, but that did little auaille them, for they
were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of
those that were slaine, were the same sir John
Swinton, and Adham Gordon: also John Lewin-
ston of Balender, Alexander Ramsaie of Dalhou-
sie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scot-
land.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdoch eldest
ward eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour,
George erle of Angus, Robert Erskine of Calo-
way, the lord Saulton, James Dowglas maister of
Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William,
with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Lou-
thian, were taken prisoners. This battell was
fought on the Wednesday in haruest, in the yere 1403,
vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Perie berie proud of this
victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell
of Cockclauis in Teudale, and laied siege to the
same, but John Greinelow capteine thereof defend-
ed it so manfullie, that they got no great aduan-
tage; yet at length he fell to this composition with
them, that if he had no rescue within the space of
thre moneths (or (as Buchanan saith) fiftie daies)
the castell should be then rendered into their hands.
When the gouernour of Scotland was informed
what agreement the capteine of Cockclauis had
made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their
advice for the leauing of an armie against the time
appointed. Thers were manie of this opinion, that it
was better to lose the castell, than to leopord the lines
of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that
enterpryse for the sauing of it. But the gouernour
shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if
none of the nobles would passe with him to the re-
scue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to do that in
him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such
trouble rose in England, that there needed no power
to be leauied for the defense of Cockclauis. For by a
conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine
of the English nobilitie were alied together to haue
destroyed him, but amongst the residue, the Percies
were as chiefe.

They fought together at Shrewesburie a verie
bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and
slue the lord Perie, surnamed (as before ye haue
heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the
earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Sco-
tishmen on the Percies side, for being taken pris-
oner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it
was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hot-
spur, that aiding him & other his complices against
king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be
vanquished and put from the crowne, according to
their intent and purpose, then should the said earle
Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the
towne of Berwik rendered vnto him in rewarde of
his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with
singular manhood, and had the fore ward on the Per-
cies side. He slue that day with his owne hands, thre
gentlemen arrayed in the kings cote armour, and fi-
nallie when the battell was lost, he was taken in the
chase, and saued aliue, where not one moze of all his
retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all
slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten
by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those
that were on his part, for he lost foure verie valiant
knights, as Staluart, Blunt, Gaffie, and Portoke,
with seuen hundred other souldiers and men of war
(as

The Scots
through force
of the Eng-
lishmens flor,
descend the
hill.
The Scots
are put to the
worse.
Adham Gor-
don.

Men of name
slaine.

Prisoners ta-
ken.

Buch. 1401.
1402. H.B.

The castell of
Cockclauis
besieged.

A composition

Fr. Thin.

A conspiracie
against king
Henrie by the
Percies and
other.

Shrewesburie
field.

The earle of
Dowglas at
Shrewesburie
field in aid
of the Percies

He led the
fore ward
there.

He is taken
prisoner.

(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixtene hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe record) vied the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Douglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiance, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had sene him do so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthie of all honours. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortunate in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Homildon he lost one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprise at Shrewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlaw bishop of saint Andrews, and lodged with him at his ease and in good suertie within his castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

The death of the duke of Northfaie commeth to the knowledge of his father.

The duke of Albanie exacth himselfe.

The king commeth to Edinburgh.

Giltie persons condemned.

The suspicion of the king towards the duke of Albanie.

The king sendeth away his sonne the prince.

rected vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vnwares by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclair, the second earle of Orkney, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, took the ship that was appointed for them at the Basse, where it late at anchor, and losing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which bearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not awaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But how soeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightene yeares. At his comming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scottish tongue they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen, H.B. 1404.

The tenor of the said letter as it is written in the Scottish tongue.

Robert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitie, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit like things had bene vncerteine to vs afoze. For though thou seemed asemie with most aboufull incurSIONS in our realme: sit we found maist humanities and plaifures than damage (by thy running) to our subdittes. Speciallie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the time of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis payrefoze, while we are on life, but aye luyt and loif the as maist noble and worthie prince, to ioy thy realme. For yocht realmes and nations contend amang themselfe for conquests of glorie & launds, sit na occasion is amang vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to contend amang our selfe, quhay fall persew othir with maist humanite and kindnesse. Als to vs we will meis all occasion of battell, quare any occures at thy pleasure. Forther, bycause we haue na lesse sollicitude in preseruing our childzen fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constrained to seke support at vncomouth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasioun of enemies is sa great, that small defense occures against yame without they by preserued by amitie of nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruerse malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samure may be wozought be motion of gold or siluer. Herefoze, because we know thy hynesse full of monie, noble vertues, with like puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy

Bb,

huma-

humanitie and support at this time.

The traist it is not vnknowne to thy maistie, how our eldest sonne David is flaine miserable in prison be our brother the duke of Albanie, quhome we chesit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, beleisand thy hienes thairfoze to be so fauorable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to lise vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knabwaund the vnstable condition of mans life so danielie altered: now flourishand, and suddenlie falling to vtter consumption. For thir belife well, quhan kings and princes bes na other beild bot in thair awn folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the minds of common people ar eur flobaund and mair inconstant than wind. Zit quen princes ar robozat be amitee of othir vnknowth kings thair brethir and nighbouris, na aduersitie may occurre to elect thaim fra thair dignitie riail. For thir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr desires; zit we request ane thing quhilk was ratifit in our last trewes & condition of peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of England and Scotland fall staund in manner of sauferconduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gratiuous God conserue the maist noble prince.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to staie this James prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreover, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bzinging by, that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other worldlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructors to teach him, as well the vnderstanding of tonges as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be vsed of such a personage, where vnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of activitie might overmatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be brieve, it appeared in all his behaviour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bzinging by had bene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, sore lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in marriage with a woman of so meane degre (to the disparagement of his blood) as was quene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why as well forraine princes as his owne subiects had him thus in con-

tempt. He toke this matter so fore to hart, that with in three daies after the netwes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, now increased by melancholie, which had bered him a long time before. He died at Rothsaie in the sixteenth yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Passie, with his wife quene Annabell before rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie liberrall and gentle, so that if he had not bene maimed with a horse, and thereby grete lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predecessors.

The gouernour Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by new election chosene, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernour, which he exercised more vprightlie, & with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. For (as saith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other good parts worthie to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not sucke the commons dyte by exactions. In the meane time, the castell of Jedburgh (which the Englishmen had held euer since the battell of Durham) was taken by the tudalemen, and rased downe to the earth. Archibald earle of Dologlass, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made thist to agre for his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a counsell called, where in was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and bloud. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scottishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Arnerdale, and Lochmaben, which should for euer remaine to the Dologlass, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should inioy as in his former right & estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offences committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends. Perie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteously receiued, interteined, & nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he solicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Roksbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scottish & English (through whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patri- monie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was thiriffe of Pockshire. This man, after he had intised Perie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but fallie (as I suppose

The death of king Robert the third

1408. Buchanan.

His stature and qualities

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernour of the realme

Fr. Thin.

Jedburgh castell taken.

The earle of Dologlass is released and returneth into Scotland.

A motion made for the restoring of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March restored home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

James the prince of Scotland killed as prisoner in England. His bzinging by.

In happie captiuitie. His instructors in the tonges.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father king Robert.

Robert the third

Do: duc: Fr. Lef: cap.

Earle of March restored home

Fr. Thin.

Do: duc:

Fr. Thin.

suppose, saith Buchanan; for when the elder Perrie did often and importunately require to talke with him, he could neuer be perswaded by anie mens wordes to come, or enter speech to, or with the said earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) least his deceit would be understood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeit king yet boasting him to be of the princelie blood, was honored accordingly; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himselfe to be far from all desire of gouernement, to the end he might woorke his effect the more safelie) he died and was buried in the church of the sister Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.)

Rebellion mo-
ued by Do-
nald of the
Iles.

Donald sub-
dued Koffe.
Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 7.
cap. 268.

The earldome
of Koffe trans-
ferred from
the line of
walter Koffe
to the Ste-
wards.

The earle of
Mar.

The battell of
Harlow.

Doubtfull
victory.

The number
slaine.

About the same time, there rose great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who claiming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Koffe, was defeated of the same, by the practise of the gouernor, hauing by subtill conuenance, assured the said earldome vnto his second son the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foresaid Donald, by way of supplication, besought the gouernor to doe him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were forward speech, wherewith he took such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Iles he came into Koffe, and subdued the same at his pleasure. * The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lesleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honor of his owne house) I will set the same doونه in this manner. 30 Walter Lesle a noble man, after singular prowesse shewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honor into Scotland, where he married the daughter of William earle of Koffe, (slaine at the battell of Halidon) and with hir obtained the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of Koffe; and one daughter giuen in marriage to Donald of the Iles. This Alexander ioined himselfe 40 in marriage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire christened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractised in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Koffe vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortly after died. Wherevpon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lesle (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the 50 erldome of Koffe by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Koffe, and brought it to his subiection.) But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Murray, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Carrioch, purposing to burne Aberdeen.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not staing for more aid that was coming towards him, set on the enimies more rashlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discretlie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed ar- 60 rate of battell, as had bene requist. By reason whereof, great slaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both parts were faine to withdraw out of the field, and flee to the next mounteins, as glad to be seuered the one from the other. There was slaine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Pakelane, and Pakinhos. On the earle of Marres side, there died Alexander Agilue Thiriffe of Angus, with seuen knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of six hundred. This bat-

tell was striken on saint James euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Iles, after this bickering whole granted the victorie to his enimies, in fleeing all the night long after the battell towards Koffe, and from thence with like speed he passed ouer into the Iles.

In the yeere next following, the gouernor prepared to make a iourne into the Iles, to chastise the foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one morning somewhat before the breake of the day to Fast 70 castell, and wan the same, taking the captiue prisoner, whose name was Thomas Holdon. At the same time was the bridge of Korburch broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dotoglas of Drumlanerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same yeere (or rather in the yeere before) the vniuersitie of saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards was furnished with diuerse notable learned men brought in and placed there by James the first, to the end that by their instructions his people might increase in learning, to the further auancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill customs. Amongest sundrie other expert men in all 80 sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

* From this time by the space of ten yeeres (saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing done worthy of memorie, betwene the Scots and the English, either bicause the truce occasioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his sonne Henrie the fifth reigning in his place, and being all the time of his gouernment 90 buffed in the wars of France, the English ceased to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernor of the Scots durst not moue anie thing against the English, fearing least the R. of England would then returne home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was most assured should find fauour against him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pittie the misfortune of his imprisonment, and seeke to establish him in the kingdom. Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that 50 meane time, they were but some few and small excursions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Archibald Dotoglas, so (to answer the same) Dunfreis in Scotland was in the like order destroyed by the English. Besides which there was a certeine exchange of prisoners of the one nation with the other: for Morzac the sonne of the gouernor (taken at Halidon) was returned into Scotland, and Perrie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernor) was deliuered to the English, and after by the new king of England was restored to the title & lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland.

This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captiue) yet the vnjust detaining of James the sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the English, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie done in detaining him. The doing thereof so little offended this Perrie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courtesie) giue witness of the humanitie shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambassadors into Scotland, the one from the councell of Constance (wherof 25 liij. the

1411.
Donald of the
Iles doeth.

1412.
Donald of the
Iles submit-
teth himselfe.

Fast castell
wonne.
1410. Buc.
The bridge of
Korburch
broken downe

1411
The first be-
ginning of the
vniuersitie of
S. Andrews,

Doctors of di-
uinitie, and of
the canon law.
Fr. Thin.

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did studie reitene and defend the papacie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and persuation of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffele labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Hartine the first to the papacie.

Much what about the same time, John Drummond sene Patrike Graham earle of Strathern, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sailed, was byrnen on the coast of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offence. Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie deceased. We find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning south of France, after his first iourne thither (hauing in the same wone the towne of Harflet, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and encountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilist things passed thus in England, William Haliburton waue the castell of Marke, and sene all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes; by reason whereof they easilie recovered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots waue it, they likewise sene all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had bene gouernor of Scotland for the space of fifteene yeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yere 1420, being the sixteenth yere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandosme, and chancelor of France, both to renewe the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then soze inuaded his realme. Whereupon shortly after by decree of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Stewart earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archembauld Douglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all haile. Which rumoz being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgogney, vnder certeine conditions and covenants of agreement, king Henrie took to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agreement, it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindseie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioicing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne and castell of Chatelton in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortly after they were imployed in the battell of Baugy. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was coming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugy, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdome would they should haue done. The which when Clarence understood (either by Andreu Jregose an Italian, or by the Scottish foragers intercepted by his horsemen) he reioiced that he had so good occasion offered worthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his horsemen to arme themselves, with whom he went directly towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were nere vnto them in a village called little Baugy (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defence in flight; and for safegard entered the steeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilist these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenly caused them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilist the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe ouer, where (encountering with the English enimie) Hugh Kennedie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he lodged) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits. These

The king of England married the daughter of the French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arrived in France. Chatelton in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10. 1420. Euc. 1421. N.G.

The battell of Baugy.

Nic. Cul.

The earle of Strathern slain.

warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the Welshmen the first day of September.

The castell of Marke waue.

It is againe recovered.

1419.

The deceasse of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

Embassadors from the French king.

In remie Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

with their arrowes so streitlie kept this streit, that the horsemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake his horse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilste Clarence taketh his horse againe, and some of the rest scatteringlie do passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane cometh vpon them, & forthwith (desirous to make triall of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioice, that they had now obtained cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arrival in France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse those talvants which the Frenchmen laid vpon them, obiecting that the greedinesse of wine & bettels had brought them ouer into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to upbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honor, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdaining both at home and abroad, to be so infested with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whom (so noted for the richnesse of his armor) came John Swinton, which greuouslie wounded him in the face, and whom the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite ouerthrew to the ground. Which done, the English fled, and were greuouslie slaine, because the same continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eue, a little after the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whom were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Riddesdale, otherwise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meane sort. All which, as we haue here set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Pluicart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Macell, a knight of Lenox, which toke from him the cozonet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John Stewart of Dornick, for a thousand angels, which he after laied to payne to Robert Huxton, to whom he bought five thousand angels: & this saith that booke was the most common report at those daies. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, euen by the testimonie of the enuious aduersaries, as the writer of this storie saith vpon his credit. At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongst whom (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Summerset, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king James the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiance of the Scottishmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gaue him sundrie townes, castles, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his estate.

The earle of Buchquhane is created constable of France.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 10.

* King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deputed his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortly after come thither himselfe with an armie of foure thousand horse, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordingly). For with all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottish king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James ouer with him at that present into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottishmen that were in seruice with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remitt his ransom, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James answered herevnto, that he marvelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots so long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wise performe.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdom which appeared to be planted in the head of that young prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were besieged, wone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer needed to streine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practice against their enemies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Speldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a greuous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physike or other waies might be ministered vnto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the first of that name, deceased; after whom succeeded his sonne Charles the seventh, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, wherevpon the earles of Buchquhane and Winton returned into Scotland, and shortly after was an armie leuied, and siege laied both to Rocksburch, and to Berwick, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in derision was called The durtie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The durtin raid.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall vnderstand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albany, his sonne Mordo Stewart earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yeeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre vnmeet thereto, differing much from the wisdom and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so list he in carelesse insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France.

The answer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie toke it for a sufficient answer.

The cruel dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England.

1422.
The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburch and Berwick besieged.

The durtin raid.

Mordo Stewart earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland.
The repugnant vices reigning in Mordo Stewart.

place of the battell of Ternoille that they maliciously obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authority of the aduerfaries, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to talant and disgrace vs by his choicelike pen, he will take a knot in a rush, and make a mountaine of a molehill, in so vehement inuading against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were given them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much awrie out of the course of the historie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs? Yes trulie, and that I suppose will be well proued at another time, in another treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I praise the gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not seeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so soon forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Ternoille) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter words to talant Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince, while he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbiter*, and will be no seuerer censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other works (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chanced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of Alanfon enuieing that the Scots should daillie rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to bitter destruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish legher, the one disdainning to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloodshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came daillie newes of diuerse great ouerthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie capteins repaired into France: as amongst other, one Robert Patillocke of Dundee with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seventh aforesaid, shewing such proofe of his singular manhood and valiance in those wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable stead. Chicke his diligence and prowesse well appeared, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne vnto the French subiection, which had remained a great number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We

say, that the French reioicing of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not seeme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Patillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to vse in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Patillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish horsemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trope of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whom the chiefe gouernour was Robert Stewart (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennox) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Stewart, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the worthie young gentleman (the sonne of the said John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadoers sent (as before is shewed) into England for King James, behaued themselves so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that King James should be set at libertie, and also pay for his ransom the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he took to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Summerset. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his queene their niece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto King James and to the queene his wife, besides a cupbord of massie plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & value.

King James then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his dere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixteen or eightene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edinburgh on Care sendaie, other wise called Passon Sunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honor, joy, and triumph that might be deuised. At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernors) had bene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; where vpon, Walter the son of Spodac, Malcolm Fleming, and Thomas Boid being greivously accused, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parlement, which was appointed the first kalends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appeare, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

*Pag. 260. col.
1. numb. 30. 40.

The ransom
of King James.

Jane daughter
to the earle
of Summerset
first married to
King James
the first.

Gifts giuen
to King James
by his wiues
friends.

King James
cometh to
Edinburgh.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

Enuie and
discord.

Robert Patillocke
capteine of a power
of Scottishmen
sent into France.

Robert Patillocke
called
Le petit roy de
Gascoigne,
Fr. Thin.

James.

He is crowned at Scone together with his wife.

1423, Buch.
1424, Lell.**Andrew Graie.**

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King James keepeth an audit.

A parliament holden at Edinburgh.

A tax levied.

The commons grudge at payments.

Bills of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Morzdo.

Walter Stewart put in prison.

The oath of James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as soon as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quene, by duke Morzdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of Maye, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euere after in seruice with him, were advanced to certeine lands, possessions, and livings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in marriage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis vnto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Cotwrie and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Morzdo, namely the chancelor, the treasurer, the clearks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receivers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to doe concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining vnto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, vnto their friends and fauours, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduisedlie perused all endences, rolls, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and shortly thereupon called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie colt, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was levied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & took neuer anie tax after of his subjects, vntill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put by in this parliament, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions used and done by the sons of duke Morzdo, and other great pæres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Stewart, one of the sons of the said duke Morzdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Bassie, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Bold of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiven of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parliament also, James took a solempne oath, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oath by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parliament was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morzdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Douglas, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castles and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morzdo was sent to Carlaurocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Invention of the crosse, James Stewart the third sonne of duke Morzdo moued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbrzeton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Stewart of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne; but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, his two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthur the bassard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third advanced to great honors.] In the next yeare ensuing, James called a parliament at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Stewart with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morzdo himselfe, and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox were convicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not writtten in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it iustlie happened) by dissemperance of grieffe discover the secrets of his mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grieuous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morzdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Perth, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were sore afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had bene executed on duke Morzdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demeanour & dutifull obedience euere after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

The parliament being ended, John Mounthgomerie, & Humfreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Loughleune, which was kept against him by the runagat James Stewart, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Stewart of Dornkie (who was maister of the Scottish garrison of hoisemen in France, the rest of the former captiues being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Meins, as ambassador in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament holden at Perth. Duke Morzdo with his sonne Alexander, and diuerse other pæres of the realme arrested.

1425.

The towne of Dunbrzeton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 10.

A parliament holden at Sterling. 1426. Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Morzdo beheaded. Duke Morzdo and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox beheaded. Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 10.

new the old league betwene the two nations, and to conclude matrimonie betwene Lewes the sonne of the said Charles the seventh, and Margaret the daughter of R. James, both being yet verie young. Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the (1426) he determined (having pacified all Scotland betwene the mounteins of Granzeben) to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Inuerness (set in a convenient place in the furthest borders of Murray) to be repaired. Whither when he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement upon misdoers of the inhabitants, and to suppress their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great traines, were wont to fetch prizes from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the common people to minister sustenance to those idle loiterers; of which captives, some had a thousand, some two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their call to obey their commandement: with which they ceased not to keepe the good in danger unto them for feare of hurt, and made the caill (amongest whom they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king had gotten in, and drawn to come before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by threats: he committed about forty of their leaders to severall prisons: whose euill being throughlie knowne, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them, called Alexander Macro; and John Macarture; at what time also he beheded James Campbell (for the murder of John of the Isles) a man deerele beloved of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after executed, and some were permitted frelie to depart to their owne. The captives of the factions thus slaine (or for the most part restrained in prison) the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Whereupon the king calling them before him, did giue them a louing admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to do, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receiue themselves.)

1427.

Alexander
lord of the
Isles arrested.He is set at
libertie.

He rebellith.

The towne of
Inuerness
burnt.Alexander of
the Isles com-
meth to the
king and as-
keth pardon.

In the yeere next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Isles was arrested by the king at Inuerness, for that he was accused to be a succor & maintainer of theues & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time comming to reforme his former misdoings, he was pardoned and set at libertie; whereof ensued great trouble immediatlie after. For shortly by his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethifts, and with the same comming into Inuerness, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, insorcking with all diligence to win the same, till he was aduertised that the king was comming towards him with a great power, whereupon he fled incontinentlie to the Isles. Finally having knowledge that a great number of people lay bailie in wait to take him, that they might present him to the kings hands, he came disguised in poore arate to the holie rood house, and there finding the king on Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his prayers, he fell doونه on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death unto life.

At request of the queene, the king pardoned him

of life; but he appointed William Douglas earle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that with- in the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should rise by his means thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Ross, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; because it was knowne that she solicited hir sonne to rebell (in manner as is afore said) against the king. Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Isles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the inuasion of those Landmen, and fought with the said Donald at Inuerlochty, where the erle of Cathnes was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Here- with did Donald retorne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Isles. The king fore- moued with the newes herrof, came with a great 20 armie vnto Dunstaffe, purposing with all speed to passe into the Isles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Isles aduertised herrof, came to Dunstaffe, and submitted themselves vnto the king, excu- sing their offense, for that (as they alledged) the said Donald had constrained them against their willes, to passe with him in the last iourne. All those clans vpon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings fauour, and none to pursue the said Do- nald vnto death.

Donald Bal-
loch inuadeth
Lochquhaber.The earle of
Cathnes slaine
Donald Bal-
loch retur-
neth with vic-
torie & spoile
into the Isles.The clans of
the Isles sub-
mit themselves
to the king.Donald fleeth
into Ireland.
His head is
sent as a pre-
sent to the
king.
Three hun-
dred of Do-
nalds complices
hanged.Pardons
granted by
the gouernor
are void.Three thou-
sand offenders
put to death
within two
yeres space.

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Spakdonald
Ross a notable
robber.He shod a
widow.Fr. Thin.
same

Shortly hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Mdo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lur- ked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were also three hundred of his ad- herents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenses within three weekes space, after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble be- ing thus quieted, king James passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offenders and 40 misruled persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reiffes, and op- pressions, as had bene done afore in the countrie, should remaine unpunished through fault of iustice. It is said that within the first two yerres of his reigne, there were three thousand persons executed by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

And though such extreme iustice might haue bene thought sufficient to giue example to other to re- forme their naughtie vsages, yet one Angus Duffe of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of theues and robbers, and toke a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murray and Cathnes: for recouerie whereof, one Angus Murray folloved with a great power, and overtaking the said Angus Duffe nere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie 60 assailed him. Who with like manhod made stout re- sistance, by reason whereof there ensued such a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelie twelue persons aliue, & those so wound- ed, that they were scarce able to retorne home to their houses, and liued but a few daies after. About the same time, there was also another notable thefe named Spakdonald Ross, which grew with spoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor shod a woman with horse shoes, because she said she would go to the king, and reucale his wicked do- ings. As soone as she was whole, and recovered of hir wounds, she went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngifted person Spakdonald. The king (who before had heard the

Buchanan.

Lescus.

1430.

The quene
delivered of
two sonnes
at one birth.Fiftie
knights
dubbed.Archembald
earle of Dow-
glas arrested
and put in
pison.

Fr.Thin.

King James
delirious to
purge his
realme of vn-
ruly persons.Fr.Thin.
Buchan.li.10.An ordinance
for measures.Castles re-
pared and
munited.

same of others, and had gotten Makdonald in pison, determining to see due punishment for that wicked fact comforted the sillie woman, promising hir thozlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Whereupon Makdonald being brought out of pison with twelve of his companions, the king commanded that they (by the talion law of Moses that yeldeth an eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, and by the example of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull that was the author thereof for others) should likewise be shod with iron shozles, in that sort as they before had serued the woman, and then to be carried three daies togither about the cite for a spectacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraodinarie wickednesse; making proclamation that euerie one might see this new kind of punishment. After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the same) he chopped off Makdonalds head, & caused his twelve fellows and partakers to be hanged in the high waies.)

In the third yere after, which was from the incarnation 1430, on the eleventh daie of October, Jane the quene of Scots was deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first deceased in his infancie. The other succeeded after his fathers decesse in the kingdome, & was named James the second. At the baptisme of these two infants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the which, and first of all other, was William the sonne of Archembald Douglas, that succeeded his father in the earldome of Douglas. His father the said Archembald Douglas, somewhat before this time, or (as other authors say) in the yere next ensuing, was arrested by the kings commandement, and put in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by supplication of the quene, and other peeres of the realme, the king pardoned him (with John Kenne die) of all offenses, and set both them And Alexander earle of Ross at libertie. King James in this sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scotland in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the same of all offenders, and such as liued by reiffe and robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell without dread of anie euill disposed persons to molest them.

* Having thus with diligence suppressed the robberies (practised through all parts of his realme) he forgot not to looke into small offenses which were felonie done, and of lesse danger; determining to take awaie all euill customes which had continued in the realme. For custome, being an other nature worth being to passe, that a common error (by manie ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore (& because the inferior iudges would the better admit justice, if they had persons of high authoritie that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth speciall persons of the better sort (commended for their wisdom, grauntie, and holinesse of life) and made them iustices, whome he sent ouer all the realme, giuing them full authoritie to heare and determine all quarels and sutes (if anie were brought vnto them) wherof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect iudgement.)

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of good towines, to see that iust measures were used by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreover, he repaired and fortified the castles and fortresses of his realme, and stocked them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high advancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall livings, still as the same chanced to be vacant. [Having for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should enter the roome of a canon in anie cathedral church, vnles he were a bachelor of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all manner of vertue and good learning increased daillie through the realme during his time, and namelie musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be used in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scottishmen.

Such what about the same time, there was a parliament holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the the estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect; that where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing seemed to be ouerpassed, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his coming, should be of small auale, and that was, such superfluous riot in banquetting there, and numbers of coslie dishes, as were then taken by and used after the English fashion, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable wasting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance used amongst the Scottishmen in old time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then used, by receiving more excesse of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through prouocation of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sauces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthy in deed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scottishmen themselves were chieflie to be blamed, that had so quicklie yielded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie wherof appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the same, as excesse, sensuall lust, sloth, reiffe, and wasting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnesse, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prouidence in repressing this abuse of coslie fare, so much damnable to his people, he should doe the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subjects.

By these and manie other the like persuasions, bishop Wardlaw used to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and sursetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be used through the realme, licensing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiual daies, to be serued with pies, the use of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Fewer thelesse, such intemperance is risen in proceesse of time following.

Priuileges
granted to the
vniuersitie of
S. Andrews.Fr.Thin.
Lescus lib.7.
pag.274.Organs
brought into
Scotland.A parliament
at Perth.Bishop ward-
law inuiceth
against super-
fluous fare.Vices follo-
wing deli-
cate fare.Order taken
for suppressing
of coslie fare.
Use of baked
meates in
Scotland
when it began

The grædie
appetite of
gluttons ne-
uer satisfied.

following, that the grædie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gourmandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, though which their noisome surfetting, they fall daime into sundrie strange and lothsome kinds of diseases, being oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by dailie experience plainlie appeareth.

A terrible
eclipse.

In the same yere the seuenteenth day of June, 10 was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at three of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammass, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Roxburgh, besieging the castell for the space of fiftene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cartiage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wasted his powder and other munition, before hee could doe anie great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raise his field, and leaue the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuell occupations was decayed in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further advancement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to auoid sloth and idleness (the root of all mischief) he brought a great number of cunning craftsmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Paule Crawl
burnt.

Not long after, one Paule Crawl a Bohemian bozie, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wicliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrosse. [After which, the said king James began to take vpon him the person of a private man, sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in charged apparell, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so vnderstand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the same time was the abbeie of Charturac monks founded besides Perth, by king James, with great cost and magnificence.

The abbeie of
Charturac
monks built
besides Perth
by k. James.

The lord
Scrope am-
bassador into
Scotland.

Also the lord Scrope and other associates with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the first, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolved, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in league with the Englishmen; that both the towne and castell of Beruoke, with all the lands lieng betwixt Tweed and the Merrowe (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottishmens hands. King James hauing small credit in such faire promises, persecuted the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefoze being proponed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolved, and so thereupon the English ambassadors were dispatched without moze talke concerning that matter.

The offer of
the English
men to haue
the Scots to
ioine with
them in league.

1433.

In the same yere, that is to say, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arrested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edenburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancelor William Creighton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said castell, that they should deliuer vp the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The keepers durst not disobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and liuinges for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and fozeine enemies.

A parlement
was held at
Perth.

The earle of
March dis-
herited.

The king yet moued with some pittie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceasse, the lords of the counsell thinking the same too little, assigned forth to him and his son Watrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yerele, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to inioy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of March departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the sonnes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular prowesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgogonie at the siege of Liege, or Liuke, where he bare himselfe so manfullie, that fewe wane the like hono: at that iournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in marriage the ladie Iacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

The earldome
of Buch-
quhan giuen
to George
Dunbar.

1435.
The death of
Alexander
Steward erle
of March.

Leodium.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, hee provided him of ships, and made soze warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worse; but at length he toke a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being soze abashed, fell to a composition with him, and toke truce with the Scots for an hundred yeres. This earle of March so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. Hee brought forth of Hungarie sundrie great horses and mares for generation, that by such means the countrie might be provided of great horses of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, moze meet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anie seruice in the warres.

warres be-
twixt the earle
of March & the
Hollanders.

Truce twixt
the Scots &
Hollanders
for tearme of
100 yeres.

Good mares
brought out
of Hungarie
into Scotland
for breed.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make payment of such yerele tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Poziwaie for the westernne Isles, according

Ambassadors
out of Den-
marke.
Their request

C. J.

coding

taken
selling
eare.
taken
in
nd
began

according to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, unto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norway. The ambassadoes that came with this message were honorable received, and in like sort intertained by king James, who at their departure gave to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed Sir William Creighton to go with them into Denmark, ambassadoe from him, to the king there, who used himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmark and Scotland, speedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more ado therof ensued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadoes from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to have the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was given in marriage unto Lewis the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Anie great lords of Scotland were appointed to have the conveyance of hir into France, and great provision of ships made for that voyage, because the king was advertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scottish ships should passe, there appeared on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came upon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to have had their wished preie, even according to their expectation: but being received with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie understood how they were in a wrong boie, and so the whole amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scottish naue passed by quietlie without damage, incountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen with of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongst which number there were sixe of hir owne sisters.

In the meane time, whilste such things were a doing, Henrie Perrie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to doe from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Dowglafe earle of Angus, to resist this invasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongst whom were Adam Hepburne of Hales, Alexander Ramsie of Dalchouffe, and Alexander Elphingston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Perrie at Wipderden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine together with Alexander Elphingston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Perrie, with fiftene hundred other of gentlemen and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Shortlie hereupon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburch, but when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quene came to the campe in great haste unto him, signifying that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he took not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to provide the better for his owne security, but that prevailed little: for Walter Stewart earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending ever a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewart, and his cosine Robert Graham, to sea the king by one meane or other, which finally they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was detenned to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadlie. And though by the quenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, having contrived to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburch; yet forsomuch as these names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to achieve their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Whereupon the said Stewart and Graham came one evening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered by into the gallerie before the kings chamber doore, minding to have staied there till one of the kings seruants that was puaie to their dischely purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to have entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judas-like traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber doore to have fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doore, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he slept backe, and cried, Treason: but per he could get within the doore to have made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Whilste this was a doing, not without great noyse & rumbling, a yong virgin named Katharine Dowglafe (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Bolumie) got to the doore, and shent it: but because the barre was awaie that should have made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should have passed: she was but yong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crait in sunder, and the doore broken by by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 severall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrick Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the flore, by reason of such wounds as he received in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his vttermost deuoir to have preserved him from the murthcrers hands. Thus was James the first murthred the 21 day of February, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1426. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet thoroughlie finished.

Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, having the other parts also answering thereunto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but carried the matellic of a person, whom Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformation of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of euen proportion

The king informed of a conspiracie made against him, raiseth his siege.

The earle of Atholl head of the conspiracie.

Robert Graham.

Robert Stewart and Robert Graham murthcrers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Katharine Dowglafe.

The murthcrers enter the kings chamber, and slay the king. The quene is hurt. Patrick Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense. James the first murthred.

1437. Buch.
1447. l. Ma.
1426. Lelle.
His stature and forme of bodie.
Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 7.
cap. 271.

Sir William Creighton sent into Denmark.

Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmark.

Ambassadoes fourth of France.

The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to king James.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scottish fleet.

The Englishmen incounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

Henrie Perrie invadeth Scotland.

The battell of Wipderden fought betwixt Henrie Perrie and the earle of Angus. The Scots get the victorie. The number of Englishmen slaine. Prisoners taken.

Rocksburgh besieged.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square do answer each other, so that nature seemeth not to haue framed a creature moze apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times imbrace iustice moze streictlie and seuerellie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealtie. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of thre yeres) to haue executed thre thousand persons for their committed offences. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue bene perfozmed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did moze reuerentlie imbrace peace at home amongst his subiects, or moze willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues (although he obtained part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of god scholemasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best vnderstood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaieng on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be moze artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him (in Scotch meter) with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpenesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

Buchan, also
saith he wrote
Latine verses
with such good
grace, as the
rudenesse of
that age per-
mitted.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indoeur for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handie-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein: for by that means he perswaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough maners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweet condition of life & maners. Wherefore I may well say: A most hapie common-wealtie which was gouerned by so worthy a prince: & may iustlie exclaime: O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honor, beautie, and pillar of the common-wealtie. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in providing for his people to liue at quiet withyn doores; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessities required for the warres. For the inuention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before; he caused certeine peces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifieng the antiquitie in like maner of the same:

*Illustri Jacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,
Factus sum subito, nuncupor ergo Leo.*

John Maior
lib. 6. cap. 13.

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanye, in making away of David the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Moris to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length atteine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle (I say) was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onelie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the bratter of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swate

The search
made for the
traitors.

The execution
of the
erle of Atholl.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Although whose illusion being deceiued, he liued vnder vaine hope to atteine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn with his complices laid on hurdels, round about the towne at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throwne into the fire sickerhing before his eyes, & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

The prophetic
of a witch.

His nephew Robert Stewart was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he shew the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the hand that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised by in the said cart; and then were thre persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no haste death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighes, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Claton also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shameful kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and

Robert Stewart
executed

The ordering
of Robert
Grahams
execution.

Christopher
Claton.

Fr. Thyn
the

C.ij.

Lessius lib. 7.
pag. 79.

Strange
lights.
Pigs with
heads like to
Dogs,
A calfe with
a head like a
colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight
A sword scene
in the aire.

James the
second.
1436

Buchan, 103.

The daugh-
ter of the duke
of Gelberland
married to
James the
second.

Sir Alexan-
der Leuing-
ston gouernor.
Sir William
Creichton L.
chancelloz..

Disobedienc
in the Dow-
glas.

1437.

A policie
brought by
the queene.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-
uius (being then ambassadoz in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth) to the said king James, con-
sidering the crueltie of such a wicked fact, with the
spedie reuenge, therefore executed by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reueng-
ed the kings death, than by sharper sentence pun-
nish those that had committed such parricide.] In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstros things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A colt also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the harvest befoze the kings death, a blasing star
was sene with long streaming beames. And in the
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was sene gliding
vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitorous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is spec-
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the
croune, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from Fergus the first.
He was surnamed James with the fierie face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his
cheekes. This James at his comming to mans state
proued a stout prince, and married the daughter of
the duke of Gelberland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglas, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Leuingston of Calender knight, gouer-
nor of the king and realme, and sir William Creich-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the king being committed
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eder-
burgh. Archibald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countreies of Dowglas & Annardale, and would
neither obeie gouernor nor chancelloz, whereby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short time also, the gouernor and chancelloz were di-
uided. The gouernor with the queene remained at
Striueling, but the chancelloz had the king still with
him in the castell of Ederburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbade: whereby
neither of them was obeyed, nor anie execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing
such mischiese to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernors
side, and hereupon with a small companie repai-
red to Ederburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancelloz to suffer hir to enter the ca-
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within thre
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunk, as
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horse vnto Leth, from whence

he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of
the gouernor he was iustlie receiued, commen-
ding the queene highlie for hir politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancelloz was. Then
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancelloz in the castell of E-
denburgh.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood
through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene
and gouernor. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole gouern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancelloz
then perceiuing himselfe despituate of all helpe, made
agreement with the gouernor, vnder certeine condi-
tions, that he should reteine still the castell of Eder-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancelloz. Shortlie after the earle
of Dowglas deceased at Lethelricke, in the yeare
1439, against whome aswell the gouernor as chan-
celloz had conceiued great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crauford's daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourtee yeares of
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglas, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
ward wild and insolent.

About this season, James Stewart sonne to the
lord of Loche, married the queene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglas in his unrulie demean-
or: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the queene, were committed to
prison in the castell of Striueling by the gouernors
appointment; but shortlie after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancelloz, sir William Cre-
ichton, and Alexander Seton of Curdon, who be-
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great
forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather some what before, Alane Stewart lord of
Dernlie was slaine at Palmis thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Stewart of
Bolmet and his sonnes; where through there rose
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglas sent Malcolm Fleming
of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles
the seventh, king of France, to obtaine of him the
duchie of Lowzaine, which was giuen to Archem-
bald Dowglas at the battell of Wernouill in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
inioied the same all his life time, whereupon that
sute was the sooner obtained: which made the young
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a pozt, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the
court, that it should seme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe inough in main-
teining the like state and pozt, or rather greater than
euer his father at anie time had maintained before
him: inso much as he would ride with two thousand
horse, of the which number there were diuerse errant
thieves and robbers, that were borne out in their
vnlawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine captains of the Isles, as Lachlane, Spake-
laine, and Murdac Clifton, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Isles, baried, spoiled,
and burnt the countrie of Lenox, and slue John Col-
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and children, without respect of age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe,

The king
conueied vnto
Striueling.

An agreement
made.

The earle of
Dowglas
deceased this
life at Leth-
ricke.

1439.

The queene
imprisoned.

Alane Ste-
ward is slain.

The great
pozt of the erle
of Dowglas.

Lenox is he-
ried.
John Col-
quhoun, or
Cognuain
slaine.

A dearth.
Pestilence
reiffe.

Fr.
Buc

Fr.
Syn-
the-
ba

Fr.
an-
to-
fri

Fr.
La-
pa-
Et

reffe, oppression, death, and death of people. This
yeare also the gouernor took the whole administra-
tion vpon him, wherewith the chancelloz was displea-
sed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, re-
paired to Edinburgh, where he deuised the way how
to recover the king from the gouernor, and so on a
morning took foure and twentie men with him, and
rode to the park of Striueling where the king was
then hunting, and the gouernor absent at Perth.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 11.

At what time the chancelloz with great courtlesie
drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in
some feare to see such companie come vnto him, ha-
uing so few in his traine. Which when the chancelloz
perceiued, he praised the king to be of god comfort,
and in few words (fit for that time) exhorted him that
he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and de-
liuer himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander
the gouernor, liuing free from henceforth after a
kinglie maner; that he should not accoustome him-
selfe to obeye the pleasure and conetousnes of others,
that he should vse to command his subiects in all iust
and lawfull causes; and that he should deliuer his
people from these euils which increased vpon them,
by the ambition and conetousnesse of the rulers,
which he could not now well remedie or resist, except
the king would take on him the gouernement, the
which to doe, he had without all danger or trouble
provided a meane. For he had in a readinesse
sufficient number therefore, which should attend
vpon the king where so euer he would go, or to be
anie other matter as need should require. Which
the king taking with a pleasant countenance (either
because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble
the feare he had of the chancelloz) did fullie approue,
and went with his small unarmed companie and
the chancelloz toward Edinburgh.)

The king
went with
the chancelloz
to Edin-
burgh.

The chancelloz (as Hector Boetius saith) had cau-
sed the number of foure thousand horsemen of his
seruants, tenants, and friends, secretly to be readie
that morning about the town of Striueling, to resist
his aduersaries if they should haue used anie force
against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings
going thus with the chancelloz, they came to him on
the way, and attending him, brought him safelie
and without further trouble vnto Edinburgh, where
he was iustlie receiued. The gouernor when he
was aduertised hereof, was grievously displeased;
but because he knew not how to remedie the mat-
ter, he went to Edinburgh, and there got John
Junes bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichton bi-
shop of Aberdeen, to labor some agreement betwixt
him and the chancelloz: which they did in this wise:
the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancel-
loz, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so
by this accord they were made friends.

The gouernor
and chancel-
loz are made
friends.

Fr. Thin.
Lellies lib. 8.
pag. 294.
Buchan. lib. 11.

During which turmoiles, William Dotoglasse
(that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne
himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor, & dis-
daining to soine in societie of the chancelloz) did be-
lieve the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which
cause they sake by all means vtterlie to take him
a waie. For the doing wherof (to the end it might
be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a
parlement to be holden at Edinburgh; whither came
not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it al-
waies hapneth) but almost the whole countie came
flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which
they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a mi-
serable shew, that men could not behold the same
without great motion of a pittifull mind: when eue-
rie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the
children for the fathers, and the widows for their
husbands, did complaine that they were by the rob-
bers spoiled of all their substance. Wherevpon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle harts,
to rue the afflicted) there arose great enuie against
the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such
spoil, whose euils were now growne to such excess,
as by no means they might be suffered; whose facti-
ons were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that
none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as
did yeld themselves to their actions, and whose ri-
ches were so increased, as the weak could not well
find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate)
against their violence.

Wherevpon it liked the wisser sort (since their force
seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts
to be seuered) to die to policie and leaue strength,
not daring openlie to call the earle Dotoglasse by
that name of capteine of them, although they well
knew him to be the chiefe author and fantoz of those
people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancelloz
(for a time dissembling the hatred which they harbou-
red against Dotoglasse) perswaded the whole parle-
ment, that it were more conuenient with faire
speeches to pacifie Dotoglasse, than with shew of
suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further
heat; especiallie considering that he was of that
great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood a-
gainst them, might hinder all the decrees of the par-
lement: but if hee soined with the nobilitie, there
might be easie remedie found to salue all these pre-
sent euils. Thorough which wise and subtil persua-
sion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decreed a-
mongst them, that there should be honourable let-
ters directed to him in the common & speciall name
of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that
being mindfull of the honorable place which he pos-
sessed (and of his two thre ancestors, by whome the
common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie
singular benefites) hee should repaire to the parle-
ment, which well could not, and willinglie would
not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same
without his presence. In which assemble, if hee
would complaine of anie wrongs or griefes offer-
red vnto him, hee should be satisfied so fullie as they
might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had
committed anie disordered part, the nobilitie there
met would fullie remit the same, as well for the no-
bilitie of his, and the two thre memorie of the dedes
done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attri-
buted such actions to the inturie of the times, and
the frailtie of his age, and the persuation of others,
than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a
singular hope of great towardnesse, for the aduance-
ment of his name and benefite of his countie. Ther-
fore if he would come and soine with them, he should
receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office
of the common-wealth pleased him, to the end
that as in times past, their countie had bene ma-
nie waies deliuered out of most beaue dangers by
the hand of the Dotoglasses, so at this present, the
same might also by his presence and furtherance, be
againe aduanced and strengthened from and against
those intestine euils wherewithall it now fainted.
The young man (by nature and age gracie of glorie)
being moued with these flatteries, and the other
persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was
blinded with a certeine hope of god to happen to
himselfe) they now deemed it best (forgetting all for-
mer dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commo-
dities, and with that resolution took their iournie to
come to the parlement.

The chancelloz when he vnderstood they were on
there way, rode forth of Edinburgh manie miles
to meet the Dotoglasse, and courteously invited
the earle to his castell of Creichton, which late in his
waie

Ec. 11j.

waie as he should ride, 'at which place he was most honourable interteined by the chancelloz. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancelloz (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would bitterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mistlike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parli-
ment had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their deeds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would restraime himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robbrie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yong yeres might be taken for proofe of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a well-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edinburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then besieged the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouerno: (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a deepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edinburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Wherevpon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasses, that some of them did bolde and liberrallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to stay, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother Dauid, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnadvised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation thereof) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongst the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicause (they would not be restrained within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satiffie their euill humors: whose speeches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approued wisdom of the chancelloz and the gouerno:, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horse, and hastened his iourneie more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certaine destinie) casting himselfe heclong into the snares of his enemies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouerno: (according to his promise) was readie there to meet him, to the end the matter might seeme to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasses being honorable and friendlie by the gouerno: receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the middelt of this sweet meat (sower sawce being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yeres (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancelloz (griewing to see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enemy, whose life (said hee) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vncke James Dowglasses baron of Abircoyne that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but three yeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Gallotway, and was married to one William Dowglasses, sonne to this earle James before his deceasse, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the earledome of Dowglasses was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale; and Dumont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceasse of his father earle James, began to war vnrule, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglasses latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeye the gouerno: and chancelloz, wher vpon fundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

Againe (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnrule behauiour) aduance himselfe in pride, wherof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he incountering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, maintained his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was proude of these misdemeanors. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Cozmacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robbrie) did set vpon William Kilmene (thirffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a theefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than theues) the thirffe recovered the battell, and killed the capteine Cozmacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunroeton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twise taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was capteine of the inferiour castell,

Fr. Thin

Buchanan,
lib. 11.

I 443.

stell, and Patrike Galbith captaine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie happeneth in the minoritye of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowglasse, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue Simplicie) the other captaine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligentlie kept, than durie or the state of the time required, found opportunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be caried out of the same, conuerting the said castell to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike understanding thereof, and comming with foure vnarmed persons (to fetch awaie his furniture and household stuffe) entered into the castell; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armor, expelled the others out of the higher castell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferiour castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

1444.
The king was
ruler himselfe.

The king, after he came to the age of fouretene yeeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but toke the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowglasse informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdeemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his speciall friends and priue counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Leuingston, & William Creichton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the counsell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appeere before the king: which because they refused to do, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowglasse then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, sir William Creichton spoiled the earle of Dowglasse his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blacknesse were burnt and destroyed.

1445. Lesle.

The earle of Dowglasse ruled wholie about the king, & made Archibald his brother earle of Murray, by joining him in marriage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Forouer, Hugh Dowglasse was made earle of Dumont. Thus the earle of Dowglasse aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donal earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross, to the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowglas, toke a great preie of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntlie with the Dgillies on the other, met at Arbroth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuers barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Weirdie. On the earle of Huntlies side were slaine, John Forbes of Pettlege, Alexander Berkleie of Gartulie, Robert Sparwell of Teline, William Curdun of Burrowfield, sir John Diphant of Aberdacie, and five hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius saith.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawford eldest sonne Alexander Lindseie, and Alexander Dgillie or Dgillie (as some write him) about the office of the baillifetwike of Arbroth, the which the maister of Crawford intending, was displaced and put out by the said Dgillie. Whereupon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbie, and Dgillie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth, at the verie instant when the battels were ready to ioine, caused first his sonne to slaine; and after calling forth sir Alexander Dgillie to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demand ment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presently died in the place: whereupon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as before ye haue heard. The earle of Huntlie escaped by flight: but Alexander Dgillie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yeere of our Lord

1445.

* The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowglasse, the earle Dowglasse sent to sir William Creichton knight, to deliuer by the castell of Edinburgh. But Creichton (saing that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to do therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods shortly with confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creichton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creichton, they gaue out the same edict (as a beile of their malice and ennie) which Creichton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoener did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common proverbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Whereupon the Dowglasse (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creichton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creichton was reinuested with the honor of the chancelorship, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblown) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Stewart a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Kirkpatrick, two miles from Dunbreton, by Alexander Lindseie, and Robert Boid, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his blood, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) with in their danger. For the performance wherof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distress she now re-

Fr. Thin.

1445. I. Ma.
1446. L. Cl.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 279.

1446. Lesle.

Buchan. lib. 11.

sted, and that there was no meanes to relieue hir selfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by boote to Robert Wold at Dunbryeton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir hacke to hir owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Wold was present at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardross, into the Dunbryeton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceit of hir enemies, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (together with hir sonne) died there within few houres after. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Hales) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quene with him, to whome she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Hales the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by scaling of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to carle Dowglas, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

Buchan, lib. 11.

James Stewart is banished the realme.

He died.
The quene died.

1446.

Sir James Stewart surnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the quene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the carle of Dowglas. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The quene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fifteenth of Iulie, in the yere 1446. Her name was Jane Summerset, daughter to the earle of Summerset. James the first married hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable married: the first named Margaret, to the King of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Tuerer in Zealand: the fourth, to the duke of Austria: the fifth, to the earle of Huntley: and the sixth, to the earle of Morton. And by James Stewart hir second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchanane, and Andrew bishop of Murray.

Fr. Thin.

1448. Lefle.

King James married a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

1447.
1448. Lefle.

After the death of the quene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being empty, and without companie. In August, Alexander earle of Crathor did put to death at Leadune John Leonton, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had bene advanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kindred. Some after, sir William Creighton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Oterburne a canon of Glasgow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be joined in marriage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noble accompanied with diuerse lords both spirituall and temporell. At hir arriual she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the marriage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, iollity mirth, and all pleasant intertainment of those strangers that might be.

In the yere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which sir Alexander Levingston of Balendar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the persute of the earle of Dowglas were forsaken and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbryeton, and James Levingston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

suro, and David Levingston knights, lost their heads. James before his execution made a verie bolle declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof, with enuie euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creighton was also forsaken for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creighton to the kings herald, who charged them so to do. This forsalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancero) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

James Levingston made an oration.

W. Creighton condemned.

The yere next ensuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders. Dunfreis was burnt, and liketowse Antwike in England: but shortly after a truce was concluded for seven yeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars cease on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. This yere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for brideling the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoiling of other men; wherevpon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for avoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as touched the kingly maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglas, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntley, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsay, both men singularlie famed for their wisdom and valure.)

Incursions made.
1448.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 3, pag. 300.

1446.

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great bovie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots invading England, wasted the countrie, burnt tostones and villages, slew the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Herevnto followed daillie robes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laid wast: for on that side the Scots chieflie made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischief might seme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands counsell, an armie was appointed forthwith to invade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had bene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scozne and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland.
1450.

The Scots invade England.

A knight named Magnus

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglas earle of Dumont by the kings commission, having the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enemies would enter in to Annardale, betwixt with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing over the riuer of Sullweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarc, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countie on eche side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the campe

The earle of Dumont generall of the Scottish armie

The English armie invaded Scotland.

campe by sound of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skillfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell or middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselfe ruled.

Sir John Penneinton.

Wallase of Craggie.

The earle of Dumont exhorteth his armie.

The battell is begun.

Magnus is slaine.

The English men put to flight.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Dumont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie balliant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Maxwell, and lord Johnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scottishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell or middle ward, had scarce set his people in array, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to doe valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the upper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their hearts; and as they had force enough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with viter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrows came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice reprimed their cowardise, and with most pittie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue follied to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots herewith learned to be so encouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerneesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so lated about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they drave the Englishmen to breake array and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appere, pressed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and seeking to approach vnto him that he might haue woken his griefe vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottishmens violent oppression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staid manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of English men, to the number nere hand of three thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat about six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Persie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horsebacke,

whereby he escaped by flight: & beside these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dumont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefe of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king so fastlie receiued, honorable feasted, and highlie rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue bene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that shortly after followed, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forren enemies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three peares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglaſſe, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Craie, Salton, Seiton, and Miphant; also, Calder, Urquhart, Cambell, Fraser, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubilee which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Dumont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Sencelare earle of Orkades at that time chancelor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglaſſe, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vse) the reuenues of the Dowglaſſe. But when Sencelare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some & the most part reieted (though others embraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherewith the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglaſſes into law, and declared them publike enemies and detractors of his gouernement. And thereupon (prouiding an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway: where, at their first coming (since their captiues were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed into rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselves) turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended (in that such wandering theues should so lightly dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor toke the castell of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglaſſe (with extream labor of his souldiers) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castell thereof equall with the ground.)

The earle aduertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England, and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Annandale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also euenly proclaimed the kings lieutenant; but shortly after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recoverie of losses suffered by the Englishmen by certeine inrodes (as he alleged) the king toke the matter in verie euill part, for that he should seeme so to be had in contempt of the earle: and withall he mistrusted also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the prejudice of him and his realme: so that he staid not a little towards the earle. Who being thereof aduertised, came

The earle of Northumberland escaped by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Less. A truce for three peares betweene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglaſſe goeth into Italie.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan.

The earle of Dowglaſſe goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots

The earle of
Dowglas
sueth for par-
don.

came in humble tosse to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him, as-
suring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The earle
chose that
bare rule as
about the king.

He seeketh to
destroy the
chancellor.

The Dow-
glas con-
strained to
draw out of
Edenburgh.
Denmark a
part.

The earle of
Dowglas
presumeth of
assistance at
the hands of
his friends.
The Lord
Herres his
lands spoiled

The Lord
Herres han-
ged.

The confeder-
acie mis-
used.

The king sen-
deth for the
earle of Dow-
glas.

1451.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publicke office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Cheyrichton lord chancellor, and the earle of Dinkie) seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was coming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Cheyrichton, although wounded in deed right sore, and with in few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle of Dowglas at that present, if he had not shifted away the more speedlie, who being thus to his great griefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Ross to ioinc with him in that quarrell against Cheyrichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they couenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Cheyrichton, and all other their aduersaries.

The earle of Dowglas having concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passinglie increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of thieves and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great botie of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglas of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his rowme, and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annandale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered him by those linniers and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison, and shortly after by commandement of the earle of Dowglas he was hanged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and oportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargain right dearelie, being spoiled of that he had, and other wise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meaner sort once complaine for feare of further mischief: where the higher powers also sore lamented the great disorders daile increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme the same, inasmuch as it was greatlie doubted, leass the earles of Dowglas, Crawford, Ross, Murray, and other of that faction ment to put the king beside his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, whereupon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglas, willing him to repaire to his presence, flourishing then in Strimeling castell, which he refused to do, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe coming and going (as some haue said). And then about Shrovetide in the yeare 1451, he came to the court at Strimeling, where the king

tooke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglas purposed to make a pzoce on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In deed by reason of his kinsmen and allies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, unless he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archembald earle of Murray, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Dumont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Morvoun, that were of his surname and blood, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and linings, all of the same surname, and linked in friendship and alliance with other the chiefe linages of all the realme. Hereto by reason there had bene so manie valiant men and worthy captains of the Dowglases one after another, as it had bene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whether, nor against whom. It is said, that the earles of Dowglases might haue raised thirtie or fortie thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In deed the Dowglases had enter the gouernement of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglas: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke such indignation, that the earle here vpon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shrovetide. Then after the earle was thus made auaie, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might encounter with: inasmuch that those which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglases. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Strimeling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglases friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subiects, setting forth proclamations against the king and his counsell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas.

And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a wooden truncheon to an horses taile, they fasten thereto the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbore not to traile by and downe the streets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. Which which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of five hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, perjured, and such persons as were to be denounced enemies of all goodnesse and good men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the countreies & possessions of all such as toke part with the king, and stood fast remained in the execution of their obedient dutie. For they besieged the castell of Dalbeth, binding themselves (as conuined and perjured enemies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

The king
would ha
de.

Charles of the
surname of the
Dowglases.

The lineage
and great al-
liance of the
Dowglases.

The lane that
the people
bare toward
the name of
the Dow-
glases.

Callace
Bannan
betract
erie of C
lord.

The ear
Dunkel
betract

The earle of
Dowglas an-
swereth the
king over-
thwartlie, and
is slaine.

1451

1451. Puch
his brethren
make warre
against the
king.

Lands to the
Dunkel

The ear
Murray

Strimeling
is burnt.

The ear
Crawford

Lords to app

For this
Bannan

Writ
by in
of the

the ice before they had taken and spoiled the same. being grievouslie offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had secured themselves from the opinion & faction of the Dowglasles, whose furie growing still to extremitie, found such support (by the inclining multitude) that the king was put to his shifts that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James Kennedy the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntlie, which earle hearing that the Dowglasles had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, having assembled a great power, incountered him at Becthune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntlies passage, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Finwin, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongst other the earle of Crawford's brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Warrnamtown, whom the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the bestell axes, (as I maie terme them) the blimen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, & so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meane onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntlie had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said earle of Huntlie had the honor of the field, who neverthelesse lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntlie the same day before the battells ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Leslies, Jonings, Ogilvies, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifullnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense whereof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Wadzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntlie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge whereof, the erle of Huntlie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edinburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hamilton, the earles of Murray, and Dumont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasles seruants that were sent priuile to Edinburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasles seale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murderer, perjured, false, and a bloodsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but because the time of the yere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt vp their corne, and drove abate their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that mariage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles sute might not be obtained. Neuerthelesse, he kept his still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yeres next ensuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Kennedy bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton; but the said earle liued not past six moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yere 1454.

The same yere, the king called a parlement at Edinburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretended & feined mariage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray, George Dowglas earle of Dumont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earldome of Murray was giuen to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whom it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniuersall sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the foresaid Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, hee handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Whereupon at this parlement, George Creighton was created erle of Cathnessie, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as follow: Darlie, Halis, Boid, Lile, and Lorne. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a tourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small ado brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Whereupon the Dowglasles being vnto their shifts, the lord James Hamilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: whereupon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superio: in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delaye, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnseined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas vnderlie (as some write) refused to fight against his soueraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Whereupon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent conditions

The earle of Dowglas married his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and was pardoned. He departed this life.

1455. Buch. A parlement.

The Dowglasles forfeited, or (as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hamilton.

To. Maior.

The king would haue fled.

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li. 11.

Collace of Warrnamtown betwixt the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntlies brother.

1452.

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntlie.

The earle of Murray.

The earle of Crawford forfeited.

Lords cited to appeare.

writings set vpon the church doores of the king.

The lord
Hammilton
departeth
from the
Dowglas.

conditions of peace to be obtained.

Herewith also, the lord Hammilton being wiser than the residue, had the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that he should neuer see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the siege of Abircoyne, who sent him to the castell of Kosseline, there to remaine vnder safe keeping with the earle of Arkenie, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hammilton of all past offenses, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in marriage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the said lord Hammilton from the Dowglas, because the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles compaignie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, together with his brethren. The king lieng at the siege of Abircoyne, lost diuerse of his men, besides many that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong towre, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortreffe, shortly after hee wan the rest.

The earle of
Dowglas his
compaignie
shrinketh
from him.

He withdraw-
eth into Eng-
land.

He innodeth
Scotland.

The earle of
Dowglas dis-
comfited.
Archibald
Dowglas
earle of Hur-
rey slaine.
Earle of Dum-
mont taken.
Donald earle
of Ross.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawn (as yee haue heard) into England, within a while after got together certeine compaignies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselves together, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archibald, and took the erle of Dumont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got away. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstaffage, where finding Donald earle of Ross and lord of the Isles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and ready enough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald waited not onelie the kings possessions that lay nere to Dunstaffage, but also passing through Argile, did much hurt in all places where he came. He invaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Arismore, confreining him to take sanctuary. This done, he entered into Lochgubair, & so into Murray land, where he burnt the towne of Inuerkes, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

The earle of
Dumont be-
headed.

The countess
of Dowglas
Beatrice sub-
mitteth hir
selfe to the k.
The countess
of Ross.

In the meane time, the earle of Dumont after he was recovered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Whereafter the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recover his former estate, came to the king, and submitted herselfe, lateng all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull marriage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteously, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therewith hir estate. Shortly after also the countesse of Ross fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, whereof partlie she had already tasted. The king because he had made the marriage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir forth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thomson one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, slue John Sandlands of Calder the kings counsell, and Alane Steward at Dunbarton, for that

Patrike
Thomson.

they fauored the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offender into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glasgowe was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yere following, died William Haie earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland: also George Creichton earle of Catnes, and William Creichton chiefe of that familie.

The vniuersi-
tie of Glasgowe
founded.
1455.
Death of no-
ble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, whereby he lost (as the Scottish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countrymen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen, to the damage of his native land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas invaded the Scots, but taking little heed to themselves, and suffering their people to ride abroad to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scottishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, slaying diuers, and taking to the number of seven hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglas and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken by without more bloodshed, that the right line of the Scottish kings might be preferred. [For as it appeareth] he was amongst the English invading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Johnston and Colquhoun, who presented him vnto the king, whereupon the king after a sort banished him into the monasterie of Lendoze, where he was bound fullie and honorably receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeres, and then died.]

Fr. Thin.
1454.
Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 305.

And though the almighty God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much blood might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their hearts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the king, vsing the aduise of his kinsman James Benedie archbishop of St. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as hee anie waies forth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglas, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause hee euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglas, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomfited by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Benedie, hee advanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

James Benedie
archbishop of
St. Andrews,
chefe cham-
cellor to the
king.

The said Benedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the surname of the Dowglas, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same blood and surname, to reuolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselves vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infexibling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end hee had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that so long much as the Dowglas had their lands lieng so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselves) if they had happlie ioined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, that by kindred and alliance, the realme might

The paradise
of bishop
Benedie.

Great power
cause of salu-
tion.

might haue fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as lo. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and uttermost parts thereof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the p̄iudice may be great and irreuerable, that oftentimes thereof influeth; as well appeareth in the earles of Sparch, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorpo- rated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dow- glasses were once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controulment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfei- tures. And being counsellled chieslie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benedic that was his vnckle, and the earle of Dikene, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to du- lie to be ministred on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rath buth to keepe the cow.

1455
Parlement
hidden.

The Isles &
high land
quiettie go-
uernd.

Donald earle
of Ross, and
lord of the
Isles.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.

In the yere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie god lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parlement is contained. He bled the matter also in such wise with the principall capitaine of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quiettie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shew- ing all obedience as well in paceng such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serue in the warres with great compa- nies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Do- nald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had be- fore ioined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Douglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuerness (as before ye haue heard) naming him- selfe king of the Isles.

After thele, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, whose recon- ciliation was after this maner. When this Do- nald perceiued aduerse fortune to bessege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, crauing peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembryng the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vied to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatall rage and inuirtue of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should liue most quiettie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compas- sion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not utterlie pardoning, nor flat- lie reiecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen forth anie token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his be- halfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

uing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an wise mind) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grauously offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by spoiling) he had iniu- red: besides which also, he must with some worthie exploit wipe away the memois and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more besmeare a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by ouer- much lenitie and losse gouernement) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associats, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposi- tion, and from henceforth we will so account of him, as his works and not his words shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in qui- et, leaning it in the power of him and his, whether I, he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happy or miserable. Which said, the messen- gers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in Eng- land betwene the two houses of Lancaster & Porke; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the queene with hir sonne the prince, and Hen- rie the yong duke of Summerfet, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his vnckle the duke of Summerfet his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of Eng- land, hearing that king James was readie to sup- port the queene of England, ioined with hir, and pass- ed forward into the south parts, confreining the duke of Porke to flee the realme, and so king Henrie in- ioined the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of Porke his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

Dissention in
England.

The duke of Porke remembryng how readie king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottis subiects, & would suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Whereupon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, do- ing great hurt by destroyeng diuers towne, castels and pells in Northumberland, the bishoprike and o- ther parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne coun- trie. [At this time, the art of printing was first in- uented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whe- ther to great commoditie or discommoditie of lear- ning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Les- leus.]

King James
inuaich
England.

Fr. Thin
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 308.
The art of
printing first
inuented.

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of Porke by the counsell of the earle of Warwicke, ceased not to practise conspiracies a- gainst him, sent offsones to king James, requir- ing him of aid against them, and promised therefore to re- store vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoprike of Du- refine, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treatie and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged be- twixt the two princes (as the Scottis men alleadge.) The yere next following, at the queene of Englands desire

1458.

1459.

D. J.

desire

1460.

King James
the second is
slaine.

Alias 17.
22. Buchan.

1460.
The buriall
of James the
second.
The lamenta-
tion of the
people.

The amiable
conditions of
James the se-
cond.

The issue of
James the
second.
James the
third king of
Scotland.
Alexander
duke of Al-
banie.
John earle of
Mar.
Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 310.

Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 300.

desire to support him against the house of Forke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the quene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Forke, & got the upper hand of his enemies, at the same quenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Heerthelesse shortly after, when the earles of March and Warwicke sought still to mainteine their quarrell against the quene of England, she was constrained to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king James to approach with his armie unto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castles of Roxburgh and Marke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered unto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Roxburgh, laied his armie round about that castle, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Here the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordnance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthy prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat nere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approach so nere within danger of such peeces of ordnance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yere of his life 29. of his reigne 24. and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edinburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorrow and dolefull mone, than as is sene in a priuat house for the deceasse of the welbeloued master and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subjects in the campe, he behaved himselfe so gentlie towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride by and downe amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, even as he had bene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife quene Marie three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdom: the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hamilton had in marriage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

* All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongst the Scots: for there were amongst them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chiefe were James Kennedie bishop of saint Andrews, Turnebull bishop of Glasgowe, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberdeen, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Murray. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communalitie traouelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in anie publike hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer vered or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Desdone, and John Eldmaire, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudable sene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7. king of France, for singular seruice done unto him by the Scots, in the warres (betwene the English and the French) did honorable indowmant of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in A-

quitaine, who by that meanes (setting themselves in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthie families of that prouince, amongst which is that famous kined of Calbell de la Campana in Colouise, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Calbell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now liuing, head of that house did inioy the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Calbell being a senator in the high court of Colouise (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisdom had in great hono: of all men during his life, which stretched to extreme age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who doth at this day possesse the roine of his father, as a senator of the said court of Colouise. And his other children with great hono: are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Some strange sights there appeared before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie sene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermaphrodite, that is, a person with both shapes, but esteemed for a woman onelie, till it was proued, that lieng with his maisters daughter might lie where she dwelt, she had got the young damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfeited hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quick, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Fensiden, who used to kill young persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarce twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preferred and brought up in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which her father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quick: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruel inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raike vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbear to eat it. And thus with an impitent and stubborn mind she suffered the appointed execution.

After the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seven yeres of age succeeded, and shortly was sent for to the siege of Roxburgh, whither he was conueied by the quene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of his countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with hir sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecoverable losse of hir husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and about all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploy their whole indouers and forces to the winning of that castle. Whose words so encouraged the captains and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castle was wonne, rased, and beater downe flat to the ground: and the young king was crowned at

A blazing
starre.

An hermaphrodite, that is, a person being both man and woman.

A wicked theefe that used to kill young persons and to eat them.

His daughter
saileth to the
like practise.

Her words
going to ex-
ecution.

James the
third.

The stout
mach of the
quene.

Roxburgh
castle rased
and broken
downe.

1461. I. M. at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great re-
1460. Lelle. lishing of all the noble men, and other being there
present in the armie.

warke besie-
ged and town.

Seven go-
uernors cho-
sen.

This done, they besieged the castell of Marke,
which likewise they toke, and threw downe, and af-
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-
uernement of the realme. And because the king was
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne
both king & realme, as these, the quene his mother,
James Benedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was
sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-
cow, the earles of Angus, Huntlye, Argyle, and
Mkenzie. These, so long as James Benedie liued,
agreed well together about the gouernement of the
realme; but within a while after his decesse, they
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by Hec-
tor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of
this kings reigne, there was discorde in breiuing be-
twixt the quene and the archbishop Benedie, who
perceluing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood hir in that
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill
warre, if the bishops of Glascow, Dunkeld, and A-
berden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand
to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who
did so much in the matter, that they compounded the
variance in this wise.

The quene mother was appointed to haue the
charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alex-
ander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and
likewise of his two sisters: but as for the administra-
tion and gouernance of the realme, the should leaue
it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by
common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glascow
and Dunkeld, the earle of Mkenzie, the lord Gra-
ham, Thomas Boid, and the chancelor. About the
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-
tage of his brother, John lord of Loche, took him,
and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle
of Argyle, taking great indignation with so pre-
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and coming
against Beir, took him, and set his brother at liber-
tie, and brought the offender vnto Edinburgh, where
he died in prison. Whereouer, shortly after Donald
lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had serued
obedientlie in the armie at Roxburgh, and was (as
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began anew
to vse his old manners, spoiling & harrieng the whole
countrie of Atholl, and took the earle thereof, and
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the
Isles.

To repress his inturious attempts, the regents
together were preparing an armie; but therewith
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the
Isles, and other the principall offenders of his com-
panie, were stricken through the hand of God with
a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl
and his ladie were restozed, and those frantike per-
sons were brought vnto saint Brides church in A-
tholl, for the reconerie of their health, but it would
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in
the castell of Inuerness by an Irishman that was a
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king
of England being vanquished by his aduersarie
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fir-
ers preachers, with his wife quene Margaret, and
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merset, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

And to the end this firme amitie thus begun,
might more increase, and be further strengthened:
the two quenes Margaret (of England) and Marie
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-
gan to intreat of a marriage (hoping by amitie to
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-
twene the daughter of James the second king of
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-
land) being called prince of Wales, although none
of them as yet was aboute seven yeares old. Which
marriage, Philip duke of Burgognie (uncle to the
quene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quene
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his
ambassador Cruthusius, a noble man and of great
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enmi-
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did depelle en-
uite anie good successe to happen to anie of that race,
whereby it might increase or flourish; and therefore
sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose
cause, and at whose request, the said marriage was at
that time rather deferred, than utterly broken off.
But the end thereof (which was greatly feared by
this Philip to be the consummation of the marriage)
was by the aduersie fortune of king Henrie utterly
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-
rie being incouraged (by the beneuolence of the
Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure
what aid he could of his friends beyond the seas, to
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourne
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne
& castell of Berwike into the Scottishmens hands,
whether by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid
safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will,
to the end he might haue the more support and fauor
amongest them, it is incertaine by the variable re-
port of writers. Where thelesse, shortly after a truce
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward,
for the terme of fiftene yeares, vpon what condi-
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I
find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of
Maie, in the yere 1462, at the citie of Poise,
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glascow, the earle
of Argyle, keeper of the priute seale, the abbat of Wor-
le rod house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William
Crawton knights, ambassadors and commissio-
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedie
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of
his father king James the second. Pierre de Be-
zeie, otherwile called le Seigneur de la Marrenne,
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the
French king Lewes the eleventh, with two thou-
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie a-
gainst king Edward. This Bezeie was one most
in fauour with king Charles the seventh, father vnto
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did
suppose) he was appointed by k. Lewes (who greatly
loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourne, to the
end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture;
notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest
on the sea, and also of the enimies hands, he wan the
castels of Hamburg and Dunstanburgh, which he
cast to the ground, and after took in hand to kepe
the castell of Antwike, and being besieged therein
Do. is. sent

The quene
went into
France for
aid.

Where he de-
liuered to the
Scottishmen,

A truce for
15 yeares,

1462.

James Bene-
die the archbis-
hop gouern-
er of the
realme,

Monsieur de
la Marrenne
sent forth of
France to aid
the part of
Margaret
quene of
England,

The keepeth
Antwike cas-
tell, and is
besieged.

o-
hat
on
th
wo-

o-
it b-
il
rlong
t

ghter
the
rile.

Donald of the
Isles effron-
tereth.

2ds
ere-

Donald be-
came mad.

Hitherto hath
Hector Boc-
tius continued
the Scottish
historie.
He was killed
1461.

Henrie king
of England
by safe con-
duct cometh
into Scot-
land.

nrgh
taken
oken

He is rescu-
ed by the earle
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

sent for aid to the Scots.

George Dowglas earle of Angus as then war-
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a powder
of 23000. men, and comming with the same to the bor-
ders, chose forth of all his numbers five thousand of
the most able ho[m]emen in all his armie, and com-
ming with them to the castell about the middell of
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege
beholding the maner, and not once making profer
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,
that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise
minded, alleging that better it were to let them passe
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than
to iopard vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for
though their number were not great, yet were they
picked and chosen men, able to atchiue a great enter-
prise.

1463.
The quene
mother died.

Adam Hep-
burns famill-
aritie with
the quene of
Scots, mo-
ther to James
the third.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie taken on
the sea.

1464.
King Henrie
returneth into
England.

King Henrie
is imprisoned.

1466.

After this, the firste of Nouember, in the peare
1463, the quene of Scots, mother to James the
third, died at Edinburgh, and was buried in the
college of the Trinitie, which the hir selfe had found-
ed. This woman, after the decesse of hir husband
James the second, liued somewhat dissoluelie, pro-
curing Adam Hepburne of Wales a married man to
keepe hir such familiar companie, as sounded great-
lie to hir dishonour: for that she could not with in
the whole realme find some single man amongst all the
nobilitie, with whom she might haue married, & in
some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander &
infamie. In the same peare, Alexander duke of Al-
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he
was returning from his grandfather the duke of
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrews James
Benedicte, caused both the said duke and also the ship,
with all the goods there in being, at the time of
the taking of it, to be restored; for otherwise (as he flat-
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce anie lon-
ger concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor
which he should find in England, perswaded king
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie
of Scottishmen he entered England, and manie
of the north parts resorted vnto him: but at length,
at his comming to Exam, the lord Pontacut with
a great powder was readie to giue him battell, and
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Kosse
were taken and put to death; the duke at Exam, and
the lords at Felwocastell. King Henrie escaped verie
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a
certeine space after, till at length he thought to re-
turne into England in such secret wise, as he should
not haue bene once knowen, till he might haue got
amongest his friends, which would haue supported
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and
deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut
him vp in the tower of London till he was at length
there made away, as in the historie of England ye
may see moze at large.

In the peare 1466, that famous bishop James
Benedicte departed this life, and was buried in the
college of saint Sauour, founded by him within
the towne of saint Andrews in most sumptuous
wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all
other Scottish bishops, of whome anie writer maketh
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie
buildings and works which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three espe-
ciall things for rarenelle and magnificence, were his
college of saint Sauour (wherein youth might be
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-
chre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie piece of
work, such as before had not bene accustomed for
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-
derfull burden: all which three, the common people
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like
charge.] Besides his bishoprike, he held in his hands
the commandarie of the abbeie of Bettinwene,
which was worth vnto him eight hundred crowns
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in
October and Januarie, there were manie edicts
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefel-
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also
there was a proclamation made, that none of the
Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue a-
nie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

Fr.Thin.
Lellius lib.8.
pag.314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lelle.
1469.
Fr.Thin.
Lellius lib.8.
pag.315.

In the peare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie,
king James the third, being as then about twentie
peares of age, married in the abbeie of Holie rood
house nere Edinburgh, the ladie Margarete, daugh-
ter to the king of Denmarke and Polande, which
ladie was at the same time not past twelue peares
of age, some saie sixtene. Hir father the king of
Denmarke and Polande, in name of hir dowry,
transported and resigned to B. James all his right,
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.
The ambassadoys that were sent into Denmarke
to conclude this mariage, and to conuene the bride
into Scotland, were these: Andrew Burdeir bishop
of Glasgowe, the bishop of Dykne, the lord Auandale
chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of
Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;
whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir
husbands arrivall with the other in the Forth, got
out of Edinburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,
gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king
had conceived against him: who perceiving him-
selfe in that danger he stood if he toke land, retur-
ned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with
him.

1469.
The mariage
of James the
third.

The king of
Poland res-
igneth his
title to the out
Isles.

The earle of
Arrane in the
kings displea-
sure.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into
Scotland, causing a diuorcie in absence of hir husband
to be sued & gotten forth against them, marrying hir
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whom he
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-
band had in gift before. Of this mariage, those of
the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are nearest
of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.
[For (as saith Lellius, lib.8. pag.316) if the line of
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]
But now to shew further what we find written con-
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of
the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferre-
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed
vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Boid
being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time
grew so far in fauor with the king, that he might do
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to
surpe the whole rule & administration of the realme
into his owne hands, soze to the griefe of those his
said associats being ioined with him in like office.

Fr.Thin.

Giouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish histo-
rie.

The lord
Boid beareth
all the rule &
about the king.

Whereof the state of the common-wealth through
the dissention thus bred among the gouernors, was
brought

Through de-
fault of agre-
ment in the

governors, e-
all disposed
men war
bold to swoppe
mischiefe.

brought into a miserable plight; for iustice in most places wanted his due course, so as thieves and robbers taking boldnesse thereof, not onelie vpon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publike peace, and namelie the inhabitants of the out Isles fell to their wonted trade of pilfering, so that passing ouer in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they tooke prizes of cattell and other goods, greatlie to their profit, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts ouer against them. In the north parts also, seditions tumults amongst the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raised, to the great disquieting of the whole countrie. Such disorders continued no small time, and because the said Thomas lord Boid bare greatest rule about the king, the blame (as it commonlie happeneth) was imputed to him.

They that be
in authoritie
be euer subiect
to the spitefull
blow of en-
uies dart.

At length, when the king was growen to ripe yeares, and able to see to the administration of the common-wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certeine graue personages to haue some regard, that such misorders as disquieted the whole state of the realme, might be reformed. Whereupon he called a parlement, in the which, whether through enuie that the lords had conceived against the lord Boid, or for that his doings no lesse deserued such complaint, was exhibited by generall voices of the states against him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole assemblie, that he should come to answer in iudgement such crimes wherewith he was charged; but when he refused so to do, and in contempt of the kings authoritie got together a power of armed men to defend him from iniurie, that might seeme (as he pretended) to be offered him: at length, the king was driuen of necessitie to make preparation for the leuieng of an armie to apprehend him by force. Whereof Boid being aduertised, fled into England, because he perceived himselfe not able to resist the kings power. The king assured that he was thus auoided out of his realme, banished him for euer, and seized vpon his lands and goods as forfeited.

The lord
Boid is accus-
ed.

He refuseth to
be tried by
swop of arrai-
ment.

He fleeth into
England.

He passeth in-
to Denmarke.

His baine
hope to ob-
taine pardon.

He goeth into
Italie.
He is mur-
dered.

After this, when the said Boid saw no hope to returne againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the mariage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before haue heard: and then in hope by occasion of this mariage to obtaine pardon, returned now in companie of the bide, and of those ambassadors that were sent to haue the conueiance of his wife that came to him on shipboard before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greatlie, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and tooke his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finally he went into Italie, where at length he was murdered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was diuorced from his wife the kings sister, he begat on his sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boid of Balmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the mariage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

1468.
The ambat-
sadors sent

bishop of Glasgowe, William bishop of Dkeneie, Andrew lord of Anandale chancelor of the realme, Martine Glane the great almoner, & the kings confessor, Gilbert de Kericke archdeacon of Glasgowe, David Creighton of Craufston, & John Shato of Halkie. These ambassadors being dispatched into Denmarke in Iulie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Haffnen, where B. Christierne then remained, and were of him iustlicie receiued, & well heard concerning their sute, in so much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his counsell about the eight of September, it was agreed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be giuen in mariage vnto B. James of Scotland, and that the Isles of Dkeneie, being in number 28, and likewise the Isles of Shetland, of which there are eightene, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, till either the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the mariage monie should pay vnto king James, or to his successors, the summe of fiftie thousand florens of the Rheine. This mariage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those Isles, right profitable vnto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of possessing those Isles.

In the moneth of Nouember next ensuing, after the mariage had bene consummate in Iulie before, within the abbacie church of Holie rood house (as before ye haue heard) or in saint Giles church in Edinburgh (as other write) the three estates were called to assemble in Edinburgh, where the quene was crowned, and the parlement holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edinburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and quene made their progresse into the north parts, and were honozable receiued in the principall cities and towne where they came, and likewise by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioicing of the whole realme. After their returning to Edinburgh, the king called a parlement in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and provide nets for fishing. Also it was ordeined that none should weare silks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might dispend one hundred pounds in lands by yeere: and that the football and other vnlawfull games should be debarred, and the exercise of shooting mainteined. James eldest sonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yeere 1472, who afterwards succeeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Christierne B. of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this young prince being his nephue by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the Isles of Dkeneie and Shetland.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the seventeenth day of Ianuarie, vnto the eighteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the seven starres. A great ship built by Benedict the late archbishop of saint Andrews, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost beside Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Many merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whom was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay vnto his taker one James Ikar foure score pounds for his ransome per he could be suffered to depart. The abbat of Dunfermling being vacant,

vnto Den-
marke as Fer-
rerio saith.

The mariage
concluded.
The Isles of
Dkeneie and
Shetland
ingaged.

1469.

1470.

1471.

The like act
for shooting
was institu-
ted by king
James the
first An. 1425.
John Maior

1472.

The right to
Dkeneie and
Shetland
relinquished.

A blasing
starre.
1473

A shipwreck.

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Abbeies gi-
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vacant, the count chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Treichton abbat of Dalley therunto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Schaw parson of Spin- to was preferred by the king unto the abbacie of Dalley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie used, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the counts elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed upon such as followed the court, and lived courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughty examples of their gouernors fell to the works of wickednesse, whereupon daile much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.

1474.

Primate and
metropolitan.
The lue bi-
shops in
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of
the Isles at-
tainted.

1446. Lelle.
The king rais-
ed an armie.

The lord of
the Isles sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

The resigneth
Ros. Cantire,
and Knapden.

1477.
An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same see erected into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Forke was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue access to their metropolitan, he challie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotl and should be vnder his primasie, who would not agree thereto, but promised the king by way of a taxation eleuen thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelats sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parliament was called in September, it was proroged untill the twelue day after Christmas. In Ianuarie the parliament was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was attainted, partie for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

In Maie, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certeine conditions; and thereupon in the beginning of Julie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parliament vnto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Knapden, which earledome the king annether to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seigniorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examin by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and profes being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simoniacke, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetual prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to see him safetie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarks Isle in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on passion Sunday in Lent, within holie rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primate and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell, but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leaving his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable receiued, and longlie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Auendale, who lost at that siege thre god knights, the lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Auch, & the lord of Cragwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Ramsie was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Auendale entered, and found it void of all things whereof anie account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuaue him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings yonger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and hereupon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in marriage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the marriage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuaue him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, therewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirdeen (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene euer a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind

The archbi-
shop is not
well handled.

Depressed.
1478. Lelle.

Put in prison

1478. Lelle.

1479.
Wil. Schewes
is consecrated
archbishop.

The duke of
Albanie im-
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh
besieged.

1479. Lelle.
Doctor Ire-
land sent vnto
the king of
Scots.

1479. Lelle.
1480.
John Ste-
ward a pris-
oner.

was put to
death.

A marriage
concluded.
1480. Lelle.

Bishop Spen-
ser died.

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1481.
King James
sent an ambaf-
fage unto K.
Edward.

K. Edward
sent a nauie
into Scot-
land.

Ships taken
and burnt.

The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.

A legat in-
bathed him.

In other na-
me sent into
Scotland.

Berwikke af-
feged by an
armie of Eng-
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of
Albanie com-
meth into
England.

The prefump-
tuous demean-
our of the
Scotifh nobil-
tie.

Thomas
Cochran.

Embaling of
coine.

The kings
concubine na-
med Daifie.

mind and melancholie at Edinburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds unto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgogrie, nor any other against the king of France: for if he did, he must needs support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent forth a nauie of ships into the Forth before Leith, Kingorne, and Pettentown, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fleet entering the Forth, took eight great ships which they found in that river, and landing at Blackness, burnt the towne, and a great barge that late there at rode, and so returned.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongst other, the lord of the Isles came with a great companie: and now the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinal legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apostolicke, not to proceed any further in his purposed iourne, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obey, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent forth his nauie againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Jns Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scotifh borderers invaded the English marches, destroyed townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwikke to be assaged both by sea and land all the winter season, and ouerthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defense thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne for that time so stoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had married in France, perceiving himselfe not so well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorablie, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and thereupon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great nauie by sea to invade Scotland, and appointed capteins and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approach to invade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same unto the towne of Alwode, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archembald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntley, John earle of Lennox, James earle of Buchanane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things done and practised by him contrary to his honor and the common-weale of his realme; and speciallie, because he used young counsell of lewd persons, untoward and base of birth, such as Thomas Cochran, whom of a mason he had made earle of Spar, through whose deuise and counsell he had caused to be coined certaine monie of copper, not conuenient to be current in any realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Moreover, that he would not suffer the noble men to come nere his presence, nor to take their counsell in governing the realme, but gaue himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the quene his lawfull wife, & keeping a naughty harlot called the Daifie in his place.

Also they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Spar to death, and banished his

other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughty persons. And hereupon they took Thomas Cochran earle of Spar, William Roger, and James Honimill tailor, who with others being convicted, were hanged ouer the bridge at Alwode. Onelie John Ramsleie a young man of eightene yeeres of age, for whom the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edinburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Artholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Steward elect bishop of Murray, & John lord Darneleie to the English armie, lieng then at Tuder, to take truce for thre moneths: but the dukes of Gloucester and Albanie came forward unto Kestralrig, where they incamped without any resistance. The English nauie lieng also in the Forth was ready to assist their fellowes by land.

Whereupon, certaine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeeld, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancelor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agreed upon certaine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earldoms of Spar and Spar. He was proclaimed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came unto Berwikke, where they hauing woone the towne as they passed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir John Clovington, with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the castell, and now they enforced the same: but the lord of Hales then capteine within that castell, defended it verie manfullie, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the counsell, for reliefe to raise the siege. The duke in deed raised an armie, and came to Alamer more, but when they within perceived that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yielded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that yeere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scotifh mens hands the space of 21 yeeres.

The king remaining as prisoner in Edinburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancelor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of saint Andrews, the chancelor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Striueling to visit the quene and prince, where the duke was perswaded by the quene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go unto Edinburgh, and to restore the king unto libertie. The duke accordingly to the quenes pleasure comming to Edinburgh, besieged the castell and won it, removed the earle of Artholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which god turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of saint Andrews, the chancelor, and others, which remained at Striueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortly after, the bishop of saint Andrews, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of maister Andrew Steward prior of Cleuelowden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murray. This yeere there was great theft, reiffe, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland cer-
taine

Cochran
earle of Spar
and other hane
gcd.

The king
kept under
arrest.

The duke of
Albanie is re-
conciled.

The castell of
Berwikke is
taken.

1482

The king a
prisoner.

The king is
set at libertie.

The archbi-
shop resigneth

1483.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 8.
pag. 323.

1482.

teine ambassadois, which were Berold or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadois) seeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whome were sent into France divers Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and having imployed his service on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiors following the conduct of Berold Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king, whose part they toke against Richard at that time usurper upon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did verelie loue the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused deadvle wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slaine at Pans by the duke of Lorraine) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did apply all his force and devile to erpell Alphonse out of the kingdom of Naples, which at that time succeeded happlie unto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie removed. But after, when the Neapolitane people did revolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, each part striving to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieslie performed by the Scots, as principall captains of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots, John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Lozges, Bernard Steward (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he twislie manie yeres did execute) Robert Steward marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, wherof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honozable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Subzia, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the evill custome of common speech, they retaine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and used, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestoires did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whome use of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Douglasse, as the armes of them both do well witnesse: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) doth governe the church of Canallion. Again, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scoties in Subzia, wherof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie; also Francis Scotia, lord of Pine and Spodone, and other nobles of the marquedome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schitties (descended of James Orlando Scot,

which we have heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestoires to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of Saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthood out of Scotland.)

10 The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was poison given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court unto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchanane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whome he had againe taken unto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them, & withall prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, wherof the duke being advertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Douglasse, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland upon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Cockpall, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Douglasse taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrie, was sent to the abbey of Dundoris, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and thereupon taking a milking, secretly departed our into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well interteined in France by the king there: and finally running at tilt with Lewis duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouvernor and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Purrey, and abbat of Scone. His yere the lord Hume, Corekles, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrews unto Rome, for certeine privileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, having not long before made diverse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued thereupon for a truce, which came to passe even as king Richard wished, so that condescending to have a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the twentieth day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancelor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Aile, Laurence lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stubhall, Archembald Quitelaw archdeacon of Lawden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Cuthorpe keeper of the kings privie seale, Thomas Barrow maister of the rols, sir Thomas

Poison given

The king is forsaken.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland invaded.

Earle Douglasse sent by to an abbey.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome. The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

Certeine noble families in Italie and Subzia sprung from the Scots.

Thomas Bisan chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Richard Katcliffe knight, William Catelbie, & Richard Salheld esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thre yeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and to continue unto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that not one, lie all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enemies should be avoided, & by no colorable means or waie in anie case used. The towne and castell of Berwlke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castles, holds, and fortresses, during the tearme of the said thre yeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered unto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Whereupon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agreement for that castell, unless the same might be restored unto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of forty daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusal to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands about the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of means by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise abstaining from making anie issues or reissues upon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recovering the said castell, yet the truce should endure for all other rights and possessions, notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him upon demand made. Scots already abiding in England & Iwoyne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within forty daies. If anie warden of either realme should invade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclaime him traitor, and certifie the other prince thereof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Whomsoever alwaies that the offender of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince do presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contradors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enemy, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, coming, or tarrying within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues comprised in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugal, the archduke of Austria & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Portugal, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotland, and the Island of Lundaie lieng in the river of Seurne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservatores on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindsay, George earle of Huntlye lord Gordon and Badenath, John lord Darneleie, John lord Benedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Halcene, Laurence lord Diphant, William lord Borthwike, sir John Kofle of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Elphinstoun, sir John Lundie, sir John Ogilvie of Arlie, sir Robert Hammliton of Fingalton, sir William Balke of Lamington, sir John Benedie of Blarqbone, sir John Wemes, sir William Kochwen; Edward Stochton of Riche patie, John Dundas, John Kofle of Spountgreman, esquires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redress of certeine offences done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Katcliffe, sir Christopher Morellie, sir Richard Salheld, or thre of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedie, the lord Spountgonerie, the lord Lile, John Partwell steward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sandquhan, or thre of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Roibenboyne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Haldanboyne, for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appere the earle of Huntlye, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancelor of Scotland, the lord Anandale, the lord Seton, the lord Diphant, the lord Stubbhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greyhocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Calcoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits appertaining to Berwlke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a marriage to be had betwixt the prince of Northsate, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Poole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the kings sent their ambassadores againe unto Nottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the marriage was agreed upon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by protores and deputies on both parts. The foresaid young ladie was immediately called princeesse of Northsate, but by the short life of king Richard his uncle she shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and marriage aforesaid, for the expelling and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during

A peace concluded for thre yeres.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England.

An article for the wardens of the marches

A clause to be put in safe conducts.

An article for such as should serue either princes in warre.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

Lorne & Lundaie excepted

Commissioners appointed to meet at Loughmaben

Commissioners to meet at Roibenboyne. And at Haldanboyne.

The battell ground.

A marriage concluded betwixt the duke of Northsate and the ladie Anne de la Poole.

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

1. Richard would not deliver the castle of Dunbar.

1486.

2. Richard overthrewne by the earle of Richmond.

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

The kings answer.

His promise.

Fr. Thin: Buchanan. lib. 12.

1487.

A parliament.

No pardon to be granted to offenders for the space of seven yeares.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the Englishmens possessions, he wrote unto king Richard a louing letter, signifieng unto him, that he was not minded to seeke the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Nevertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and alliance was sprung vp betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their native countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorized.

King Richard dalied in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard liued, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Stewart a Scotchman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountred king Richard, and slue him, so obtaining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes ioining next unto him, he sent from Bewcastle one of his counsellors Richard For bishop of Cresser, and sir Richard Cogcombe knight, ambassadors unto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king James, who declared unto them, that he bare great fauor and loue unto their maister, and would be glad to please him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seven yeares, fith further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised secretly, that when those seven yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seven yeares, and so from seven yeares to seven yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceived that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seven yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

* In the meane time died the queene, a woman of singular beautie and godnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander boine of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Arkenie) and John (boine of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland. Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the thre estates to assemble in parliament at Edinburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice shoud be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons shoud be granted for anie great crime that shoud be committed for the space of seven yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassadoz sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had bene granted against Scotch merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortly after hereupon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued unto Strueling, leauing his wife the queene, and hir sonne the prince at Edinburgh castell, whilst he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather vp gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treason or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministered either through hope of forren aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie shoud be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & thereupon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had bene to haue changed his wilfull manner of gouernment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his vndiscret opinions, to the wzonging aswell of his commons as of the nobles and peres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halls, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselves oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deseruing) to the degree of counsellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired together, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered manner of gouernement.

But yet because it shoud not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child boine to godnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprize, and that in maner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their native countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of Douglas, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbete of Lundois, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being already scholed with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprize, because it seemed to him neither godlie nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tassed for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

Ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans.

The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the death of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

The meane whereby king James might haue auoided danger of death by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scotch lords against king James the third.

King hath arm

He letteth king land

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and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the using of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praiering him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were vp in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was giuen to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent vnto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conceived against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puissance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not staie till the eyles of Huntleie, Erroll, Atholl, Crauford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathnesse, & Marthall; the barons, Forbes, Ogilvie, Granth, Fraiser, and others, were arrived with their powers, amounting to the number of forty thousand men, with the which they were comming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without good aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Montrose, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Marwell, and certaine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockburne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worste, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnrerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirrour to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what manner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a willfull pretense, and obstinate mind, the counsell and aduise of vantage, and such as (being aduanced from base degree vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as faith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine nere Striueling, on the seventh day of June, the yeere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soveraigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yeere 1488, being not past sixteen yeeres of age, who notwithstanding

that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuertheless afterwards, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token thereof, he wore continually an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take thieues, robbers, and oppressors of his subjects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Ille, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling against the young king, were overthrowne at Tollymoch, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Kilbricht, and other taken and hanged for their offenses. The king called a parlement at Edinburgh, which was holden the first of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue speciall pardons there vpon vnder his scales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his scales, after the same maner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, balliues, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of thre yeeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeeres, should be vtterlie excluded from the same.

Afterward, he tooke order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and guiltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the thre estates granting to giue their scales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceasing of thesse, restlesse, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yeere through all parts of the realme. And certaine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and heretvnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of King James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

*About

1028
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King James gathered an armie.

He sendeth letters to the kings of England & France
Eugenius 8: Buchanan.

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The answer of the rebels to the kings message.

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They meet in a pitched field.
The king is put to the worste.
He is slaine.

Fr. Thin.

James the fourth.

1488.

The king was repentant.
The king wore an iron chaine.
was giuen to deuotion.
He was a great iusticer.

He was learned.

The nobles raise an armie againe.

They were overthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall pardon.

20

30

40

50

60

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

* About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man; not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill upward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and thew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chieslie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose severall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when any thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when any thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was twofold remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieved in any part above seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sense did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) fith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan.li.13.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had mainteined factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Cecina Bold to Alexander Forbous, and Margaret Hammliton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also anesquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioine with him in marriage. Moreover beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadoys into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene used in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothseie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought up in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

For his counsell he chose a certeine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doe all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuolable kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had sene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glascow, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadoys to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of Saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glascow, touching the preheminance of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

Two archbishops strive for the preheminance.

should trie it by lair before competent iudges.

* James Ogilvie knight of Aire, was sent ambassadoy to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labour to renew the old league that was betwixt the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obtained, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was aduanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Ogilvies was first increased with anie honorable title. The king about the same time took order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie haven towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreover, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the advancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministered, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie disturbed out of order.

There was hostilitie after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did invade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preferred now manie yeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praiering the king to assist him to recover his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And hostilitie after hereupon, the said seined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorable accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities; most humble and belementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kingly blood from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeitt) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assembly bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin.
Leflewallib.8.
pag.332.

Provision made for ships.
1492. Lelle.

Provision made for learning.

1494. Lelle.
A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.
1495. Lelle.

1492.
The king gath on protestant.

1496. Lelle.

Perkin Warbecke.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

Lell pag.

toold of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vnckle Richard duke of Glocester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vnckle) was preserved by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the blurring king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was referued aliuie to the scoene of fortune, not daring at the first to betwaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moue their pittie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person he was, how noble borne, whose heire, and to whom allied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more gretionlie assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safety in anie place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) priuillie solliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherevnto shall not yet satisfi'd, they reuile (saith he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (he vising the truth of his owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enemies, and moued with pittie for the distresse of hir kinsman) did with hir abilitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of hir people in that liberall sort as the would) he was diuine to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke in to the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie bloud (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although he were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England; adding thereto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some triall by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefitts vnto him.

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not doubting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pittie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the nerenesse of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherefore againe he importunately requiereth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in joining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vnto the matter in

such subtill tosse, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his wordes, after aduile and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Porke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, he married him to his nere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntleie, and moreover raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towne spoiled houses, and tooke great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, waisted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sprong dukes doubtful and vncertaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a tere lented then of the people, constrained him to imploie that armie to repress the enterprise of those rebels. Yet neuerthelesse he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adjoining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in; and so the earle laie on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded eassones the borders of England, and laid siege to the castell of Roxham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishopricke of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Roxham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and tooke diuerse castles and towres, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seven daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Dyalas sent ambassadoe from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Dyalas travelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certaine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Melrosse, where for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Dyalas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeres, though Dyalas did what he possiblie might, to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, whatsoever the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was thence sent

C. f. for

Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleies daughter.

1495.

King James inuadeth Northumberland. 1496.

1497. Lesle. King James returneth without profter of battell.

A rebellion in Cornwall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

1498. The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Dyalas an ambassadoe from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners met at Melrosse or Redworth (as some say.)

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause why Dyalas was sent.

b. 8.

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Lesle. nota into n^r rose.

Lesle.

22.

ng go.

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Lesle.

Lesleus lib. 1. p. 334.

1. 1000

lib. 13.

for that intent.

An article for
Perkin war-
becke.

King James
reasoneth
with the coun-
terfeit duke
of York.

Perkin war-
beck went in-
to Ireland to
come into
Flanders.

1499.
The true
like to be bro-
ken.

King James
requireth to
take with the
bishop of
Durham.

King James
purposeth to
be a tutor for
marriage in
England.

The king of England required to haue the coun-
terfeit duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin
Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (es-
teeming his honor more than any earthly thing)
would in no wise seeme to betray him that fled to
him for succour, and with whome he had copled one
of his owne kinswomen in marriage: but he was
contented to covenant, that the same Perkin should
be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to
be further aided by him, or by any other through his
meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe
promise made in the said treatie of peace, and know-
ing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom
he had reputed to be herelie duke of Yorke (although
he was not so) called him before his presence, and de-
clared to him the great fauour and good will which he
had borne towards him, putting him in remem-
brance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand
against England, and invaded the countrie in hope
of assistance by his friends within the land, where not
one resorted to him.

And albeit he had married his neere kinswoman,
yet might he not keepe longer warre with England
for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some
aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no ap-
pearance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth
of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers
sister the ladie Margaret, or into some other place
where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better
time more convenient for his purpose. The said Ri-
chard gaue the king thanks, and obeyed his pleasure,
departing thortlie after out of Scotland, and sailed
into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flan-
ders. But finally making an attempt into Eng-
land, he was taken prisoner in the abbey of Beau-
lien, together with his wife, whose beautie was such,
as king Henrie thought hit a more meet prize for an
emperor, than for souldiours, and therefore vied hit be-
rie honorable, appointing hit to remaine in the court
with the queene his wife, where she continued so long
as the said king liued.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt
England and Scotland, the same was nere at point
to haue bene broken; by reason that the English
men which laie in garrison within the castell of Por-
tham, did make a frate with certeine Scottishmen
that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene
to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill,
yet diuerse of the Scottishmen were slaine, and ma-
nie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James ha-
uing information thereof, was sore displeased there-
with, thinking and saing, that there was no more
uncertaine thing, than to haue peace with England.
And hereupon he sent his herald Perchmount with
harpe and beehem letters vnto the king of Eng-
land, making great complaint for this iniurie and
wrong done to his subiects, by those within the cas-
tell of Portham. But receiuing most reasonable let-
ters for excuse of that which was done, as well from
the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of
Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie
well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue
the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct
to conuene with him, as well for the full quieting of
this matter, as for other things which he had to talke
with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his master, ac-
complished the Scottish kings request; so that com-
ming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie
honorable at Melrose, where (after certeine talke
had betwixt them for the appealing of this last dis-
pleasure) the king brake with the bishop for the ha-
uing of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen
him in mariage: and further declared that he was
minded to send his orators vnto his father the said
king Henrie, about the same matter. And so much
as he knew that the bishop was one that might do
much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him
for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired
him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were
obtained, he trusted it should highlie redound to the
honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop con-
sidering heretofore as much as the king was able to
tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him
lay, but also encouraged him to send his orators with
all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie so-
wardlie answer.

King James following the bishops aduise, anon
after his returne into England, sent certeine per-
sons ambassadoys vnto king Henrie, to moue him
to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadoys
were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that
to be briefe, their request seemed so agreeable to king
Henries mind, that the marriage was thortlie there-
upon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the
foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie
Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the seuen-
teenth yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the
same time, when this marriage was so agreed vpon, a
peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of
England and Scotland, for the terme of their two
liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said
kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be
receiued into any of their dominions; it was accor-
ded, that no Englishman should come within Scot-
land, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto
the king of Scots, nor any Scottishman to come
within England, without the like letters from his
prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

In the yere next ensuing, Robert Blakater the
bishop of Glascow, Adam Hepborne the earle of Both-
well, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in
ambassage from king James vnto the king of Eng-
land, for the perfecting of the foresaid marriage be-
twixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest
daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of
procuracie and mandat, in the name of his master
king James, assied and handfasted the foresaid ladie
Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the ma-
ner: which assurance and contract thus made, was
published at Pauls crosse in London, on the day of
the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioysing whereof
Te Deum was song, and fiers made, with great sca-
ffing & banquetting throughout that cite. This done,
the ambassadoys returned into Scotland, and then af-
terwards was great preparation made in England
for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and
likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of
hir.

On the firste of June, king Henrie took his
iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said
ladie Margaret, and came to Colchester, where his
mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And af-
ter he had remained there certeine daies in pastime
and great solace, he took leaue of his daughter, gi-
uing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation,
and committed the conueieng of hir into Scotland
vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of
Northumberland, as then warden of the marches,
was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto
the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was
conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies,
knights, esquires, and gentlemen, until she came to
the towne of Berwik, and from thence vnto Lan-
bert church in Lamer more within Scotland, where
she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of
that

Ambassadoys
sent into
England.

1500.
A marriage
concluded be-
twixt king
James and
the ladie
Margaret.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Eng-
land & Scot-
land.

1501.

This was in
the yere 1502.

1503. Lefe.

The c
marriage
twixt k
James
fourth,
the lad
Marg

The l
Denn
comm
Scot

He is
to his
dome
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that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, he was conueied vnto Edinburgh, where the day after his comming thither, he was married vnto the said king with great and solemne triumph, to the high reioicing of all that were present.

The consum-
mation of the
marriage be-
twixt king
James the
fourth, and
the ladie
Margaret.

And verelie the English lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the said ladie till the marriage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their maners and heartie interteinment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, massie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their houses, and made great bankets to the English men, and shewed them such iasts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the marriage, so well, as after the maner of the countrie could be deuised. By reason of this marriage and aliance, men were in great god hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seventh, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of
Denmarke
cometh into
Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through disuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constrained to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louingly, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his cosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and perswasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, restored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leauing him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

He is restored
to his king-
dome by the
earle of Arrane
lieutenant to king
James.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the quene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Isles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeyed, & his lawes were as duellie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongst his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his counsell [as William Glinskone bishop of Aberdeen] deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

1505. Lefl.
1504.

Fr. Thin.

He desire to
get the king
wome.

1506.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne courteous & gentle nature he easilie agreed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great lone amongst his people, & the deuisers of that ordinance wan passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iustice at Lodowder, and removing it to Edinburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Thorne-ton was conuicted for killing his wiffe, and therefore

lost his head [at Edinburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassadoz this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought newes which the king liked well.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the rode the seventh of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Maie, an Island in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and thowne the merchants and other that were in the same ouer boord. For reuenge wherof, Andzelo Barton toke manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beames. A Frenchman named sir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Batwie, came through England into Scotland to seeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie peece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Isles was bozne in the abbey of the Holie rod house, the one and twentieth of Iannarie; and on the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbey church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glascow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntlie was his godmother. The quene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sickenesse, so that she lay in great danger: for reuerie of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Pirians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the quene went thither to visit the same saint.

A great ship
made.

The Holland-
ers ships ta-
ken.

A bright star
appeareth in
the skie.

Anthonie
Darcie.

1507.
Prince James
is bozne.

The king
went on pil-
grimage.

Pope Julius the second sent an ambassadoz vnto king James, declaring him protector and defendoz of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a pure diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassadoz, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbey church of Holie rod house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Aruer or Camfrie in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came forth of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Aruer to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassadoz knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The pope de-
clared king
James pro-
tectoz of the
faith.

Horses pre-
sented vnto
the king.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by S. Johns towne, and Aberdeen, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Leslie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to saint Duthois in Kofle, by that time they were ready to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtieth day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadoz into France. They toke ship the seven and twentieth of September. The seventeenth of Februarie, James

Peace and
quietnesse in
Scotland.

An ambassage
into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag 345.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Calloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernour.

* About this time, the K. (to tell you here, as saith Lefleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongst the Romane people with great laughter) created a certaine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speech he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuerfant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partly to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partly to recouer the kings fauor) giue out a rumour, that he would (by sieng) be in France before the ambassadoers (which were sent thither, and had loked from thore to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongst whom (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiver suddenly fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncertaine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flockd about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whome he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to stie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would stie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Pagus, with all his bodie almost broken in peces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthy abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his sieng wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certaine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (whereupon those birds liue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508.
An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

The 9 of Maie in the peare after, the lord D'obignie, and the president of Tholous, came from Letwes the French king as ambassadoers to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in marriage with Francis de Vallois of Aien, and duke of Angouleme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after empero, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduise ment taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forren prince, sith other wise

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obignie took a sickness and died thereof at Corfoplin, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Spinians in Calloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilst he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchiued manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he banquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchiued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This peare also in Maie and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edinburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadoers sent forth this peare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Purrey into England. The fifteenth of Iulie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glascow died this peare in his iournie to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great frate betwixt the lord Sparwell, and the lord Creighton of Sanchar, where the lord Creighton was chased with his companye from Dunfreis, & the lord of Dalzell and the young lord of Crauthlate with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceived in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with hostles trimlie trapped with bards of Steele to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honorablie rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the tresuro, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edinburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edinburgh the seuententh day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the seuenth king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of April, in the peare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honorable ambassage of certaine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases apperteineth.

* At this time, John and Andzew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portugals) preieng on the borderers of Portugale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandise) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of pilles being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portugals, gaue them cause grauouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked pirasie of the Scots.

The lord
D'obignie
died.

This was
the king him-
selfe.

Ambassadoers
sent.

The archbis-
hop of Glas-
cow died.

A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

Hostles sent
vnto king
James.

The archdeacon of saint
Andrews
came out of
France.

The earle
Bothwell
died.

1509.

King Henrie
the eight suc-
ceeded his
father.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
cap. 250.

Scots: but neither the king of Portingale with his council, nor his people with their force, could at any time suppress the Bartons (defended with the Scottish letters of marque) but that he would invade, spoile, & carie awaie the Portingale ships, if he happened vpon any of them. Touching which, because it shall not seeme to be a manifest iniurie by the Bartons to the other (and not rather a iust cause giuen by the Portingals) we haue here inserted the letters of our king James the fifth (as they be found amongst the records) written to Immanuel king of Portingale for this matter. In which it shall manifestly appeare, whether the fault were not mostlie in the Portingals or no.

James the fifth, king of Scotland,
to Immanuel the woorthie king
of Portingale.

Woorthie king, friend, and deere cousin, certeine yeares past, a Scottish ship laden with merchandize, & loking from the port of Sluis in Flanders, was invaded by two armed ships, governed by Portingals; whereof, the one was called John Wasque, and the other John Pret. Which ship (after certeine of hir merchants slaine, manie wounded, manie taken prisoners, and the rest cast into a fisher-bote to be set on land at the next shoze) was by them caried into Portingale: all which was done in the sight of the rest of the Lusitan ships, which at the same time did also loose out of that haven to passe into Portingale. The full trueth whereof, Charles the duke of Burgonie, and earle of Flanders, vnderstanding (and moued not so much for the singular iniurie done to the Scots, as by the breach of the priuilege, & right of his harborowes) did signifie the same (knowne, and found by order of iudgement) to the king of Portingale, admonishing him, that lesse he toke order for such wicked deeds, and for the restitution of the hurt and losse: that he would indeuor, that all the Portingals (which frequented the marts of Flanders) should by sentence of iudgement, satisfie all the damages which the Scots had susteined. But the vntimelie death (of that iust and valiant man) did frustrat all his determination.

The king also our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that iniurie to the king of Portingale, and had not much profited) gaue forth letters of marque, that is, he gaue authoritie to John & Robert Barton, brothers & heires to that John, which was maister of that ship so caried away, to recouer so much of the Lusitans. Before the execution whereof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet berie yong) the whole state of the realme did suppose it best to alter nothing in forren causes, vntill he came to full age. At time (being of sufficient yeares) he did forbear to grant the vse of the said letter of marque, till he had first consulted with the king of Portingale thereabouts. Wherebpon (dispatching

an ambassadoz vnto him) our father also died (before we could againe heare anie answer from thence) leauing me a child not past thre yeeres old. For which cause, the gouernoz of the kingdome iudged it best (during our minoztie) to defer these letters of marque, vntill we came to riper yeares; which was done, not without great grieve and complaint of those miserable and poore men.

Wherebpon, we also for these last two yeares (being now growen to riper age) are moued alwell to prouide, that other merchants which in that ship of Julian, haue lost their goods and kinred, as also to permit the heires of the said John Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) to haue power giuen them, onelie to take so much recompense of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they should not vse any of them, vntill we had first (by this Snadone our esquier) laid before your maiestie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the pirasie, the value of the losse, and the cause of our long silence, assuredlie hoping that you will not do anie thing, in respect of your humanitie and brightness, but that which shall be good and iust. The which, if you doe me is yet to be deferred; we require your woorthinesse to consider, that we cannot forsake our subiects, afflicted with so great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to seeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendship, league, or consanguinitie, wherewith we haue bene linked. Wherefore, when that same shall happen, we desire your excellencie to take the same in good part (most woorthie cousin and conederat king) to whom I wish long and happy life. From Edinburgh, the day before the Ides of April, in the yeare, 1540.

The king about this time gaue liberrall possessions to Robert Worthwike, a notable artificer for making of field peeces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he should make certeine great peeces in the castell of Edinburgh, whereof there are manie yet to be seene in Scotland, with this superscription:

Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.

This summer the king went in pilgrimage vnto saint Duthois in Kosse, and the queene remaining at Holie rood house, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentie day of October, the which the third day after was baptisid and named Arthur. Two great ships came south of France to the king, fraught with guns, speares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, bassard sonne to the king, newlie made archbishop of saint Andrews, who had bene long in Germanie student there in the scholes with that famous clearkie Erasmus Rotterodamus, and had profited berie well, came from Flanders by sea into Scotland, and was iofullie receiued, because he had bestowed his time so well in vertues and learning.

The lord of Fast castell came ouer with him, who had trauelled through a great part of christendome: and mozeouer passing into Turkie, came to the emperor.

C. iii.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 353.

The king
went on pil-
grimage.

A ship with
munition.

1540.

The archbis-
shop of saint
Andrews.

The lord of
Fast castell
went into
Turkie.

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who reteined him in seruice, and gaue him good intertinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the lying of Jass castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight severall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceased. The 14 of Julie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Isles, departed this life in the castell of Edinburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a marvellous great wonder, that anie should be seene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sicknesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stope gallant.

Prince Arthur deceased.

Two scorpions found in Scotland.

Stope gallant a sickness.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of York, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed what she was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorable manie yeeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edinburgh to the water of Kile, took diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselves in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of those countreimen, whereby the marches were more quiet after wards: and from thence the king passed to saint Johns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

Katharine Gordon.

The Trumbils with others are taken by the king.

1511.

An ambassage from the king of England.

1511. Lesle.

1512.

The next yeare in the beginning of Maie, the queene went from Dunfermling toward saint Dunstons in Kosse, and was all the way right honozable used and intertained. About the tenth of Julie, she returned to Edinburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Durie knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honozable receiued. In the yeere next ensuing, in June, Andzew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portugals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Howard lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andzew as he returned homewards nere to the Dowones, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

Two ships taken by the Englishmen.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to saunte them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselves, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andzew Barton the chiefe captaine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Unicorn, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scottishmen that remained alieue in the same, which were had to London, and staied as prisoners in the bishop of York his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and thereupon sent an herald with letters, requiring redress for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith otherwise it might seme

to giue occasion of breath of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he toke Andzew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuerthelesse he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other enozmities chanced betwene the two realmes.

* About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into three parts) derelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and careful to wipe awate the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortly he and his folowers with their kindred and alliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued loles of their victozes. To the performance whereof, he gathered three thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seven towne before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delate, presentlie diuided the preie in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was nearest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might keepe together: but assembling as manie of them as would tarte, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eye to see if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careless than before) he fell vntwares into the hands of three hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they encountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarch, Heron, and Ford, taken prisoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chiefe, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

50

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiving that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambassador vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had already sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer here, vnto as he thought stood with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adoe in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

* Much about these daies, there was called a provinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edinburgh, in the monastrie of the Dominicke friers, Basomanie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that benefices or priests livings (whose reuenues did perly exceed the value of 40 pounds) should pay

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

The king of France required aid against England.

King James persuaded to peace.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 316.

pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which vnto this day is called the *Salomane monie* or *far*. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntlie, returned out of France, and was married vnto the kings bastard daughter, in Nouember following, in this present were 1512, of whome the house of Huntlie is descended.

The kings
bastard
married.

The bishop of
Murrey came
home.

A yong prince
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king sent to
persuade the
king of Scots
to warre.

fourteen
pyles of
Englishmen
taken.

English ex-
ercised.

The quene
brought to bed
of a child.
1513. Lesle.

The league
renewed with
France.

Pursuants
sent into
England and
France.

1513. Lesle.
Doctor well
sent into
Scotland
ambassador.

1513

Amition for
warre sent out
of Denmarke.

Pursuants sent
out of France.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murrey home, hauing bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleare of Spaine in ambassage vnto the king. This yere the eleuenth day of Aprill, the quene was deliuered of a yong prince in the palace of Luthgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the first prince of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor Well came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to persuaue king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie prouisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned thre English ships, & brought seven awaie with him vnto Lieth for pyles, in the which were but thre Englishmen left aliue. Shortlie after, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Durburgh came south of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 pyles of Englishmen which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Dumweldie was slaine in Edenburgh by two persons, which toke sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great mistule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknells the nineteenth of Nouember. King James sent a pursuant called Unicorn into France, and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie required a safe conduct for an ambassadoz to be sent from the king his maister vnto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Vpon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the first day of March next ensuing, doctor Well came as ambassadoz into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next ensuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appere. The king sent Fozman bishop of Murrey into France, to signifie vnto the French king the message of the said doctor Well, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certeine ships out of Denmarke laden with guns, powder, armes, & other kind of munition. Also Monsieur de la Mot landed in the west part of Scotland the first day of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and seruice to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; whereupon he was thankfullie receiued, honozable intertained, & richlie rewarded. And so the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great naue of ships, the principall thereof were the Michaele, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seventh of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaele himselfe, till they were past the Island of Maie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntlie being one of the captains of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make anie redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delate and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time retaine in their hands the Scottishmens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers affirme) the king of Scots being thereof aduertised, sent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lieng at siege before Tervine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre vnto him. Whereupon Lion arriuing in the English armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middell of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, hauing his nobles and counsellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & some good words first vttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

A naue sent;

Commissioners met at the borders.

The English men protract the time.

A king of armes sent vnto R. Henrie of England.

The tenor of the king of Scots letters.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cosine, we commaund vs vnto you in our maist hartie manner, and receiued fra Rast Heralde your letters, quhar vntill ye approue and allowe the doings of your commissioners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continuat and delact to the sixteenth day of October. Als ye write slaars by se aught not comperre personallie, but by their attourneys. And in your letters with our herauld Flaie ye ascertain vs ye will naught enter in the treux taken betwixt the maist chistian king and your father of Aragon, because ye and others of the hale liege nether should nor may take peace, treux, nor abstinence of warre with your common enemie, without consent of all the confederats. And that the emperoz, king of Aragon, yea and euery of you be bounded to make actuall warre this instant sommer against your common enimp. And that so to do is concluded and openlie swozne in Paules kirke at London, vpon S. Markes day last by past. And farther haue denied safe conduct vpon our request that a seruitor of ours might haue relosted to

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports).

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissioners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun befoze continuet to the commissioners meeting, to effect that due redresse suld haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissioners offered to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrested to the said diet. And to close the same, ye now writte that slaars by se need not compere personallie, but by their attourneys, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gif in criminall action all slaars suld naught compere personallie, na putitioun suld follow for slaughter, and then hane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthir keepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done befoze to vs and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bybearing, mainfwoering, noundzelling of attemptes, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our wardan vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prilonet and chanet by the crags in your contrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promitt in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Andzow Barton by your awn command, quha than had naught offended to you nor your lieges vnredrest, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharbypon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissioners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wzate and als shew by others vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meeting of commissioners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desist fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countreies that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tme his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hase bene vnto you kind without offense, and moze kindar than to vs.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye becaule of others, haue giuen occasion to vs

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthir doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon doo for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightlie fauour, manifestlie wzanged your sister for our sake in contrarie our wits: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie. Indeed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud vs, trusting that ye suld haue emended to vs, or wzorhin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therebpon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though vther informatioun was made to our halie father pape Julie, by the cardinall of Porke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue thzough the pzemisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we suld sende one of our counsell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefoze we writte to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take thzough your iniuries & harmes with out remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblig for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblig for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quhar to ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence. Right excellent, right hie & mightie prince our dearest brother and coussing, the Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentieth first day of Julie.

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his counsell, sent for the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The heralds
answer.

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and that he commandeth me to say, I may boldly say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

King Henrie his answer.

Right excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accumulation of manie furnished iniuries, griefs and dangers down by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, founding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuiled to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honoz & kindnesse, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitozs, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightnesse of bloud, honoz of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, specially in our absence. Wherin the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonozable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, seeke the waies to do that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witnesse, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Neuerthelesse, we remembering the brittlenes of your promise, & suspecting though not wholie believing so much vntiedfastnesse, thought it berie expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readines for resisting of your said enterpises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vnaturall demeanoz haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnaturall dealing, we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceablie suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you furnished in your letter: for so much as if anie law or reason could haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct: and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we see well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same; and as ye do to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Trewine, the twelfth day of August.

This

Englishmen
fetched a bootie
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

King James
approched
nere vnto
England
with his
power.

The king of
Scots made
too much
hast.

Posham.
The Spaies.

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scotish her-
ald, he departed with the same into Flanders,
there to haue taken ship; but for want of readie pas-
sage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till
Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For
king James perceiuing all the Englishmens do-
ings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing
taken order for the assembling of his people, time
of attie after he had sent forth his herald with com-
mandement to denounce the warre, he determined
to inuade the English confines, and first before his
maine force was come together, the lord Humes that
was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the
thirtieth day of August, hearing that the English-
men had fetched a bootie within the Scotish ground,
assembled a power, & followed them into Northum-
berland, but yet he could returne he was forelaid [in
Bosme house, or Bosme field] by the Englishmen,
which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Sco-
tishmen to the worse, and of them toke and due ma-
nie.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to
go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assem-
bled. Whereupon comming to Lincolne, he went to
the church to heare euensong; as the maner was.
To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there
came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yel-
lowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his
forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing
his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded
with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance.
This man seeing the king, passed through the com-
panie standing there, and drew nere to the king.
Who being now come vnto him (and with a certaine
rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the
king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him:
“ King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonish-
“ ment that thou hasten not forward to the place which
“ thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost
“ despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such
“ as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am comman-
“ ded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou es-
“ chue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women,
“ and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succeed to thy
“ hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he ming-
“ led himselfe with the other companie, neither could
“ after be found (the euensong being ended) when he
“ was sought for by the king: for he was neuer scene
“ after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which
“ seemed the more strange, because that manie which
“ stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous
“ to haue heard more things from him) could not per-
“ ceine his departure; amongst which persons (of
“ those that meant to haue asked him further ques-
“ tions) Dauid Lindsay (a man of approved credit and
“ vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far
“ estranged from lieng and falsehood) was one, who told
“ this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most
“ certaine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fa-
“ ble caried about by common report.]

In the meane time was the whole power of Scot-
land assembled, with the which king James appro-
ching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the
evill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his peo-
ple, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie
to recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such
hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of
his realme, which was in preparing to come forward
vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed o-
uer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of Au-
gust, and entered into England, lodging that night
at Wilsallham nere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the
next day laid siege vnto the castell of Posham, and
within short space wan the Spaies, ouerthrowe the

Barnekin, & due diuerse within the castell, so that
the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired
the king to delate the siege, while they might send to
the earle of Surreie already come with an armie
into the north parts, couenanting if they were not
rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they
should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was
granted: and because none came within the time to
the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appoin-
ted day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and
beaten downe. After this he wan the castles of
Fouard and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength,
of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also toke ma-
nie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland,
and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eigh-
tene daies within England, till two parts of his
armie were scaled & departed home from him, which
they did vpon this occasion.

The king was determined & persuaded to haue
besieged Berwicke (beyond which he was now pas-
sed) since the same alone was more hono- (than
all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking
whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because
they were sure that the towne and castell were in-
furnished of all things for the defense thereof.
Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for
his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on
worke as much as they might in the French wars)
being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering
courtiers) did leaue the same undone at this time,
meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it.
But as they were yet at Fowd, a herald of the Eng-
lish came vnto them, requiring that they would ap-
point a day and place, where and when both the ar-
mies might ioine in battell. Whereupon, there was
a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it
was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots
should returne home into their countrie, least with
so small a companie they might hazard the state of
the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had al-
readie sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches,
and to the vttermost satisfied the band of amitie with
the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for
number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so
manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe
be laid open to so great a multitude of the English
dailie increasing with succors. For it was said at
that time; that Thomas Harward brought into the
field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen
and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in
France) before Turweine.

To which persuation (to make the matter more
strange) it was further added, that if the king did
depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissol-
ued, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, be-
cause their souldiers were set from the furthest parts
of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight,
that he then should do it in his owne realme, kee-
ping the time & place in his power alwaies to be ap-
pointed. But when the French ambassado (and cer-
taine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to
the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and
greedie of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his
ennemie in that place. In the meane time, when the
English came not forth (at the day appointed to
them by the herald, which before had bene with the
Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion
thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that
their not comming to battell was onelie a traine
and deceit, deferring the matter from day to day,
to the end that their force might be increased, and
the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie
against them. For since they haue not attended the
time

Found and
Estell taken

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to retorne into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the riuer of Till (hauing his banks) is not passable, but at certaine miles hence (except it be by a bidge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bidge, the same bidge made easilie (by engins placed therfore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vnsoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was grievously offended.

Whereupon Archembald Douglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in peeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie unfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassadoz doth so much bge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer laushy in poysoning out the blood of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Yet ther should the losse of his host seeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would some be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Lewis do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wored by de laie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the entirie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by removing to giue them cause to folow vs: For so I suppose shall the glorie and thew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countries with sword and fire, and by the drining home of so great booties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie yeeres recouer his former estate: What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enemies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiours may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Douglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie eares; and in heat commanded Douglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enemy. Whereupon he (conceituing some unkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as some as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie laboz, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defence of my countries helpe, and my soueraignes honor. But since I see their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two somes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinned (of whom I greatlie account) as a certaine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thee, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Douglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) toke that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enemies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within thre miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitched downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enemies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enemies could not approach to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & name the earle of Huntleie, a man for his high valiantie ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Douglas had before said] that nothing

The power of the north countrie raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntleie his counsell.

Fr. Thin.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarcitie of vittells, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to cease, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduisement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittells to susteine their languishing bodies.

Foule weather.

And suerlie beside the want of vittells, the foule and euill weather fore annoied both parties; for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also fore vered the Englishmen, as well in their iourneie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Flaie the night before the battell, containing as followeth.

King James his quarell vnto the earle of Surrie.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we sware last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs per we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doe anie thing ouer rashlie.

Prodigious chances.

There chanced also manie things taken (as we would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certaine religious feare and new terrore in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battelle, there was an harte start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things besfowed at him, with great noise and shouting, yet he escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, misse had gnawne in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreover, the cloth of velle of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had bene of a blondie colour.

In harte.

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawed with misse. The cloth of his tent of blawdie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to seeke all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots laie incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twissell bridge; the reuerward going ouer at Millford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiving the Englishmen to passe the water, indged that they had ment to win an hill that late betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to pzeuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither per the English men could perceue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

The English campe remoued by the earle.

The Scots campe remoued also.

In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vntowards vnder the lenill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought relie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as faith Lelcus) the earle of Huntley and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Cratford and Montrose; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argyle and Lennox] making downewards, encountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Brannton, and first Sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constrained to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host overthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

Aduantage gotten by the ground.

King James his practice.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King James deccetted himselfe and alighted from his horse.

The captains god counsell not regarded.

The kings hardinesse marred all.

His captains did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doe no more than another man; yet keeping his place as apperteineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

Shir Edward
Stanlie inua-
ded the backe
of the rere-
gard.

King James
slaine.

The lord
chamberlaine
stod still.

The lord
chamberlaine
beareth the
blame.

The English
men thanked
God for this
noble victorie.

5000. Buchan.
15000 men
slaine.

The Scottish
men returne
home againe.

They were re-
uiled of their
owne people.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the reregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Banrton, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruelle on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scottish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he sawe where the other Scottishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Moreover, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to doe; but looked one vpon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wiselie in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedly had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Wherevpon the Englishmen rememyng how manifestlie Gods goodnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued thre houres, in the which sixtene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was crediblie reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past sixtene hundred.

But yet the Scottishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and toke it for his; but rather an other Scottish mans corpe, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliue at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namely to Jerusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to drine forth the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Rance, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night folowing after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewards the same way they came, waisting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither fought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namely Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprovued, as cause of all that mischiefe, which beha-

ued himselfe not as a captetne, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. * Upon the honoz of this victorie, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gave to his seruants this cognisance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scottish armie was overcome, and that worthy prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, he deserved to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scottish nation. All theft, reiffe, murder, and robbrie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Isles sorted themselves through terroz and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwise of themselves they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrews his bassard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kildennie: the earles of Montrose, Crawford, Argyll, Lennor, Glenear, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Adell, Atholl, and Morison: the lords Louet, Forbois, Clueston, Ross, Anderbie, Saintcleare, Marwell, and his thre brethren, Daunlie, Dampill, Bothfiche, Wogonrie, Arskill, Blackater, and Colwin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fass castle, sir Alexander Seton, sir Davie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Caldwell, sir Sander Lodder, sir George Lodder, maister Marhall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Catwell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Clesster, Spacke bene, Spacke Cleue, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies bled to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vntwillingly drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as be a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilste he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (obedient to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li. 13

The sauage
people refoz-
med them-
selues.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li. 13

fr. l. j. that

that posteritie, that it seemed if he had lived longer that he would have lost the favour of his people: none in old times, by the insupportation of new forces. Wherefore his death was thought to have timely happened unto him.

James the first.

In September the 24th.

The king arrived at Edinburgh and the queen appointed to sit in the palace.

After the death of that invincible prince king James the fourth, James at Hamilton as before we have heard his sonne James the first succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the last field, the quene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Struthling, where the 21 day of September 1542 her sonne the first James the first a child of one yeare five monethes, & ten daies of age, by universall advice and consent was crowned king, and his mother the quene appointed regent of the realme, taking the counsell of the reverend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, the earles of Huntly, Angus, and Arrane. This government the quene obtained by reason of her husbandes testament, who making his last will be- fore that he went to the warres, did appoint the rebe that the whole administration of all things should remaine with her, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrey being the first example of a womans government amongst the Scots, yet it seemed tolerable to most men, to give to peace especially since there were not men sufficient at that time for honour and reputation to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which government she did not long enjoy.

In October.

The duke of Albany came into Scotland.

James the first arrived at Edinburgh.

In November the 1st.

The great indignities requiring in Scotland being the cause of James the first.

In the month of December.

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had borne name at the field; by reason whereof, some of them sent letters secretly into France to John duke of Albany, bidding him to come into Scotland, as he that was next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crown, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bascie into Scotland, who in company of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald which long had borne in France landed on the west coast the third of November. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Bascie delivered his letters to the quene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns house, and there by universall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albany should be admitted tutor and governor to the king: realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parliament by the three estates which should be kept at Cornburgh, the thirtieth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great inquietudes that chaunced, during the minority of this king, the rough lacke of due administration of justice, and by default & variance daily rising amongst the lords & peers of the realme, a man might have well cause grieve to wonder thereat, and in viewing the same throughout, the less lament the expectation due to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when justice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other faults and rabble of uncharitable violence invaded her temple: that, transmuting every all as a confection. During the times of this disorder, there was amongst those which were and spoken others a great captain of the same faction, called Sparrowhart Struan, who (overturning Ashed and the adjoining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred thames, and sometimes more. Which Struan was at length (which he speaks a wicked man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his backe John Creighton) taken by

most laide for him, and imposed to depart with the life.

The quene sent loving letters unto the king of England her brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yeare and a day. In the beginning of February, the king of England hearing that a parliament should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albany to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in some sort impeach and state his continuing such a doctrine how dangerous it was, not onely for her, but also for her sonne to have him governor, which was to succeed, if her son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moved the king of England to labour, that the duke should have nothing to do in Scotland, was as many thought for that he knewe how to the duke in favour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enemy against England, both all the super he might make in procure.

Shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labors that king James made to the contrary, it was concluded by the states in parliament assembled in Cornburgh, at the time prescribed, that sir Patrick Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and governor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases provided. Whereupon, in April then next following they took the seas, and passed into France, according as by the states had bene decided.

This peace came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certaine privileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of April was the quene delivered of a prince in the castle of Struthling, which was baptised by the popular of Dunfermling, and the archbishop of saint Andrews, and instantly confirmed by the bishop of Cathness, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the quene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the best parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the quene called an assemble at Cornburgh the twentieth of June, where they were all well agreed. And hereunto two of the charges were sent into England for peace. And the 11 of the same moneth, master James Ogilvie abbot of Dunburgh, and sir Patrick Hamilton, and Lion the herald came backe of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albany, by the which the dukes continuing was revoked, because the king could not want him, till some time were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next following.

This peace, the first of August, the quene married Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, and married shortly after in saint Johns house to the great feare from the bishop of Glasgow, that was charged by the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Cornburgh, where many lords assisted him, and kept out the quene and her new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose betwixt the realme amongst the nobles and peers of the same. In the peace concluded betwixt James the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henry the eighth king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scotsmen thought great pain in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same peace, &

The king of England was the first to send a legat into Scotland.

The king of France was the first to send a legat into Scotland.

In August the 1st.

The marriage of the quene.

In the month of August.

The deceasse
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.

Significat de
la Sautie.

1514.

The castell of
Dunbarton
taken.

The popes
buls publi-
shed.
1515. Lelle.

Contention
about the in-
coming of the
re of saint
Andrews.

1515.

Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie his
arrivall in
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ved into Ed-
inburgh.

about the twentieth fift of October, William Elphing-
ston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priuie
scale departed this life at Edinburgh. He had bene
a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James
the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and endowed
the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the in-
crease of learning & vertue, which hath flourishid with
good wits of students ever since, till these our daies.
The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Sautie receiued
the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Al-
banie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgou brother
to the bishop of Murray, called Forman. Shortly
after, John Hepburne the prior of saint Andrews
then elect archbishop of that see, besieged the castell
of saint Andrews, and wan it by force from the kee-
pers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the
name of Gawin Douglas, wherewith the quene
and the earle of Angus were highly offended. The
twelfth of Januarie, being a verie darke & windie
night, the earle of Lennor, and the maister of Glen-
carne undermined the nether groundsoile of the ca-
stell gate of Dunbarton, & entered thereby into the
castell, & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Er-
skin. Shortly after (that is to say) the fiftenth of
that moneth, a great assemble was made betwixt
the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue
fought with the other, which was the cause and be-
ginning of great trouble that ensued.

The same day in Edinburgh were the buls pub-
lished, which Forman the bishop of Murray had pur-
chased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishop-
ricke of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Dunferme-
ling, and Arbroath, through supplication of the quene
and duke of Albanie. From which buls the prior of
saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the arch-
bishops see by election and generall gift of the lords
of the realme; and herupon got together his friends
in Edinburgh, as the maister of Hales and others.
And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and di-
uerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings
letters, by vertue whereof they proclaimed the said
maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews
rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the
horne: whereupon they were constrained to depart
out of Edinburgh. And in Maie following, the pri-
or went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeale.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parle-
ment was assembled at Striueling; but because the
lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was
proposed till the coming of the duke of Albanie,
which was looked for to be in Scotland, in April; or
at the furthest in Maie next ensuing, as he had sent
word by sir John Striueling of the Keir, that was
latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords
and peeres of the realme. The fiftenth of Maie, truce
was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to
indure for three yeares, or three moneths (as saith
Lelleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the
afternone, the Englishmen entered the borders of
Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraged the
countrie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding
the truce. The seuententh day of Maie, John
duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland,
arrived at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well
appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of
necessarie prouision for his estate.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed a-
longst the coast till he came to Dunbarton, and there
came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glas-
gou, where all the twelf and lords receiued him with
great semblance of reioysing for his arrivall. The
six and twentieth day of Maie, he was receiued into
Edinburgh, a great number of lords meeting him
on the way. The quene also came from hir owne lod-

ging and met him, to do him honoz. Sundrie con-
ceipts, pageants, & plates were shewed by the burge-
ses, to honoz his entrie in the best maner they could
deuise. Shortly after his coming to Edinburgh,
there came thither forth of all parts of the realme,
the lords and barons, where they being assembled
in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of
the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise,
so that they would assist him in setting forth of iu-
stice and good orders, which they vnderooke to do.

Hereupon was the parlement, which had bene
proposed till his coming, summoned to be kept at
Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse
acts were concluded and made; and the lord Drum-
mond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for stri-
king Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him
of life and honoz, but his lands and goods remained
in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was after-
wards restored to the same againe. In this parle-
ment also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by
the three estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to
the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to
him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs
giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to
others, and namelie to their king and souereigne
lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the utter-
most of their powers, for the advancement of his
honoz, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was
in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king
should haue bene conueied forth of the realme se-
cretlie into England: whereupon he suddenlie de-
parted in the night time from Edinburgh, with his
men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling,
where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with
the quene; which castell, together with the kings per-
son, and the other within it, were deliuered to him
the third day of August: whereupon he committed
them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of
the realme, whereof the earles of Eglinton and
Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he
had assisted the earle of Angus and the quene a-
gainst the gouernor, was denounced a rebel; and
the earles of Lennor & Arrane, with manie others,
were sent to his houses to seize the same into the
kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gun-
powder by a traine, whereby diuerse of them that en-
tered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England,
and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of
truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle
marches. The twelfth of August, the quene, the
earle of Angus, and his brother George Douglas,
went from Temptallon vnto Berwik, and from
thence passed to the nurrie of Caudream; where-
upon aduertisement being giuen to the Ik of Eng-
land, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and
twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the
lord Wacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where
she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter,
called Margaret Douglas, afterwards married to
the earle of Lennor, as in place conuenient it shall
further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this
time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor
perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to
the borders with his Frenchmen, where the first of
October, the said lord Hume came & submitted him-
selfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alex-
ander shortly after did the same, and they were both
deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed
to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Edin-
burgh.

But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said
earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night
season,

A parlement
summoned.

The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

The lord
Hume de-
nounced a re-
bell.

The birth of
the countesse
of Lennor.

The lord
Hume sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

The earle of Arrane fled away.

The lord Hume and others committed of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth hir sons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murreie and Hunteleie.

A lion king of armes slain by the lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane comes reneweth from the gouernour.

The earle of Lennox furnissheth Dunbryeton.

The earles of Lennox and Arrane take a respite. For man re-

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Whereupon, the gouernour causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and David Hume, were convict of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like maner. And in that meane space, the gouernour went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember next ensuing, came with the bishop of Glasgowe vnto Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords toke part with the earle of Murreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Hunteleie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much adoe, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernour lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and toke the earles of Hunteleie, Erroll, Murreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause: and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. A lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldestreame by the lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Rossie the kings brother departed this life at Strathueling.

The seuenteenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Plaines the French ambassador, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Salwin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen comprised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernour againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbryeton and diuerse other to be furnished, and toke the castell of Glasgowe with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernour advertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgowe, where, by the laboꝝ of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernour, and toke a new respite, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. For man the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to

the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakers as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the three benefices, whereof he had purchased bulls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbacies of Arbroth and Dunfermling in the gouernours hands, to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said Forman with the abbacies of Dunfermling, and to maister James Hepborne he gaue the bishopricke of Murreie, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbacie of Dunbryeton he gaue vnto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgowe called Beton he gaue the abbacie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murreie a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Balwinning and George Dundasle was made prior of the knights of the roads. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant euer since Flodden field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinmen, that by such liberalitie bled towards them, all debates and discords might cease, which had happened amongst them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of February.

Shortlie after, the gouernour, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited together, received into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrike Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Fische gailie. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the first of Maie, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strathuen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logierath by the gouernours commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernour forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and David Iar of Fernhurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vp against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were convict of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the theues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuth in Edinburgh: David Iar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times grievously afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

signeth his title to the archbishopricke.

Bestowing of benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

The earle of Angus and others received into fauor.

The parlement began to game.

The king of Englands letters to the lords.

The lord Hume and others arrested and committed to ward.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

The archbishopricke of saint Andrews.

The earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus.

remained in England amongst his friends. John abbat of Jedworth was banished beyond Taie. David the younger brother, which was prior of Col-dingham two yeares after the death of his brethren; was (by James Hepborne, the husband of his sister) slaine by a traine, under color of a meeting and par-lie, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmlesse yong gentle-man, of a singular wit, and folowie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to haue bin intrapped.

The duke of
Albanie dis-
turbeth the bor-
ders.
Another par-
lement.
The duke of
Albanie se-
cond person of
the realme.

Hostlie after, the duke rode to Jedworth with a great companie of men, & staied the great robbing & reaving which had bene vsed on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edinburgh. The third of Nouem-ber, another parlement was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor should be deemed and re-puted for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexan-der Steiward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Mkeneie, which was alleged to haue bene first married to their father the duke of Alba-nie, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Where-pon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers sauor, and was made bishop of Purreie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths; but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouer-
nor asketh li-
cence to go in-
to France.

The earle of
Lennox in-
ward.

Monsieur
de la Bantie
made warden
of the mar-
ches.

1517.
Ambassadors
from France.

In ambassage
into France.

The gouer-
nor goeth into
France.

Gouernors
appointed to
the kings per-
son.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edinburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbretton to be deliuered vnto one Alane Steiward in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ja-nuarie, the gouernor went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Flem-ing for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scot-land, their realmes, dominions, and subjects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were as-sembled at Edinburgh, where, by them it was con-cluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dun-keild, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thir-tenth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor took ship at New-marke beside Dunbretton the seuenth of June, ta-king his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing ap-pointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilest he was absent. Al-so he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Ed-inburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Marshall, the lords Cr-stin, Roxburgh, Kithuch; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The quene that re-mained as then in England, after the vnderstood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edinburgh the seuententh of June, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August fol-lowing; at what time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Crag-miller, where the quene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceiued, lest the quene might conuie him away from thence in-to England, he was estones brought vnto the cas-tell of Edinburgh, in which he was kept after, ac-cording to the order taken in that behalfe.

The king re-moued.

The doubt
which the
Scots had in
the quene.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib.9.
pag.386.

Such about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntleie, which for the praise of his singular godnesse obtained the surname of god) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernor) was singularly welco-med and interteined of all men, who going vnto his otone people (in the north parts) was vied with such grienous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature succede the same office) hostlie after buried in the abbey of Kilrosse, with a goodlie towne erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gaue (for manie causes) manie griefes vnto manie persons: but a-mongst other the chiefest to his father, who liued not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earledome to his nephue, sonne of his sonne John; who bicause he was but ten yeeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instruc-ted in all goodnesse of maners answering to the ex-cellenzie of that wit therewith he was indued.

This earle Huntleie adozned with excellent sweet-nesse of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie suffer to de-part out of his companie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of trefon was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and perswasions to intise the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allu-red with anie flatteries or perswasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting vp his crawing hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and provided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; bicause the said child was bozne of his sisters marriage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthonie Darcie lord Bantie the French ad-uauced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capteine of Dunbretton, the strongest fort of Scot-land) began to raise tumults in the land. For Wil-liam Cockborne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (expelling the gardians of the pupill) did keepe the cas-tell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockborne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set vpon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lieng in wait for him.

Buchan. lib.14

For the castell of Landon or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as took his part against the king) he the said Wood-burne appointed subtil fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so iniuriously taken from him, and kept to the kings

Lesseus lib.9.
pag.387.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bautie
saime by the
lord of Wood-
burne,
Fr. Thun.

A parlement
called.

The lord of
Woodburne
inducted.

The earle of
Arrane com-
meth into the
Mers.

The maister
of Hales.

The bond of
league be-
twixt Scot-
land & France
Captains
Mores.

1518.

The abbat of
Glenluce.

The Scots
enill bled at
the french
kings handes.

The bishop of
Aberden a
builder.

kings behofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recouer the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bautie might be intited to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bautie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the use of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [upon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Bauties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, toke George Droglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Ikar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Whereouer, for due punishment of the murder of the foysaid de la Bautie, there was a parlement called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockbozne & John Hume, with diuers other their partakers, were indicted for the beheading of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bautie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediately after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillery, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keyes of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Colvingham, whom he had slaine traitorously. A little before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the french king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capitaine Mores a frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to recouere the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Lennox, who had bene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a french herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the quene and lords were aduertised that the french king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves enill bled, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Calven Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleark of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Abberden that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

This Calven founded an hospitall in Abberden, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of

twelue poore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seuen arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall upholding thereof. He also builded two chaples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Whereouer, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. His right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renoume; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such manner of buildings.

The seventeenth of June, there rose great stir in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rosses, and the lord Lindsey, about the intending of the striffewike of Jife, by reason whereof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbretton. About the beginning of August, the quene remaining in Edenburgh, understood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Droglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act the conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleark as ambassado; from the french king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seventh of June, a mad man in Dundee due in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the french king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pale vpon the seas to watch for his coming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was removed forth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin efflones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the towne men would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuers were hurt on both sides.

Hereupon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof ensued, as of the prior of Colvingham, and six of his men murdered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crauford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Dykeneie, and Dunblane, with diuers abbats and other prelates. And in the towne of Glasgow was the bishop of Glasgows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglington, and Cassels; the lords Rolfe, Sempill, the abbat of Paisley, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the common-wealth.

In December, monsieur de la Fatot, and a french cleark called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarencieur, came from the kings of France and

Contraction
betwixt the
erle of Rosses
and the lord
Lindsey.

The cause of
the hatred be-
twixt the
quene and
hir husband.

1519. Letle.

1519.
A mad man.

The king of
England se-
beth to kepe
the duke of
Albanie forth
of Scotland.

The earle of
Arrane.

Dissention
betwixt the
earles of Ar-
rane and
Angus.

The
proclThe
story
of the
frieFr.
BuThe
tal

and England, with an ambassadoz also from the gouernoz, with a conclusion of peace taken for one yere, betwixt Scotland and England: who coming to Edinburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lordes there with him, the which sent for the chancelloz & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anie nearer than to Winkithgo. The ambassadoz therefore toke in hand to perswade, that an assemblie might be had in Striueling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. *10* Neuerthelesse, the said ambassadoz went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancelloz and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlawerok, reproouing them sharpelie for their demeanour, and for taking their answer of the chancelloz, so that they were not a little afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage towards them, which other wise than in words it should appere he did not.

The peace
proclaimed.

1520.
Marriage be-
twixt the earle
of Angus and
the lord of
Fernihurst.

In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedworth, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Bar the lord of Fernihurst; in whose aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred yers men: but the lord of Selsford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Belfo with a great company, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the yers men left sir James Hamilton, the bastard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, so that with much paine he was horrid, and escaped in great danger vnto Hume, with losse of foure of his seruants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Kase Bar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernihurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regallitie, held his court at the principall place of the forrest of Jedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, thre miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and maister William Dowglas, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, against the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancelloz, who were also there. But now by the coming of these succors, which entered by force at the neather bolue, and slue the maister of Mountgomerie, sonne of the earle Eglinton, and sir Patrike Hamilton knight; the earle of Arrane, and the chancelloz, were constrained to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north loch. [To reuenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Sparnocke (which is the castell of Cunningham) but they shortly returned backe without doing anie thing against them.]

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The one and twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edinburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and David Hume of Woodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen, and others, and passed to the Tolbuith, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe beside the place where they were fastened on a sawill, and this was done in presence of the prouost for the time being. The next day they went to Winkithgo, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the chan-

The lord
Hume's head
taken downe.

celloz, and some other of that faction there. But mistaking of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and causing solempne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that ought those heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anie other thing for that present.

In Nouember, the duke of Albanie arrived in Scotland on the west parts, at an haue called Gra-*10* wach, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the thre and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with the quene, the archbishop of Glasgow chancelloz, the earle of Huntlee, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their coming thither, the prouost and bailiffes were deposed, because they had bene chosen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their romes. Then was there a parlement summoned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and twentieth of Januarie next following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall summons of forfaiture was proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, where in were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalehouse, John Summertwell of Catwastre, and William Cockburne of Langton, with their complices, to make their apperance in the said parlement, to be tried for sundrie great offenses by them committed.

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
Scotland.
1521. Buch.

The prouost &
bailiffes of E-
dinburgh de-
posed.
A parlement
summoned.

1521.

Maister Gawin Dowglas, bishop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Sauoie, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning cleark, and a verie good poet: he translated the twelue booke of the Aeneidos of Virgil in Scottish meter, and compiled also The palace of honor, with diuerse other treatises in the Scottish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of forfaiture to be laied against him at the parlement, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernoz. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglas should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernozs pleasure: and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next yere following.

Gawin Dow-
glas, bishop
of Dunkeld
fleeth into
England.

The earle of
Angus fear-
eth the sen-
tence of for-
faiture.

He and his
brother ban-
ished.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting least he should perswade the Scottishmen to assist the French king, against whome, by perswasion of the emperor, he ment shortly to make warre, sent his herald Clarencieux into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alledging, that it was promised by the king of France at the last enterview betwixt them, which chanced the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreover, whereas the king of England was uncle vnto the king of Scots, he considered with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephue, as he ment to do; and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne to succeed, if ought came to the young king, should haue the gouernement of him, least he might be made awaie, as other young kings had bene. He farther complained, that the earle of Angus should be sent out of the realme, so that he could not inioy the companie of his wife, sister vnto the same king of England.

Clarencieux
an English
herald sent in-
to Scotland.

The king of
England dou-
teth to haue
the duke of
Albanie go-
uernoz to the
king his ne-
phue.

Clarencieux had therefore commandement, that if the duke refused to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he should intimate a defiance with open warre against him: which the said Clarencieux did, declaring his message vnto the duke from point to point

warre de-
nounced by
Clarencieux
against the
duke of Alba-
nie.

The dukes
and sons.

point at Hales road house, as he had been commanded.
To whom the duke answered, that whether the
king of France, or the king of England should
have him from coming into his country. And as
touching the king, who was as yet young in years, he
loved him as his sovereign lord, and would have
him, and defend both him and his realm against all
other that would attempt to invade the same, accord-
ing to his conscience, honour, and duty. And as touch-
ing the earl of Angus, he had said towards him
all honourable and secret, notwithstanding his cruel
deeds, and that principally for the queen's cause,
whom he would have as mother to his sovereign
lord. This answer being reported unto the king of
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-
fore marched to make warre.

The tenth of April there came seven great ships
into the Forth, with Frenchmen, to have spoiled the
ships, and invade the coast there: but they were so
quickly resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-
fered to do any great exploit: and so they returned
without more success. In this season, Andrew, for-
mer bishop of Saint Andrews deceased, and bishop
James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of
Scotland, was removed to Saint Andrews, & made
rather abbe of Dunfermling, and the archbishopric of
Glasgow was given a young man our countryman
Dunbar, that was the king's schoolmaster. In the mo-
nth of May, there was great alarm at Edinburgh,
by the taking out of the banners of the earls of
Mar and Glencairn, both the servants of the earl of
Mar, by reason whereof, the whole nation fell to
marshalling: but the duke coming incontinent from
the north of Hales road house, found the market, and
commanded the said earls into ward within the cal-
fel.

The earls came into England, and persuaded
the king there to make warres against the French
king: and so not onely the Frenchmen but also the
Scots were commanded to invade one of England,
their goods confiscated, and they covered south of
the land, with a hundred and twenty thousand
men. In June, the earl of Strathmore was
sent by the king of England unto the borders,
with commission, to take the power of the north
part to invade Scotland, and upon the border
crossed and came to Hales, where he burnt one part
of the town: but the borders of the Scots and Glen-
cairn, not being halfe so many in number as the
other, he burnt them, and took many prisoners,
and he commanded them to continue into England
with small honour.

The governors after this, when he saw the Eng-
lish overran all the borders of Scotland, called a
parliament at Edinburgh, the 5th of August,
to cure the same wound. Before this, the French sea-
ring them selves because of the great and well fur-
nished army of the English which did every where
come and have the sea sent many, and their will
and of excellent knowledge, under the governance to re-
quest him that he would either by counsel persuade
or by justifie inform his Scots to take arms a-
gainst the English. After which the matter being
with great consultation and many reasons tolled
in argument to and fro, it was decreed by common
consent of the parliament, that a chosen number of
laidmen should be prepared, to defend the borders
from the invasion of the enemy, & the more strong-
ly to resist the English force. It was concluded,
that the number of such as were slain in that execu-
tion, should be freed from all charges or troubles
that might light on them during their minority:
and further, that the wives of all such which had any
lands during their lives, felt in that conflict, should

after the death of their husbands have the same for
the term of five years.

The duke of Albany, hearing of the great prepa-
ration that the earl of Strathmore made, to raise
an army of four thousand men, to invade
Scotland, he likewise as it was before decreed, sent
unto all the earls, lords, and nobles of the realm,
bidding them to raise all such power as they could
make in defence of their country, which they did, but
so being assembled, the duke with a mighty army of
Scottishmen and certain Frenchmen, with great
artillery, marched forward, till he came to the mouth
of the river against Cardick: and perceiving that
the English army came not then forward, he did
what he could to persuade the noblemen to enter in-
to England: but as they were in council together
about that earnest motion made to them by the duke,
a certain great personage said to them in this ma-
ner.

My lords, better far to come by the commande-
ment of my lord governor duke of Albany, and also
if we be ready to defend our shore, rather than
contract the invasion of our land enemies of Eng-
land, yet nevertheless it seemeth not good, making
the made of our realm of Scotland, to pass with-
in England with our army to invade the same at
this time. And he earnestly persuaides him to the go-
vernour makes to us to do the same, proceeds au-
thority for the honour of France. It appeareth to be
insufficient enough for us to hang as the king our sove-
rign lord is within age to defend our own realm,
and not to invade: otherwise, we may put the whole
country and nobility thereof in hazard of civil war:
for king James the fourth brought the realm of
Scotland to the best that it ever was, and by the
war it was brought to the worst almost that might
be: for by that war, was he and his nobility time,
quitted Scotland's sacraments. Therefore by more
advise let us go to the governour, and know of him
the cause why he would persuade us to invade Eng-
land.

Then they all came to the governors tent, and the
earl of Argyll, an ancient noble man spake to
them all, and said: My lord governor, by your will
and commandment, here is assembled the mass
of the nobility of Scotland with their power, to
on a motion to enter into England. My lords
have made know the cause and quarrel why this
warre is begun, yet it might please your goodnesse, if
should well satisfy their minds. The duke framed a
little space, and said: This question would have
demanded yet more for well you know, that I for-
der into I hear to the realm of Scotland, of the
which I have my name, honour, and lineage, hath
passed the seas from the noble realm of France, to
this realm of Scotland. And great cause there
was for me to do, in being you to a winter, when
ye were in dissonance, by reason whereof, your
realm was like to have bin conquered and destruy-
ed. And also the king of France, by my letters and
intercession, will come with you to all against the
English nation: and when this warre was deter-
mined in the parliament, you made me captain, as
showing me to invade England with banner of
peace. When was no demand made of the cause of
quarrel, and that I have done, is by your assent and
agreement, and that I will suffice. But to answer
your demand, we think you have not cause to in-
vade England with fire, sword, and blood, yet ye be
not forgetfull, and without you will hear dishonour
and reproach for ever, for ye know that this realm of
Scotland is our inheritance, as a portion of the
world allotted to our nation and ancestors whom
we succeed. Then there may there be better warre
than

The duke of
Albany, and
the earl of
Argyll.

The coming
of the council.

The death of
the archbishop
of Saint Andrew
James Beaton
archbishop of
Glasgow.

A letter to
Edinburgh.

The common
consent of
England,
Scots and
Frenchmen
invaded north
of England.
The earl of
Strathmore
was murdered
Scotland.

The
Letter to
the
pag. 308.

The
earl
of
Argyll.

The
earl
of
Argyll.

The
earl
of
Argyll.

The
earl
of
Argyll.

than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance?
 Is it not daillie sene, the great inuasions that the
 Englishmen on vs make, the great manslaughter
 and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do
 daillie? Is not this one cause of warre? To defend
 the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble
 men, and the verie seruice of chualtrie, and the dutie
 naturall of the communitie: for I thinke it a iust
 quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Eng-
 laund, and anner it to our owne realme, for the great
 iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and
 our predecessors. For sene the beginning of our habi-
 tation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and
 we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they euer ha-
 ted, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose,
 we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chaunce
 lost our soueraine lard, & diuerse noble men, quibls
 was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine,
 than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings ar-
 mie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the
 field, quibls murder all we noble men ought to re-
 uenge. Therefore I would that you said couragi-
 ouslie aduance your selues in this quarrell to get ho-
 nor, and to be reuenged.

1522.
 The reprie of
 a wise coun-
 sellor.

Then one wise man that was president of the
 counsell, answered the gouernoz, saing: My lard,
 fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he
 stricks the stroke, we can warke na meracles, & here
 are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs.
 And gif we innade their realme, suerlie they will
 fight, for their power sall increase daillie, and ours
 will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie
 (as I trust he sall) yet haue we not won the field,
 for readie comming is the earle of Shrewesburie sa-
 mikell deead in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an
 great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the
 king of Englaund will send or bring another armie
 gif we suld chaunce to get the first battell. And gif
 we get the secound field, that will not be without
 great losse of manie nobles, by reason whereof, the
 realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen
 how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that
 flie are woorthie to be reputed as traitors to the king,
 and so by willfulnesse and fule hardinesse, the realme
 may be in icopardie to be vndone. I say, while the
 king is within age, we ought to moue na weir, least
 by weir we may bring him to destruction.

The gouer-
 nors words
 to the presi-
 dents reprie.

Then said the valiant gouernoz: Here is an pu-
 issant armie of Scotland, gif we retorne, we sall
 incourage our enemies. Therefore sene you thinke
 it not gude to innade, my counsell is that we campe
 still on the borders, while we see what the English-
 men pretends to do against our realme. To the which
 the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe
 certeine daies after. After this conference had be-
 twixt the nobles and the gouernoz, the quene as then
 being not with them, but aduertised of all the proce-
 dings and determinations, sent word to the gouer-
 noz, and desired him that there might be a treatie of
 peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the
 English marches to come to the gouernors campe,
 vpon pledges, wherunto the gouernoz condescended.
 Herevpon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west
 marches of England [with Thomas Pultraue]
 came vnto the gouernors campe, and thither also at
 that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vp-
 on the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war
 was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time
 the duke and quene should send ambassadoz into
 Englaund, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

Means made
 for peace.

The lord Da-
 cres.

In the moneth of October next insuing, there
 were three ambassadoz sent into England, accor-
 ding to the agreement in the last treatie, but there
 were so hard and extreame conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could
 not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honor and
 weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen
 took the matter. And so those ambassadoz returned
 without agreement or conclusion of peace: wherev-
 on followed great trouble betwixt them of the bor-
 ders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland
 was made warden of the whole marches, but thortlie
 after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that
 office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was
 the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the
 lord marquisse Dorset warden of the east & middle
 marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his of-
 fice of wardenship ouer the west marches.

The earle of
 Northumber-
 land made
 lord warden.

The earle of
 Surreie.
 The lord
 marquisse
 Dorset.

The lord Da-
 cres.

About the first day of March, the said lords came
 to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie
 considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and
 England were irksome to the nobles of the realme,
 because the same wars were taken in hand chieflie
 to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed
 by the west seas into France. And in the beginning
 of March, where he was verie hartlie and gladielie re-
 ceiued of the king, his request was onlie to haue
 five thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen
 of Almaines, to be transported into Scotland: and
 doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that
 with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he
 should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in
 battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But
 the French king neither belaued this baine bag,
 nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre
 at that time both against England, and the emperor:
 neuerthelesse, he promised him some aid, wherevpon
 the duke abode and waited for the same a long sea-
 son. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland cau-
 sed certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders mo-
 nestlie, in defense of the same against the English-
 men, daillie looking for support from France. Euerie
 companie remained their moneths, and then depar-
 ted home as the custome is, and thus they continued
 still till September following. Much hurt was done
 on either part, and diuerse houses were ouerthrowne
 and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

The duke of
 Albanie goeth
 over into
 France.
 His request.

His baine
 bag.

1523.

The borders
 watched.

During which time, the king of France prepared
 certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe
 with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the
 king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid
 a great naue of ships in the pale on the seas, as he
 should make his course. But the duke imbarquing
 himselfe with his people at West in Britaine, sail-
 ed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and
 twentieth day of September landed at Kirkcubrie
 in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him
 (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la
 Pole, a man of great parentage, borne in Eng-
 land, and banished his countrie. Whilist the duke
 was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the
 earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thou-
 sand men, entered into Scotland, and coming to
 Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey. [But
 Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedworth
 which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to
 haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling
 themselves against their inuasions, they were con-
 strained to retorne with losse (as some Scottishmen
 haue written.)

The duke of
 Albanie re-
 turneth into
 Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
 Surreie in
 uades Scot-
 land.

* In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to
 the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie af-
 ter his retorne out of France) writeth in this sort.
 We haue shewed (saith he) how miserable the state
 of Scotland was the last summer (through the dis-
 sention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the
 English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the
 places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.
 lib. 14.

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuise of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for companions than leaders in battels; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon the (to gratifie his brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into his owne hands) did (dissembling his greedy desire to rule) persuaade them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresee, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against his husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreame. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and almuch as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaide themselves to breake the league with the French, and loine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well vnderstand, that the king of England did not seeke after soueraintie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercourse of merchandise, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembered the profit and disauantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdom, and the benefit that they might loke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought by vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in manners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-certaine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but see in deed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant doe also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stidie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detrimment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chieflie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an enill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifying of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way sort to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had vsed that policie to intrap vntuarie men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdom of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure; and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecillie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolue the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English doe now also seeke none other matter, than casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right securitide; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdom.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chieffest strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors nere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we loke for anie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Besides, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts

where the English haue killed one, the Scots haue murdered ten as the course of their histories will well proue.

and covenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongst the good: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and injuries, doe dwell in people, whose nearnesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike manner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far othertwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresee and provide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disagreement, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we respect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand, that there should not anie thing be done therein; and therefore sent certaine of the French aid as ambassadors about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and with others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arrivall came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inso much as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of injuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dologlas dale the eighteenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certaine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Marke, which was kept by sir William Leslie captaine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiers, and great provision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was wone, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Antwike, not far distant from Marke, and the marquess Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Bertwike, for doubt least the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Marke, and the same wone likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driuen to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants went to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a fore and vehement storme and tempest of raine chanced

that night, so that they were constrained to leaue off that enterprise, and to get themselves ouer the river againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Tweed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, east downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Tweed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had invaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to invade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuaade the duke to retire home; which he did, so that by his labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no invasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie sabbate, being the one and twentieth of Maie, sixe hundred Scots entered England, to surprize the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Bertwike, where pærelie on that day the faire is kept, and so by reason thereof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the comming of the young lord of Fulbertie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the sixt of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, & Bassard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entred into the shires, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and seeke to saue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bassard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the seuententh of Iulie, the lord Marwell, and sir Alexander Fordein, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entred England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and thereupon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, inso much that for the space of an houre, there was a fore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politike captaine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to encourage his people: & after that, by the taking

Glendale
burned by
the Scots.

In herald
sent.

A truce.

See more of
this matter in
England.
1524.

Scots enter
into England

Englishmen
invade Scots
land.

Englishmen
discomfited.
Bassard Heron
slaine.

1524.
Foure thousand
saith Hall.

The lord
Marwell in
uaderly Eng-
land.

David Car.
warre castell
besieged.

The earle of
Surrie with
an armie of
fortie thousand
men.
The marquess
Dorset appointed
to keepe
Bertwike.

Marke as-
saulted.

The Scots
and French
retire backe
ouer the
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of Alexander Fordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in arate againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, took and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led about three hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

In assemblee
of the lords.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblee of the lords in Edinburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should suffer such damage, as it had done by those three last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perceiving how the lords were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie perswaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whom he took leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he took the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
France,
Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumour of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of Iune sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, perswaded him to come from thence secretly into England, which accordingly he did; and being safely arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be ready to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroye him & his: but per the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the first twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine young lords, came from Striueling vnto Edinburgh; and three daies after, the quene took the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edinburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edinburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Sparwell was appointed by the quene, prouost in his place. For the performance whereof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edinburgh the third day of Februarie next ensuing [and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as faith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.]

The earle of
Angus com-
meth into
England.

The quene
taketh the go-
uernment in-
to hir hands.

A parlement
summoned,
Fr. Thin.

A truce taken
for one yere.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Spagnus, and Roger Kattcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the quene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the quene bare him, there ensued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the quene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Castels, Robert Cockebozne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Wille abbatt of Cambuskeneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Grenewich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their coming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a marriage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

Ambassadors
into England

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Castels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenly arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie private houses in Edinburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the quenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

Fr. Thin.

1525.
Lefleus lib. 9,
pag. 414.

Candida Casa

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edinburgh was come, the king, quene, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Wodglasse earle of Angus, and John Stewart earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edinburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that late in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the quenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dublane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the quene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the three states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they wan it, all their lines within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The earle of
Angus his
request.

The quene, by the counsell of the earles of Ar. rane and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would shortly discharge all the artillerie

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artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, speciallie among the burgeses, but by the diligence of certeine persons that trauelled betwene the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forset, that neither meat nor other thing might be suffered to be conueied into it, except so much as might serue for the sustentation of the kings owne person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the foure and twentieth day of Februarie, the king came vnto the parlement holden in the Colbuth in most honozable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, hauing the crowne, scepter, and sword bozne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey, where he remained.

the forsetteyth
the castell of
Edenburgh.

The parties
are agreed.

Councellores
appointed.

In this parlement, there were eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie counsell, the which toke the gouernement of the king and realme vpon them, as these: the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the quene was adioined to them as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. From this parlement also was the earle of Castels sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of March. But because the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pavia, he would not proceed in the treatie of marriage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three yers and six moneths, the ambassadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without anie contract of marriage at that time. The agreement betwixt the quene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the bishop of Dunblane or Dunkeld (as saith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Drogglas, without the aduise of the quene and other lords. Whereupon the quene departed and went vnto Strueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who toke the whole rule and gouernment of the realme and king vpon him, and made his uncle Archibald Drogglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Drogglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

Truce re-
newed.

Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 417.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The quene
mother in
armes.

In this meane time, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Murray, remaining with the quene at Strueling, alleged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus for against his will: and therefore they sent vnto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to giue the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the earle of Angus, albeit he would gladly haue bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed them by priuie meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon shortly after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edenburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partly against his will.

The quene and such lords as were with her there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough-ten field, they withdrew themselves to Strueling, and from thence the quene went into Murray land with the earle of Murray, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunelm: and then the earle of Angus toke vpon him more boldlie the gouernment of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreover, a diuorcie this yere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of saint Andrews, betwixt the quene, and the earle of Angus her husband, and then afterwards she toke to husband one Henrie Stewart, sonne to the lord of Arundale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

The great
seale deliuered

A diuorcie be-
tweene the
quene and
the earle of
Angus.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Harres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Wobclough, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lord of Wobclough, to know what his intention was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and seruice, and to shew his friends and power as the use is of the borderers.

1526.

The lord of
Wobclough his
enterprise, to
take the king
from the earle
of Angus.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the Harres, sent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach nere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Wherevnto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Harres, the lord of Helleford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Partwell, George Drogglas, and Iohn Crichton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Wobclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their first comming to ioining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Wobclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfully, and slue the lord of Helleford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Wobcloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edenburgh.

The lord of
Helleford
slaine.
The lord of
Wobclough put
to flight.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might.

G. J.

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ib. 9.

Casa

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his

The earle of
Lennor ga-
thereth a pow-
er.

The earle of
Arrane ga-
thereth a
power.

The earle of
Lennor slaine
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

might, yet perceiuing two enterprises to haue qual-
led that had bene attempted for his deliuerance, he
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured
the earle of Lennor to assemble an armie, with as-
sistance of the quene and his friends, to helpe to de-
liuer him from the hands of his enemies. The earle
of Lennor did so, and came with such power as he
could raise from the west parts vnto Linlithgo. The
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of
Lennor was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-
rane for aid, requirring him to come with such power
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The
earle of Arrane immediatlie herewith gathered a
power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before
the earle of Lennor came thither, who shortly after
comming with his people, approached that towne, vn-
to whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-
quirring him to turne and saue his enterprise, assu-
ring him, that albeit he was his sisters sonne, he
would not spare him, if he held forth vpon his
iourne. The earle of Lennor herewith answered in
a great rage, that he would not staie, till he came to
Edenburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle
of Arrane therefore not stateng for the earle of An-
gus his comming from Edenburgh, issued forth of
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-
tered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where
there was a cruell onset given on both sides, but sud-
denlie the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he
himselfe with the lord of Hunsdon and diuerse other
gentlemen were slaine.

* The death of which Dowglas the king did great-
lie lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that
was made in that conflict, did send forth (but all too
late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue succored
the Lennor, if by any meanes he could. After this
victorie, the faction of the Dowglasles (to the end
that striking a feare in those that were enuious a-
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be
in danger to them) began to moue questions and
sutes in law, against such as had bozne armor a-
gainst the king: for feare whereof some bought their
peace with monie, some took part with the Dow-
glasles, some followed the Hamiltons, and some
stille standing in the matter, were followed and cal-
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of
Castles (when he was earnestlie pressed by James
Hamilton the bassard, to yeld himselfe to the part of
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull
of the honor of his familie, that he would seeme to
degenerate from his ancestors, and willinglie grant
to be under defense (which is the next degree of
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall
league and couenant was contented with the second
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his
cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thir-
ther by the king, and not as enemy to the king, and
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons brow-
ning and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king
had writtten as well to Gilbert (going home) as to
manie others, to ioin with John Steward earle of
Lennor, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his
iourne out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Where-
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some-

what suppressed) James Hamilton the bassard stirred
with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure
Hugh Campbell thirriste of Aire to dispatch him out
of the waie, which he shortly after did in his returne
home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might dis-
semble his conscience or knowledge of this euill (the
execution whereof he had committed to his fellows)
was remaining at the day and time of the same
murder, with John Areskine, whose sister was the
wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

The death of
the earle of
Castles.

But the (as soone as she heard of that deed) did with
manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, because
by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had al-
most bene brought to utter subuersion, had he not
left a yong sonne behind him. This yong earle,
after the death of his father, fled to his kinsman Ar-
chembald Dowglasle then the kings treasurer, to
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in-
to law for the said deed, who being manifestlie conuic-
ted thereof, was banished into an other place. Yet-
ther did the Dowglasles with lesse bitternesse exer-
cise their anger against James Seton, for bringing
their power to saint Andrews, which they spoiled, as
after appeared.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing
the king with him, arrived, and had come to the bat-
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth
of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the
waie, feining himselfe sicke: but George Dowglas
droue and called vpon his horse verie sharpelie, and
constrained him to ride forth with faster pace than he
would haue done, giuing him manie inturuous
words, which he remembred afterwards, and would
not forget them. They went that night to Striue-
ling, and shortly after passed through Fiffe, searching
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Andrews, and
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the
abbete of Dunfermeling, and the castell of saint An-
drewes, taking a waie all the moueables which the
archbishop had within the same.

The quene
sought for.

* In the north parts also, the two families of the
Lesles and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts fa-
king: which enimities did after grow to be the grea-
ter, because there were daile manie slaughters of
the nobles & other people committed in Spar, War-
reoth, and Aberdeen, whilste each faction labored to de-
fend it selfe against the others. For which cause (when
the common-wealth was much deformed thereby,
and all iustice seemed almost vtterlie ouerthrowne in
those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-
bilitie (which were of the kings priuie counsell) did
not cease, untill they had made writtie betwene those
two families. But in the end (the heire of the For-
boises, & the lord Lentrake, hauing by wait killed the
noble baron Speldurme, which fauored the Lesles)
those buried contentions began againe to be raised
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue
thereof to the common state) they attempted all pos-
sible means once more to quench that deable flame,
and afresh to ioin their minds together in amitie,
with this prouiso, that the murderers of Speldurme
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished
into France, where the greatest part of them died,
after manie miseries and reproches suffered in their
pitifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vntied be-
twene the Forboises and the Lesles, was imbraced
with such faith each to other, by renewing thereof with
continual marriages & other courties, that it conti-
nueth most firme euen vnto this day.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9:
pag. 423.

1526.

I 5 2 0.
Lellous lib. 9.
pag. 423.
124, 8c.

Wothmurcosie

New tumults
in that fami-
lie.

The familie
of Spakintof
che raise sedi-
tions.

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (partlie following their naturall disposition, and partlie excited by the example of the former times long suffered so to be used) did in like sort overrun and spoile all things, by reason of ouermuch libertie. But of all other sturs raised in those parts, that was the greatest and most troublesome, which was raised by the Spakintofches. Of which unrulie people, the one familie was called the Glenchattens, and the other was surnamed Spakintofches after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane Spakintofche a man of great possessions, and of such excellencie in singularity of wisdom, that with great commendation he did containe all his followers within the limits of their duties, more than others did. Which constraints (when they could hardly beare (as loth to live in order) having so long passed their time licentiouslie) did withdraue the hearts of manie men from him. Amongest whome was James Spalcolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the inturie of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this Spakintofche; after which (fearing further trouble to insue towards him) he fled to the Ile (at the lake Wothmurcosie) as a sanctuarie or defense for him. But the rest of the familie of the Spakintofches did pursue him with such eager minds, that by force taking him in the Ile, they worthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednesse. After which (because the sonne of Spakintofche, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with feare & punishment to brydle the minds of his fierce subjects) by common consent they chose the barbard brother of the slaine man (called Hecto Spakintofche) to be head and leader of that familie, untill this young nephue might grow to yeares, and might weeld the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of Spurreie perceived that if the sonne of Spakintofche were committed to the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruel, that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with manie troubles, he did most goodlie (for the care he had of him his nephue being his sisters sonne) ppointe, that he should be caried to an other place, to the Wgiluies, the childes kin on the mothers side, where he should be well instructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hecto was greatlie offended, to see that the child should so subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his possession, that thereby he might salue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But some there were, which supposed that the great care and labor which he so much employed (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him awaite, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouernement of that familie. Which conceipt being deeplie grauen in the mind of the earle of Spurreie, caused him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of Hecto.

Wherewith Hecto being highlie incensed (and determining to spue out his choler, seeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother William & other of his kindred, that joining their force, they might stronglie vex the earle of Spurreie, and spoile his possessions: which they did with so great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and besseging the castell of Toznewaite, they executed manie cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other mischiefes vpon all sorts of people, men, women, and children, and all such as fauored them. For their hatred not limited against the earle of Spurreie, ex-

tended further against the familie of the Wgiluies, amongest whome the child was left in custodie for educations cause. With which mind this Hecto and his complices placing their campe at the castell of Bettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens (one of the familie of the Wgiluies) they did so furiously besiege the same, as the people of the same were in the end forced to yield the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the Wgiluies, whom they found therein. Whereupon (their minds being now aduanced with spoiles and happie successes) they became so proud, as (trusting ouermuch to prosperous euent in all their actions) they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, untill the erle of Spurreie did with force execute iust iudgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld them immoderatlie reioysing, in spoiling his lands, and committing other excessiue euils; he obtained of the king and his counsell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to brydle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoiling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did with such speedie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the first he took almost two hundred of their capteins, and committed them to the gallowes. All whose faith was so true to their capteine, as (when life was scuerallie promised to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes) there would not anie one of them confesse where their capteine Hecto had hidden himselfe. For euerie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if so be they did, that yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betraye their maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient reuenge (for such capteins as the earle had taken) there were more grauous punishments laid vpon William Spakintofche (brother to Hecto) because in the beginning he nourished those coles of choler for his brothers cause. For after that this William was hanged, his head was chopped off and fastened vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts of his bodie were sent to the towne of Elgin, Forresse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set vpon publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hecto (seeing his men were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Spurreie, by whose aduise he goeth humblie and secretlie to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Spurreies certeine reuenge. Whereupon the king (seeing his humble submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, because he was valiant and wise in warre, and in counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (where with Hecto did wickedlie defile his life) to go unreuenged with most grauous paine vpon the said Hecto. For in the citie of Saint Andrews, sudden death (than which there can be no greater punishment) was laid vpon him by one James Spense a priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Spurreie had shewed such reuenge vpon the friends of Hecto and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glenclatten did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the limits of their dutie: untill that the sonne of Lachlane
Eg. ij. lane

wonderfull
faith of euill
men to their
capteine.

lane Wakintofche came to mans estate and full age. Which yong man was in his first peares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed thereunto, that when he was imploied about the common-wealth; all the capteins of them (who naturally speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaster to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certeine (not able to susteine the brightnesse of his vertue) did toine in counsell with such as were nearest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.]

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Iebburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the keeping of better rule: and so on the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanors. The seuenteenth of Iulie, there was a great assemble of the lords at Holie rood house, at what time, there came a simple fellow (to looke vpon) servant and housekeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbey close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short page or dagger in the bellie thre seuerall stripes vp to the haist, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed without repentance, saieing; Why on the scoble hand " quike wald not do that thing the heart thought, and " was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuicted and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iustification, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did as firme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The abbat of Ferne burnt.

Edenburgh castell besieged. 1528 Lesle.

The king being seuentene peares of age, refuseth to be longer vnder gouernement.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edenburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with James his brother being within it. But as soone as the queene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentene peares, and of god discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resiant as then in Edenburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wherefoener the same chanced to lie.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortlie after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandment from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowen: which he would not obeye; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edenburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edenburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his vnkle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Mommond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decre of parlement atteinted, and forfalled for diuerse offences, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had detained the king against his will with him the space of two peares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the quenes husband was created lord of Methuen, and made maister of the ordinance. * Besides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gavin Dunbar, the kings scholemaster made chancelor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archembald Dowglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldly there protest, that whatsoeuer was therein don, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; since iust feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. With in a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastierie of Holirhod died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by grieve of minde, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well monied, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Dowglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Constandie and Cranfoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.]

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well provided, that it might not be wone for all that could be done at that season: in somuch that after David Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. * Besides the deliuerie thereof, the king depeslie swore that he would not leaue one aliue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Dowglases, so long as he liued and was king.

Wherevpon he came to Edenburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a daillie companie (though no great number) to Colidingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthane, he did bitterlie refuse; either fearing the power of the Dowglas (wherevnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seme to be equal) or that he would not (being then yong) imbrue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon, since

1528, The earle of Angus forfalled. The earle of Angus atteinted by parlement. Henrie Steward created lord of Methuen.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

David Fauconer slaine.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

Since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adjoining nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice & delicate loved of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasses (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were enforced to depart into England to Is. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberrallie received and intertained them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the request of Robert Berton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it seemeth) when James Colville and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court (as persons suspected to favor the Dowglasses) their offices were bestowed upon Robert Berton, then in great favor with the king and courtiers, and advanced to the government of manie places.)

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yere 1529, the earle of Cathness and the lord of Sinclair, with a great armie by sea passed into Dykenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of James Sinclair of Kirkwall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enemies: the earle with five hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, unto the which they were disuen. The lord Sinclair and all the residue were taken. The Dykenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was seene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enemies. In the same moneth on the fiftenth day, there was a great assemble of the lords in Edinburgh, where the king himselfe sate in iudgement. The lord of Winderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of theues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and maintaining of theues, slaughters, and other crimes: of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbush of Edinburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict, for maintaining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edinburgh castell, and after sent into Murray land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Partwell, the lord Hume, the lords of Balguelth, Fernhurst, Polloit, Johnson, Marke Har [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borders kept better rule ever after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before imprisoned, and then to be banished) to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Johnstone a thefe of noted crueltie, therewith to gratifie the king) began deadlie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those hundredes.]

About this season, a landed man named John Scot, that had travelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lellous] who now being returned into Scotland, (because it was bated in other countries that he

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for trial therof put in Davids tower in Edinburgh castell, and diligent watch set upon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for fortie daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsaken (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hands, because he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not bene (as he was indeed) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were known to be most culpable. And heretupon he caused fortie and eight of the most notable theues, with their capteine John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murder, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell thefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and hir childzen within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should appeach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserved. In August following, manie meruellous sights were seene about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fiftenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscenneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Culrose called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tulliallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and seventh of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edinburgh was degraded (the king, quene, and a great companie of people being present) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tulliallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edinburgh by the king, with consent of the three estates in parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftene counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seuen temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is above the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinarie, remouable at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not perswade the king of England in his favor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuily into England (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of February committed to the castell

1529.

The earle of Cathness passed over into Dykenie.

The earle of Cathness slaine. The blindness of the Dykenie men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of theues.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Banished the realme.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 14.

John Scot fasted fortie daies without receiving any food.

1531. Buch.

1529.

Archembald Dowglas banished.

The king cometh to the borders.

Theues hanged.

Thefe burnt to death.

wonders seene in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

An abbat murdered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

Fr. Thin. Buch, lib. 14. 1532.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in L. Ideddale) to repossesse the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine dates and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongst the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a pærelle summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paye the stipend of a few iudges that should be appointed thereto) should be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Calvin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appeared to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ides of March, untill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fiftene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their one lie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But because Lesleus treateth in more ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the seuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus wordes, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement vsed by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the weaker part had vniustlie the upper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the uttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that seuerall iudges (hauing seuerall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the persuation of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the manner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnnæet for the more explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpnesse of wit (especiallie in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may fearme them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie, which we thinke to be

done by the great benefite of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wilddome of the tempozaltie, obtained by the experience of twofold causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie.ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelloz of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then thereunto the Scots giue the chiefeest preheminance in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwikke, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrey, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwikke againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side vpon the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastell, to intreat for a redress and recompense to be made for burning of towne and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of pyles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, vnto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene vsed in tyme of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therfore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Binlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne (the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honozable receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next ensuing.

About the same time were sent into France, William Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Criskin secretaire, as ambassadoz to requite the duke of Handolmes sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Neuerthelesse (as afterwards shall appere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once sene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a sutoz to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obtained: wherefore the duke of Handolmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with any other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadoz into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Duresme,

1533.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 437, 438.

Lesleus. lib. 1.
pag. 79.

1532.
Sir Arthur
Darcie sent
to the borders.

He maketh a
rode into
Scotland.

1533.

1534. Lesle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace con-
cluded.

Ambassadoz
into France.

The king him-
selfe passeth se-
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The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin. Lellous lib. 9. pag. 437. 1534.

Justice minister.

English fugitives received into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 14. 1534.

1535.

The pope sends into Scotland.

1536.

resigne, and one doctor Magnus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadores at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter; the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michael. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set by ouer the gate of his palace of Linthquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice done to be ministered in places where he came, against offenders. For example, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then used, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Master Rozman Goxleie that was abjured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were convict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were receiued.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the first, emperor) this Charles sent Godescall Erise (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [concerning the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall counsell: the ouerthrow of the Lutherian heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of marriage] the said ambassadoe did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three parties the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portugale his nece by his sister Leonora: or Marie of England his cousine germane by his aunt Katharine. Whereunto the king answered, that the marriage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of vncertaine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delaiie than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kindred, that marriage by manie reasons should be most beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabella sister to the emperor. Wherevnto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Madrid) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whom he had decreed an heretike, a schismaticke, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murder, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be deposed of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholicke princes. In the yere 1536, the king took the sea with five ships, without knowledge of the most

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Isles, and by forme was giuen to take land at saint Jans in Galloway, & so returned to Strueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Spuskelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell took his boiage againe by sea with five ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Kirkcaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortly after arrived in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Both and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennox, and Castles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

Immediately after his arrivall, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandolmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Lennox, whom he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandolmes his place, got sight of the ladie who should haue bene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seven leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iusts, tourneys, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth; in which iusts and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he was passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadores and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whom he loved & favoured above all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in marriage. But herewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, lowelie countenance, and comelie manners, above all others within that realme.

Wherevpon the marriage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre above the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the Salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. For example,

The kings boiage about the Isles.

He saileth into France.

He rideth to Wandolmes.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a tutor for marriage.

The marriage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

uer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the mariage appointed to be holden the first of Ianuarie.

1530.
The mariage contracted.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Nauarre, seuen cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marshalles, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the mariage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable interteinement. Finally, the king and his wife quene Magdalen toke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Iteuhauen where they embarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Leth hauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

1537. Lesle.

The king with his quene returneth into Scotland.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemelie demeanour, at hir first arrivall wonne the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king his husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune enuieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement feuer, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Julie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first vse of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yeres, is not verie common, though publike orders and manners doe euerie day grow worse and worse.]

Quene Magdalen departed this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie Glames and hir husband consist of treason.
1537. Lesle.

In the summer of this yere, Ione Dowglas the ladie of Glames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David Lion, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Her son the lord Glames was also conuict for misprision and concealment of that crime, and therefore forsaiking all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was yong and of tender yeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetual prison, in the which he remained so long as the king lived. [This yere was Bostwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan).] Shortly after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a fi-

Fr. Thin.

The maister of Forbois beheaded.

sister of the said ladie Glames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntley, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edinburgh; but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof thorough all parts of his realme. * The king appointed an assemblee of the nobles, by whose consent an edit was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceived that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they aduanced his fourre sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Abertolfe, Kelso, Colvingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kingle inheritance.)

Iustices appointed to sit in diuerse parts of the realme.

Fr. Thin; Buchan. lib. 14. pag. 447.

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in mariage with some noble princeesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Murray, and David Beaton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they of France had made bishop of Aprozence] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a mariage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie his selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Sparwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to loine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that mariage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

1538. Lesle.

The king is a tutor for marriage to the dutchesse of Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

After this she was conueied to Iteuhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carrell in Frise, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andrewes, being honorablelie prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie solemnized and confirmed the foresaid mariage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his quene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the mariage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore general processions and publike praiers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous successe of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders

The mariage solemnized.

Great quiet-
ness in Scot-
land.

1539.

The king sail-
eth north-
wards to the
Iles of Ork-
ney and others

The out Iles
brought to
god order.

Fr.Thin.

The quene
delivered of a
sonne.

The quene
mother depart-
ed this life.

Certaine per-
sons burnt
for religion.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exerci-
sing of iustice, and traueilling about the same in his
owne person through all places (where need requir-
ed) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and
politic vsed in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings
daies before him: yet neuertheless there were cer-
taine disobedient persons in the Iles.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused
to prepare a good naue of ships, and in the moneth of
Maie went aboard the same in the robe of Lieth, ha-
ving with him the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Ar-
gile, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with
whome he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus,
Aberdeen, Murray, Argyll, Southerland, and Cath-
ness, till he came to Orkney, where he landing and
all his companie with him, were receiued verie ho-
norable by the bishop Robert Sparwell. Where they
furnished themselves with fresh vittells, and other
such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas
again, sailed to the Iles of Skie and Helwes, where
Mac Cleud of the Helwes, a principall clan of his
kin, was brought vnto the king, who sent forth also
a companie to Mac Cleud Haugh, who came like-
wise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the
king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Koss
& Kintail, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerse
of the Macconiles, such as the lord Magarrie, John
Spottart, and others (who alledged themselves to be
of the principall blood, and lords of the Iles) were
brought also to the kings presence. From thence tra-
uelling through the residue of the Iles, Macclane and
James Macconile of Kintar, being the two principall
captains of the small Iles, came likewise to the king
who at length landed at Dunbretton, and sent the
captains and ships with prisoners to passe the same
waie he came round about the coast, so to come to
Edenburgh, where the same prisoners being arri-
ued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as
pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not
suffered to depart so long as the king lived, whereby
there followed great quietnesse, and as god obedi-
ence to the lawes throughout all the Iles, as there
was in anie part of the realme; and as god account
and payment made to the kings controller in his ex-
chequer for the lands of the same Iles pertaining to
the crowne, as for anie part of the revenues belon-
ging therevnto within the maine land. [In this yeere
(saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lu-
theranisme, wherof some were burnt; nine recanted,
and manie were banished: amongst whom, George
Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a
window of a chamber.]

Whilest the king was in this boiage, the quene
was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andzeles, where
of the king being aduertised at his landing, hastned
with all possible diligence to the quene, and shortly
after was the child baptised, and called James. The
archbishop of saint Andzeles, and the earle of Ar-
rane were godfathers, and the quene the kings mo-
ther was godmother. For the birth of this prince,
there were bounties made through all parts of the
realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to
God for the same. After this the quene, mother to the
king, returned vnto Methuen, where after she had
remained a certeine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the
which shortly after she departed this life, and was
buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns
towne, by the toime of king James the first. The
king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were
present at the funerals, which were kept in most so-
lemne and pompous manner.

The same yeare were burnt at Edenburgh for
heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests
were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall prison.
The same time there was a graie frier in the citie of
Glasgow burnt for the like cause, and manie other
summoned; and because they would not appeare,
they were denounced heretikes. About the same
time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andzeles, 1539. Lefle.
The death of
James Be-
ton archbishop
of saint An-
dzeles.
a man of great age departed this life, and was bu-
ried in saint Andzeles. Before his departure, he
had prouided successors to all his benefices, first to
his archbishops see, and to the abbey of Arbroth,
maister David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to
the abbey of Dunfermling maister George Du-
rie that was archdeacon of saint Andzeles. These
men, without anie gainesaying of the king, entered
with his good will into the same benefices, immedi-
atlie after his decess. His James Beton builded
a great part of the new college of saint Andzeles,
and left great summes of monie and treasure to go
through to make an end of the same worke.

This yeare in the moneth of August sir James
Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then
in the towne of Edenburgh, was arrested by Da-
uid Wood controller to the king, who charged him
in the kings name to go to ward within the ca-
stell of Edenburgh. Which commandement he wil-
linglie obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as
well by reason of the god seruice he had done to the
king, speciallie in repairing the palaces of Strine-
ling and Linletgew; as also for that the king had
him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of him-
selfe at all. Neuertheless, shortly after he was
brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tol-
buth of Edenburgh, of certeine points of treason
laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but
that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the mo-
neth of September next ensuing [after that he had
liberallie confessed at the place of execution, that he
had neuer in anie sort offended the kings maiestie,
and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted vpon
him by the diuine iustice; because he had often of-
fended the law of God to please the prince, thereby
to obtaine greater countenance with him. Where-
fore he admonished all persons, that (moued by his
example) they should rather follow the diuine plea-
sure, than vniustlie seeke the kings fauor, since it is
better to please God than man.]

This summer the quene remaining at Strine-
ling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was
baptised in the chappell of Striueling, and called Ar-
thur; but within eight daies after, the said prince de-
ceased at Striueling asforesaid. On the verie same
daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at
saint Andzeles departed this life also, in such wise,
that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time
of their departures out of this world; which caused
no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than
there was ioy at their births. After this, the quene
inwent vnto saint Johns towne, where she was hono-
rable receiued with great triumph made by the
towne. She was accompanied with the principall
men of the countrie, and from thence the roade to
Aberdeen, the king then being come vnto hir, where,
by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued
with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies,
set forth in the best maner for their pastime. They
remained there the space of fiftene daies, and were
highlie intertained by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all
kind of sciences in the colleges and scholes, with
diuerse orations made in Greke, Latine, and other
languages, to the high praise and commendation of
the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From
thence the king with the quene returned to Dun-
dee,

1540.
Sir James
Hamilton ar-
rested.

Sir James
Hamilton be-
headed.

Fr.Thin.
Lefleus lib. 9,
pag. 451.

The quene
deliuered of
another son.

The two
young princes
departed this
life.

The king and
quene at A-
berdeen.

Capteins
Borthwicke
accused of he-
resie.

der, where a collicie entrie was prepared for them also, and after they had bene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Maie, sir John Borthwicke, commonlie called capteine Borthwicke, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bishops and prelats there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being proued by sufficient witnesse against him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 9.
pag. 453.

The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) toke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessors before were onlie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was under the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James did yield therunto; and that the rather, because the king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the heires of the Scot spakeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

A small por-
tion in dar.

1541.
The king of
England leu-
beth to the
king of
Scots.

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of pise, doubting some practise to be devised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Davids, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Poyke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Poyke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his vncle; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his counsell and prelats [especiallie James Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.) assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be staied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king James his predecessour was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

Fr. Thin.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowne, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to perswade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had done within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supreme head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like inuormation. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his great friends and confederats. Whereupon they perswaded him to staie, and by their aduise sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as shortly he should vnderstand by his ambassadors, whom he ment to send to him, as well for this matter as other causes. And shortly after sir James Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador into England, as well to make the kings excuse for his not comming to meet the king of England at Poyke; as also to make complaint vpon certeine inuasions made by the borderers of England into Scotland, and also for the vsing of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

Sir James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

But the king of England soe offended that the king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to meet him at Poyke (as before is recited), would admit no excuse, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scottishmen allege, he would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commissioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redress to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by the commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inuasions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of this war, moued at this present by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to set downe the same, as they were drawen forth and published in print to the whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

1542.
The king of
England
meaneth to
make warre
into Scot-
land.

A declaration conteining the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kings most roiall maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland, and thus it beginneth.

BEING now inforced to the war which we haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephue the k. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefites toward him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, and to reioice in our quietnesse; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and disclosing of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstances knowne, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this tyme, in which things of such enormitie doe burst out and appeare.

A declaration
of the iust
causes of the
war
against the
king of
Scots.

the king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome we in his youth and tender age preserved and maintained from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the roiall possession of his estate, he now compelleth & inforceth vs (for preservation of our honor & right) to vse our puissance & power against him. The like unkindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of princes, for the raritie of them, can so happen but seldom as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie rarelie & seldom since tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in mariage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sorie that it toke no better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, amitie,

amicitie, and perpetuall friendship betwene the posteritie of both: which how soone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his uniuersall inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for euer. And yet in that present time could not the unkindnesse of the father ertinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that should haue wroughtilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought by our nephue, to attaine his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so unkindlie vseth and behaueh himselfe towards vs, hee he compelleth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieffe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speach and flattering words, we be indeed so iniured, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. Words, writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beleene or giue care to other, that euer allegeded the deeds of the contrarie, being neuertheless the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repaiering of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Porke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Porke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subiects, and according thereto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadoys as repaired hither at Christmas afterward, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good words, sweet words, pleasant words, oftentimes proponed by the said ambassadoys, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and entertained such rebels as were of the cheefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs, with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same; yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the said ambassadoys to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire words as could be in speech desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them ouer extreamlie in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of deeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borderers, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit insued, that being for our part challenged, a peece of our ground plainlie vsurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more authenticke, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for anie part of ground within our realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commandement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Marwell wardden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland should withstanding their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Iulie entered into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subiects contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Whereupon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his household, with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subiects, & to their extream detriment. Wherewith, and with that vniuersall dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finallie so extreamlie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his words and faire promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our proximity of blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire words, the deeds of the borderers were as extream as might be, and our subiects spoiled: and in a roade made by sir Robert Solues for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Solues, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting them to fine or ranfome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a surlesance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subiects, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer unreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safeguard of our subiects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought oftentimes their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to staie our ar-

mie at *Porke*, appointing the duke of *Roosfolke* our lieutenant, the Lord priate seale, the bishop of *Durham*, and the maister of our hostles, there to comen, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoz of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such condicions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundrie inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finallie one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proposed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our neyhe might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: wherevpon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadoz of Scotland made much outward ioy in communication of meeting. They shewed themselves in wordes, fashon, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioise in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they toke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certeine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: wherevnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precise at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Wherevpon when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadoz of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadoz to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought convenient. Which manner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission therevnto: the ambassadoz of Scotland vpon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delate of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, containing such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last removed and taken auaie by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadoz, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadoz of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place semelie and convenient, which for want of commission they might not doe, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partie to excuse their king, who should seme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie profess.

Then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselves, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of the winter appoehing, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yere, without doing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to doe. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered vpon any rancome, contrarie to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie already pressed, and in our wages to go forward.

In this time ambassadoz (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie inuented for a delate, which hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certeinly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and wordes well weied and considered, doe vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continuallie labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant wordes, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his unkind and displeasing deeds. In his wordes he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, he acknowledgeth benefitts, onlie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

We haue patientlie suffered manie delussions, and notablie the last yere, when we made preparation at *Porke* for his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scots, whatsoever their wordes be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them, whatsoever their wordes be. Should we suffer our land to be vnterred contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoever their wordes be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie perceived the lacke of such affection as proximity of blood should requite; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximity of blood, to our neyhe, than we did to fore his fathers inuasion.

But weeing that we be so fuerlie ascertained of the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violently compelled to war, than we be by the unkind dealing, vntuif behauior, & vntimprincelie demeanour of him, that yet in nature is our neyhe, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the intertainment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sorie for, & vse now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for recouerie of our right, the preservation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as

as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance & aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit, and dissimulation.

Whither to appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superiortie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath bene provoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong mistred by the nephue to the vnckle most vnnaturallie, and supposed contrarie to the desires of our benefits most vnkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our nephue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certaine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

This title is not deuised by pretense of marriage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by deeds, wordes, acts, and writings continually without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proximity of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather without prejudice to omit to demand our right if it might conferre peace, than by demanding thereof to be sene to moue warre, speciallie against our neighbour, against our nephue, against him whome we haue preserved from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in unitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and fealtie for the same. This appeareth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in matters more haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondly, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasure. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records iudicialle and autenticallie made, yet preferred for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all manner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First, as concerning histories, which be called witness of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, containing a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnted as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissension, that there should be one superior, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

According whereunto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine took first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (as being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should doe homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Ile, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiortie as aforesaid; how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Ile, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude: which cannot without continually strife and variance containe two or three rulers in all points equall without any manner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superiortie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according hereunto we find also in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not dissimilie to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the natures, manners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continually without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnted vnto the same; as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appeare, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for profe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Humber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Weline and Wren two brethren, the victories of king Arthur; we shall begin at the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred forty two yeeres past, a time of sufficient antiquitie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident profe of the execution of our right and title of superiortie euermore continued and preferred hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state three and twentie yeeres.

At which time Athelfane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder him, adding this princelie word, that it was more

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 947, king Edward our progenitor: Athelstanes brother, took homage of Aife then king of Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor took homage of Iainald king of Scots. There was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fiftie yeres after the homage done by Iainald to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Iainute our predecessor.

After this homage done, the Scots offered some piece of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by treaty made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done, that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme given to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward: to whom the said Malcolme made homage and fealty, within eleven yeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie five yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealty to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerits deposited, and his sonne substituted in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordered in that estate by the said William Rufus: Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealty accordingly.

Seven yeres after, that was in the yere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar II. of Scots did homage unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seven yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage to Matilda the emperesse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after requiried by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage: he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Matilda, and thereupon forbare. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said David made homage to the said king Stephan, fourtenteen yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots acknowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealty.

Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our cite of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Fourtenteen yeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oath upon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our cite of York, in the feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betweene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1282, John Baliol king of Scots made his homage and fealty to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to dispute the crowne of Scotland, and to move sedition therefor against them of the house of Baliol, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie: for within fiftie foure yeres after, which was the yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Baliol after a great dispute had in Scotland against the other faction, and insuing the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. Ant twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was ever in the contrarie faction, did nevertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the insolence of the Scots, made warre against them: when after great victory, Edward Baliol, having the full and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clearely the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Norburgh in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time intermitted it, as verie proprietor and owner of the realme: as of the one part by confiscation acquired, and on the other part by free will surrendered unto him. And after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the devolution of the same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some leisure to plaine their bagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the fifth, for recovery of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend upon him in that towne.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our noble director commeth: James Steward king of Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1402, made homage to Henrie the first at Windsor, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by David Bruce, thre score yeres and more, but farr within the fresh memorie of man: all which homages and fealties as they appear by story to have been made and done at times and seasons as aforesaid, so do there remaine instruments made thereupon, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifying the same. And yet doth it appeere by story, both the Scots practised to steale out of our treasurehouse of these instruments, which nevertheless were afterward recovered againe.

And to the intent ye may knowe of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted

the effect in word and sentence as they be made, which we do, to meet with the cavillation and contrived evasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to have bene made for the earledome of Huntington, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

I John R. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Edward by the grace of God R. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as becometh to you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honoz, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowlege, and shall do to you seruice due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so for mall, so autenticall, so seriouslie handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the solemne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Perthia, Willielmus de Wesci, Willielmus de Rosse, Robertus de Winkent, Nicholans de Soules, Patricius Galighillie, Rogerus de Spundenille, Joannes de Comin, W. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Bruce, Riccius rex Norwiche.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was given for the title of Ballioll, according whereunto he inioined the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the R. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inso much as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering upon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiourtie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yield and giue place, and by expresse consent recognisse the same.

At which parlement was alleged unto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those daies, and before rehearsed; but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forren princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Whereupon the said parlement did there agree to this our superiourtie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and severallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever witholdeth himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebell. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first, And the realme of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castles and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation, Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Shirriffes named and appointed, lawes, and precepts made, obeyed, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of York, which extended ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; whereunto nothing inforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armoz & compulsion: If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to witholden their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth unto you the beginning of the right of superiourtie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine commissions and forbearings vpon the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times fought and taken their oportunitie to witholden the doing of their dutie in knowlege of our superiourtie ouer them; which to auoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreame detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their dutie, so God granted unto this realme force to compell them thereto within memorie, and notwithstanding ante their interruption by resistance, which vnto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empaiued. From the time of Henrie the first, vnto the seuenth yeare of our reigne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerat and tozned by diuersitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie bered and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part therof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great trauels to attaine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this realme, who neuertheless, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assate to tame their nature by pleasant confunction & conuersation of affinitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not by force & feare to constrain and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and thientie yeares letted by our nephew his minoritie, being then moze careful how to bring

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage, when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henric the first, 122 peares, at which time the homage was done at Windsoꝝ by James Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these peares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble therof ingendꝛed also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was three and thirtie peares: and in our time one and twentie peares hath passed in the minoritye of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustlie but 13 peares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Steward, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendꝛed prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, whereunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, seeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not alleigable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minoritye of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one peeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirtene peere, which thirtene peere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioise and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, wherby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs: but such be the works of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministꝛed, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according thereto all things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voiaiges made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countreies, whether they were gone for trade of merchandize, with which the English ships incountred, took 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought stood with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soone, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent Sir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commission, with three thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certeine small townes: whereupon the fraie being raised in the countrey, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight; Sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said Sir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Balden Rig in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentie fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Suffolke with the earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lordes of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not manie aboute twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised herof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Solway hedge, where they mustered, and were numbred to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the peere and prouision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had joined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recouered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others took from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawne home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countrey, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and inuade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduise ment taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Surrey] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were latelie deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most uncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Sir Robert Bowes ingendꝛed the borders.

The earle of Huntley giueth an encounter to the Englishmen. 1542. I. esse.

Scottish ships taken.

The birth of
the Scottish
quene.

bert
inug-
boze

le of
gr-
uer-
the
men,
lesle.

The king
breaketh vp
his armie.

The king go-
eth to the west
borders.
1541. Lessl.

Oliver Sin-
cler.

The lord
Wharton.

The ennie of
the lords a-
gainst Oliver
Sincler.

The Scots
discomfited by
the English-
men.

The griefe of
the king for
the ouerthrow
of his men.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to confine the enimie for feare to leaue the inuasion thereof, as presentlie they had done; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obtained the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to inuade; yet the approued wit of his nobles and counsellors caused him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his armie backe againe, the first of Nouember, the armie of England being first discharged, and the duke of Suffolke in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Marwell was warden, whome together with the earles of Castles, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sincler [the brother of Rosseline Comarch] and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Katharines euen, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, began to burne certeine towne upon the water of Elke. But as sone as the scie was raised in the countrie, the lord Wharton warden of the west marches of England, suddenlie raised the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in sight vnto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords perceluing the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sincler was holden vp on two mens shoulders, where he sheweth forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoeuer that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbaled too much, to haue such a meane gentleman advanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a capteine, but willinglie suffered themselves to be ouercome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrary, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowaike Holle, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Castles and Glencarne, the lord Marwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Mithant, Oliver Sincler, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlawerocke vpon the borders not farre from Solowaike Holle, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusal made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla vpon his request to inuade England. Where with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and thereupon toke such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenlie from thence to Edinburgh, and after removed to Falkland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being soe bered in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue access to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted. Now, as he was thus disquieted, newes were

brought him that the quene his wife was brought to bed of a faire young princesse the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasure, insomuch that he perceiued the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make thereupon against the same, to the end he might bring it vnder his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some vnkindlie medicine: but howsoeuer the matter was, he yielded vpon his spirit to almightie God, and departed this world the foureteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie three yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkland vnto Edinburgh in most honorable wise; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argyle, Mothes, Marshall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbeye church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of quene Agadoalen, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his subiects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, greatly eied, hauing a diuine mind in all whatsoeuer, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certieintie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foresaking what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that he was neuer vnprovidid against the danger of anie thing, or was drawne from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein: whereby he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth, for as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouersparing for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanish attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vles thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severity, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderfull gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or milder punishment the offense. For he was wont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not empty, but abundantly stored with gold, siluer and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatly lamented of his subiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature, 13 h. 11. for

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 9,
pag. 460.

for the libertie of althings had then dissolved the publicke discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him more covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreame hard when he was vnder the gouernment of others. Whereby, when he came to bee at libertie, he was anew to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things conuied awaie: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie vpon those whome he willingly would not to haue receiued it. Besides, for his excess of women the fault grew to such as were his tutors, who gaue him libertie thereto, supposing thereby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grieuoullie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small feare (for avoiding his displeasure) to lie into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enimie than to his anger.)

Queene
Marie.

1542.

The lord Le-
ningston.

David Beton
cardinall.

His forging
of a will.

The prote-
stants espied
the cardinals
craftie ing-
ling.

1543 Lesle.
Fr.Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name, Marie his onellie daughter and heire began hir reigne ouer the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight ouer the Englishmen. She was not passing seuen daies old when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Leuingston being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers god agreement and free consent.

Moreouer, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouernement either of the realme, or custodie of the yong queene his daughter) David Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the aduancement and continuance thereof, inuented and forged [by Henrie Balfoure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adioining with him the earles of Murray, base brother to the king deceased, Huntley and Argyle, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland.

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and sharpe scourge, espied forth his vnjust dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to embrace the gospell, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he removed the cardinall and his adherents from the vsurped come and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernour and protector of the realme. [And thereupon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he retel- neth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and rone, as next in blood to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of h. James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which marriage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yere at Edenburgh, it was agræd and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that

now there was offered a most readie meane and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the marriage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yeres of age, with the yong queene of Scotland.

He therefore being resoluèd fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the earles of Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Sparwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied vnto Hampton court, where the seuen and twentieth of December they being right courteoullie interteined, he made vnto them an offer of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of marriage might be made betwene his sonne the prince, and their yong queene, promising to them libertie without rancome, besides other pleasures and benefitts, if they would do their indeno; to persuade the gouernour, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agræable herevnto.

The Scottissh earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastle, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had receiued forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chieffest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dologlas with his letters to the gouernour, requesting effectiue, that they might be restored to their homes, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriuing at Edenburgh, about the midst of Januarie, declared to the gouernour their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernour being persuaded thereto by their wordes, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edenburgh, to a conuention there, to be holden the seuen and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Warketh: the lord Beton being appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Botwes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halving rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernour into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie vnto the said gouernour, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agræe vnto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadors into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dologlas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leirmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the king, remained there till the latter end of Iulie. In which meane time, such covenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the marriage

The king of
England tal-
keth with the
lords of Scot-
land prisoners
for a marriage
betwixt his
son and their
queene.

1543. Buch.

Duke of
Suffolke
Buchanan.

The earle of
Angus sent
home into
Scotland.

1543. Lesle.
1542.

A conuention
of the Scottissh
nobilitie.

The cardinall
committed to
ward.

Halving rig.

Sir Rafe
Sadler.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

The marriage confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Wherewith also the lord gouernour shewed himselfe to embrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guiliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vntuersallie published through the realme of Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous. lib. 10.
pag. 465.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quene mother should remaine in Litchgow with the yong quene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of saint Andriewes, with warders about him to keepe him safe kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglas, and the lord Glames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the three estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passelew, brother of the gouernour, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dand Paniter, and others, whom he had in his compantie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courtesilie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a ballant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorable welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kindred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king sore misliking this new confusion of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be bitterlie dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Mattheu Steward earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his coming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recover the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to soine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

The earle of Lennox hereupon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherein the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keep-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong quene vnto them.

Whereupon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals perswasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redeme his life with the blood of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Whereupon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honorable rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great byroz by means of the quenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadoers into France, to request the French king to send home Mattheu Steward earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deable enemy for the slaughter of his father at Linnuch: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comeliness of bodie, in the vertie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a vertie popular man, and beloved of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be soined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parliament: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yeeres and more, during the quenes minority, and to the rule and power ouer his enemies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong quene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernour was a bassard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Whereupon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, took his leaue, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arrival) he came to Edinburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernour, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & god affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

The earle of Lennox passed into Scotland,

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

But

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not farrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argile, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed forth of Edenburgh toward the west countrie, highlie displeased (as should seme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hir) dealing how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conueie hir into England.

The earle of Lennor conferreth with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lesle. The castell of Edenburgh recovered to the gouernors etc.

The yong quene conueied to Striueling.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Dalkeith, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edenburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creighton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lard of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntley, Montrose, Pentife, Argile, and others of the French faction in August following, conueied the yong quene with hir mother from Lithgow vnto Striueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Here with was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the yong quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Caillies, the lords Marwell, Somerville, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edenburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the doings of Lennor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduise and counsell how to deale for disappointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the prejudice of peace with England.

The king of Englands doubt.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatlie least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conueie hir ouer into France: whereupon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that the might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the marriage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waie of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

The lord wharton. The lord Cuers.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Cuers with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themselves with the gouernor, and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in a readinesse to march, through the secret labors of the cardinall, wishing the advancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well enough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, that by the cardinall and the earle of Huntley of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the yong quene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in blood to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edenburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadors, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was netulie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preservation (as they pretended) of the yong quene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that the shuld remaine with the old quene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minority, and certeine rents of that seignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Levingston, Erskin, and Fleming (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindseie, & William Leutson were appointed to abide continualie with hir, for the better safegard of hir person.

The coronation of quene Arrane.

Parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe relected, he first sent to the French king, informing him the roughlie of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantnesse of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake: and notwithstanding how he was yet unkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enemy, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recovered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same anie more at his hands. Here with Lennor ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Caillies, and Glencarne, the lords Marwell, and Somerville, the shiriffe of Aue, the lard of Dumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwene them. And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arrived in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, five ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewart of Cardonole, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadors.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

Ciuilt dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriving in the riuer of Cloide.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbarton, retaining it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue bene imploied to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leened to his side.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The

The earle of Lennor raiseth an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges delivered.

The earle of Lennor cometh to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glasco. Fr. Thin. Lefleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1547. Lefle.

The earle of Lennor therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Leith against the gouernor: that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken vp, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cullaghole for his brother the earle of Castles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came vnto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Litchburgh, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor: without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasco, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasco, he assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especially of the lord Boid went vnto Glasco, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennor had withdrawn himselfe vnto Dunbretton, to gather a greater assemblie. Shortly after to returne to Glasco. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Houstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassie, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Kamsrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than good speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hosts began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slain, partie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Moniepenne capteine of the footmen) and partie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasco, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambusketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasco, where he vsed (by the persuation of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the vse and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from any further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, doo assest him to take weapon against the gouernor: whereupon he doth restrengthen the towne and steeple of Glasco, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to prevent all his inuencions by wise counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasco, all the nobilitie of the south parts, and (bringing forth the hired souldiours) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the citie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obtaine such euill successe) doth send the earle of Angus and the lord Sparwell to the gouernor, to intreat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.]

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conueied from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasco, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenelle. The lord Sparwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for any euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and niece to the said king.

Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The quene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiscat to the quene. Whilest the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenly committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and depriued the said John Stewart of all such honours and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scottish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honozable receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasco: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasco, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honoz. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should go before

The earle of Angus and the lord Sparwell committed to ward.

Angus opinion for the imprisoning of the earle of Angus.

1544. The earle of Lennor sent to the king of England.

Fr. Thin. Lefleus lib. 10. pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne by right. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andrews and pimat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glasgowe should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glasgowe take in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from words to swords) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch to be brought to Edinburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murray had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murray did shew an honozable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in store of silver vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were unwillinglie. Which the servant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenly fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man a fresh to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Murano and Venice did not anie way excell these. Cruelle this earle of Murray was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happilie performed amongest them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaite.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes see, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the marriage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honoz to the Scottissh nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was perswaded that Lennox ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vniustlie and discourteouslie Lennox had bene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Cinnmouth with their people, arriued in the fozth vnder Wierdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie containing aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhaven, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edinburgh, hearing of their arriuall, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puissance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Otterborne prouost of Edinburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and withall offered, that if there were anie iniuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receive them into the towne of Edinburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vniust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edinburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and thereupon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Strimeling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edinburgh, passing by the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottisshmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entred the towne by the same, bringing their ordnance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the captaine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordnance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbey of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Spawell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Criers, and his sonne sir Rafe Criers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scowped the countrie on euer

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennox.

The English armie landeth by Leith.

The prouost of Edinburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edinburgh entred by force.

See more hercof in England.

Edinburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

Leith burnt.

The earle of Lennor.

Pr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 10.
pag. 474.
1544.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.

rie side of Edinburgh. Finally, after the English armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt that towne also, and sent their ships awaie fraught with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne, as in Edinburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe towards England. And therewith the earle of Hertford, the lord admirall, and others, returned by land through the countrie vnto Berwik, as in the English historie more at large appeareth. Whilste the English armie was thus occupied in that part of Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men which he had raised, was readie to come on the backs of the gouernour and his adherents, if they had assembled their forces and come forward to haue giuen the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill contentions still continued, and sundrie conflicts and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and the Isles, did now in these turmoiles begin to shew some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which paid perelie tribute in the time of James the first, kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and well obeyed the gouernour) did now (after they saw all things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and destroye their neighbors, in the same vttering the humors of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the gouernour (to restraine their boldnesse) called vnto him George Gordon earle of Huntley, and the earle of Argyle, whereof he made the one gouernour of the north parts of Scotland, of the Marches, and Shetland; and to the other, he committed the rule of Argyle, and the Isles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntley with all speed gathered an armie from the north parts, and determined to bide the Glencamerons, the Gencronelles, the Gudiardes, & the Kindiarden, with force and authoritie. The captains or heads of which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mac-koneilglas, and John Gudiard, who did possesse the lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expelled them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntley had incamped nere vnto them, they fled euerie one home to their owne possessions: which being defended partly by the west sea, and partly included about with the mounteins, stopped Huntley, so that he might not haue anye passage vnto them: by meanes whereof (these disseizers being banished) the lords Grant and Louet were restorred to their right inheritance. But it fell out contrarie for Louet, who going to take his owne into his hands, fell into danger of his enemies. For at that time both the companies were disposed into such order, that neither partie could abstaine from fight. Whereupon they first discharge their bodies one against another, and their arrowes spent, they after sie to their swords, with which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so great slaughter on both parts, that till the next morning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the Glencamerons and Gudiardes there were manie slain.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and brought vp in France) with thre hundred of the bloud and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed to be the greater on their part. For there was a rumor spread, that there was not one of the familie of the Fraisers left aliue that was of mans state. But it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they left their wiues with child when they went to the fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised

and restorred. Huntley (greatlie grieved that the Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gathered a power together, and with armes so pursued those factious people, that he took and beheaded Ewin Allanson, and Ronald, with diuerse others, and put the rest in prison. The earle of Argile discharged the office committed to him as well as Huntley did, and with more happie success, for all the Island men humbly submitted themselves vnto him, and delivered pledges to lue quietlie hereafter.)

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompanied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, otherwise called lord of Balmawse, Walter Graham brother to the earle of Montrose, sir John Borthwick knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, took the sea to passe into England, and arrived at Westchester about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the court, he was soillie receiued. And immediatlie thereupon was the marriage celebrated betwixt him and the ladie Margaret Douglas, daughter & heire to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife queene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at what time there was assured to him by way of inheritance, lands to the value of seven hundred marks of yerelie rent of assise, in consideration of this marriage with the kings nere, and in recompense of lands lost by him in France, to the which he was inheritor after the deceasse of Robert Stewart lord Dhenic, one of the foure marshals of France.

Moreover, king Henrie being now vpon his iourne towards Bullongne, aswell for the anolance of his highnesse enemies in Scotland, as for recovery of the said earles right in that realme, appointed the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of August, accompanied with sir Wile Spanfield, sir Peter Stewart knights, maister Thomas Audley, maister Thomas Wokes, old maister Winter comptroller of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William Winter that now is, and sundrie other captains, hauing vnder their charge two hundred backbitters, two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hundred armed pikers, beside the mariners belonging to those ships that were appointed to go forth on this iourne, being in number about twelue or fourtene saile, belonging to Bristow, and other of the west parts.

Vpon their arriual on the coast of Scotland, they burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernours castle there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and took the castell of Kose standing therein (from whence the Stewartes kings of Scotland had their originall) the captaine they had atwaie prisoner with them into England. Here also they took two French ships laden with wines, and this done they entered the Firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their friends in the castell of Dunbretton. But true it is, that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the captaine thereof called Houlson, to keepe it in the name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennor, were in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the queene Dowager, not only to renounce their promised faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell; but also to intrap and wind him within their danger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter, that they had got him on land onelie with thre hundred men: and so farre forth they were growne in talke, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the castell with a few other with him, the monie was laid downe on the board, to be paid to the captaine for his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of Lennor, & such as were with him, perceiving some treasonable

Buchanan
saith that this
battell as it
was belated,
was procured
by Huntley to
destroye the
Fraisers.

The earle of
Lennor goeth
into England

The marieth
the ladie Mar-
garet Dow-
glas.

Lord Dhenic.

The earle of
Lennor re-
turneth into
Scotland.

The Ile of
Bute taken.

The earle of
Lennor in
danger to be
betrayed and
taken.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe into their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made thist to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had bene intrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drayne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbzeton, thoutlie after that the earle of Lennor was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clyde, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displaied, hailed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennor his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, took aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle soze moued to haue bene thus repelled from Dunbzeton, and stomaching the matter soze, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was ready to encounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great store of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure score of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of thre men onelie on the English side.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approached, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, no other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboard in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that advanced themselves most forward. About foure or fve daies after, the earle of Lennor with fve hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennor with his soldiers retired to his ships without encounter.

After this they invaded the Ile of Bute, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried awaie great boties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Bile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennor, suing to him for assurance. In these exploits the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seuen score men of the head of Lennor, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish tonges, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed woodes, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much available seruice in the streits, the marshes, and mountaine countries.

* During these things, they which had gouernment of Scottish affairs (as the quene Dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a counsell, in which they decreed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armoz, should be ready to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shoz-

lie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Colidingham, standing in armoz a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse sustained in the last daies laboz of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Bertwike) suddenlie (unknowne to the other nobilitie) did flie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue bene betrayed to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason unknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should retorne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at random. But others (who were more careful, and would seeme lesse fearefull) do agre to stusse the peeces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked deed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, treatie, or authoritie, he exclaimed with a loud voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bying awaie this artillerie, or I will not retorne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare unto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglas with such companie as he had (placed in god order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horsemen of his enimies in vaine hasting after them behind at their backs. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and advanced the minds of the English, who gloriouly applied the dauidnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennor and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Petotas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles toynie, which the king toke in verie good part. And upon his retorne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennor was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bziffow.

About the middell of februarye, sir Rafe Cure commonlie called Cuers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entered Scotland with a powder of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots; and comming first unto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therewithall understanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbey of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

The earle of Lennor landed at Dinnune.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennor landed againe in Argile.

Bute invaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, li. 15.

Sir Peter Petotas.

1545.
Sir Rafe Cuers invaded Scotland.

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in those there with them, not having time to conueie it awaite at their departure, their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbeye, vtterlie defacing the tomes and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

He defaceth
the monu-
ments of the
Dowglas.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.15

*After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine anie succor from the gouernour, which vied the aduise of the clergie, but chieflie of the cardinall. Whereupon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Tuisot, and partlie to see his ancessors monuments defaced) came to the gouernour, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, perswading him to incounter and resist the same. At what time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas shewed that the same hapened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would imploie their liues, linings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualtie, who were towards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwixne you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancessors did: but if we shall (by our slouth) permit the enemie to take all things from vs, then of necessity will follow, that either they shall shortly banish vs, or bying vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniencies of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Fr.Thin.

Whereupon the gouernour and the said earle (soe agreed to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together (under the leading of Doorman Lefle son of the earle of Rothes) all such forces as they might recouer, so that they had quicklie got them about fiftene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Darnier hugh, or Dornichouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, went to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to loine, the assured Scots, to the number of seuen or eight hundred revolted vnto the part of their countreimen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Ogile, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They took also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peces of artillerte and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the seventeenth day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned, and that euen of the king

himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great lotallie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots with, in twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. * Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was imployed otherwise, besides Scotland: where, soe I remit the readers to the twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

His seruice
against the
Scots.

Abr. Fl.

*The occasion of the English ouerthrow (as saith Lefleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieflie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equal ground, and with vnequall helpees. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marshy place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwixne them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherevnto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.10.
pag.478.

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncoise bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernour, and prior of saint Marie Ile. In April, William Steuard bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Spurrete, uncle to George erle of Huntlie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred another thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglas.

Death of bis-
hops.

*About that time, the king of England by priue & pries perswaded the Flemings to take sirtene of our ships harborred in the haven, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefultie for the loone vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to fish on their coasts, and did sometime intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus. lib.10.
pag.479.

This yere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Loges, knight of the order of saint Michael, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbryton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtieth of May: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michael, to inuest therewith the lord gouernour, the earles of Angus, Huntlie, and Argile. Where with also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, took such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space, without attaining anie great enterpryse, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

1545. Buch.
Monsieur de
Loges sent
into Scot-
land.

Knights of
saint Michas-
els order.

An armie of
Scots lieth
on the borders

3 (1.)

* This

1544. Lefle.
Buchanan.

Sir Rafe Cuers & others slain.

1545.

5.
e C-
abert
b.

The historie of Scotland.

* This castell of Dunbreton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein thereof, that he determined neither to deliver it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepared to besiege the same; the nelwes thereof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioicing of that nelwes, prepared two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnessie into Scotland, which should forthwith be received into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbreton together with the cardinall, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laeing present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inexpugnable) should be delivered. Which the gouernor received (with certeine conditions) and honorablie intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnessie, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoppeike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

Frenchmen
and Scots
werthwonne.

The lord
Dunbar
taken prisoner

The earle of
Lennor pro-
cureth them of
the Isles to
serue the king
of England.

The lord of
the Isles elec-
ted, being one
of the Mac-
neils.

The sixteenth of September, thre or foure hundred Scots, with Sparwell, Lochingart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine street, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, slaing, & taking to the number of seven score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Sparwell eldest son to the lord Sparwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side, although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaime. At a parliament holden at Linlithgow, begun there the twentieth of September, and continued till the first of October, what the earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Wiltre, were so salted, and all their lands and goods giuen a waie and annexed to the crowne.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell took such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partly for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Whereupon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yearly, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The first profe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, under colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Louet an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaime by the said clane, together with seven hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yong boy of that linage to succed in that lords lands [which is before moze fullie handeled out of Lefleus.]

Clane Regi-
nald slayeth
the lord Lou-
et.

Fr.Thin.

After this, the lord of the Isles, with six thousand men imbarcked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Camiles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slue manie of the enimies. After which enterprize so achieved, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Dymond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to ioine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that tozmeie, the new lord of the Isles deceafed, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, stood the king of England in four hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of
the Isles in-
uadeth Car-
rike.

He commeth
into Ireland.

He departeth
this life.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken by, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillery, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Colbingham, pass by by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Pers, and Tuidale, the abbetes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryborne, and Jedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of siue score.

But eight
thousand, as
some say.

The earle of
Hertford in-
uadeth Scot-
land.

Holubeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken by, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, soze indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

* Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Sparwell the sonne of Robert (a yong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthy the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinall leade the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating fleshy on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Loathune (to vnderstand the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vied the late new testament of Luthers translation. Thither came also Patrick Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothesie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifying of the

Fr.Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factions persons addicted to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) understood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselves, and seuerallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Kothseie being shortly deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Kuthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinfane Comarch, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Kuthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (with manie of both parts would ioin for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernement of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Kuthwens) might be thus translated to Kinfane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obeye: as it seemed that they would not; because they toke it with some grieue, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had whole taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Taie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to do anie thing therein. Greie assailing it by the bridge (which Kuthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Kuthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for) breaking out of the houses vpon them that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might sliue awaie. But the multitude confused and driuen into a streit, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not sliue: in which vnorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Kuthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andzeus, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagernesse

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawn to assist his enimies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time that they were at S. Andzeus, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andzeus, where a learned man, named master George Wilschart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so bzged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andzeus during the time of that conuention or assemblee.

George Wilschart a learned man burnt.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawford's sonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andzeus, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan lib. 15.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble young gentleman called Rozman Leslie, sonne to the earle of Kothseie, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Rozman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to bzallings, and from thence to bitter sawnts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the græued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatening that being ouertaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Rozman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they asslie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sinder afterward. This Rozman accompanied onelie with fine of his owne traine, entred the towne of saint Andzeus, and went into his accustomed Inne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspiracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen vnto

31. ii.

to

to them to execute this deuisse. With which small companie this Jorman feared not to adventure the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furnished in euerie place with the seruants and friends of the cardinall.]

Whereupon the thirteenth of Maie, the cardinall being within his castell of saint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he took them) that is to say, the said Jorman, lord Leslie, William Kirkmichell, the young lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with sixteen chosen men, entered the castell verie secretly in the morning, took the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that done, passing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber dore, they slew him, and seized upon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortress was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and siluer plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

Sir James Lettmouth, prouost of saint Andrews, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entered the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, liff they saw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that moued the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maister George Wishart, fearing to be serued with the same fate, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceived some deadly hatred against him.

* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the seuerall tormentors seuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For Jorman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he sustained; when the cardinall had restored to Colvane lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter Twemes; which the king had after giuen to the said Jorman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was removed by the cardinals aduise from the office of the tresuroship; which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shameful a deed. For upon the fact, Jorman being vered with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by blend or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the seruice of Henrie the second king of France) endeavored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast upon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after another) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.]

The same evening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Balnauis, one of the counsell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Peluins, John Knods and others, to the number of seven score persons,

entred the castell to their support, taking upon them to keepe it against the gouernor and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, considering that his deere couline the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and others, by whose aduise he called a parlement, and forsalet them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andrews.

Whereupon also he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artillerie against it. But it was so stronglie furnished with all manner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries without could aduance against them. Whereupon, after that the siege had continued the space of three moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so kept by them that did the murder, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the castell, euer since the day in which they slew him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Passleu his brother to the bishopricke of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbacie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Droglassie bassard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next insuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Edward, the first of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortly after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceased, and his sonne Henrie, the second of that name succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strollie prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but sixteen Englishmen, who neuertheless abid three or foure daies siege, and seven canon shots, and so yielded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreover, at the same time, the erle of Northous then returned out of Denmark was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilste the gouernor was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the prior of Capoa was arriued, and (against the wils of such as were against it) entred into the towne of saint Andrews: whereupon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hastened thither to assise the prior, and so the siege was stronglie laid about the castell there. The prior caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be dratzen vp, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell; so that those peeces shot plump into the castell, that none durst shew themselves on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the castell. He caused also certeine canons to be dratzen with engines,

The cardinall of saint Andrews murdered.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 481.

1546. The slayers of the cardinall forsalet.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged.

The siege raised.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 483.

1547. The king of England deceased.

The death of the French king.

Fr. Thin.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged by the French.

gins, nere to the berie toals of the castell, which battered the same in such fort, as the ditchs were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the toals that fell downe.

Howeuer, the gallies at an high water approached on the riuer side so nere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they fore annoied them within, and shue diuerse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

The castell of S. Andzeus yielded.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor utterly refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the french king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the frenchmen, who by on the surrender entering the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to anie vse in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awayne into France prisoners at the french kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

The prior of Capoa.

Thus was the castell of saint Andzeus rendered the nine and twentieth of Julie, fourtene daies after the arriual there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiance, well known afore that time, was so renewed, as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good successe therein was much aduanced. Shortly after, the duke of Summerlet, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, vncle by the mother vnto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protecto of all his realms, dominions, and subiects, minding the aduancement of the yong king his nephue, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt him, and the yong quene of Scots.

The duke of Summerlet protecto of England.

But perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he seemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he took it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of counsell leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwike, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the same armie, containing seauenteene or eightene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Marwike, the battell by the duke of Summerlet himselfe, and the rere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

He entred Scotland with an armie

The order of the English armie.

There were certeine wings and tropes of men of armes, demilances, and light horsemen, and also of harquebussiers, that attended upon these three wards, garded with diuerse peeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Bzian, lieutenant of the light horsemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Hewtas capitaine of five hundred hagbutters, and sir Francis Fleming maister of the ordinance, with a thousand light horsemen, were appointed to the battell. And sir Richard Spanners, with six hundred light horsemen, attended upon the rere-ward.

In this order marching through the spers, and

Louthian, they came at length vnto a place called Buckling Braies, nere to the forth side, in which riuer the English fleet was arriued, and laie before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nerer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to invade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemne summons for the leuieing of a new armie forth of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and enabled for the incounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gaping after the glozie of victorie.

The English fleet.

The gouernor raiseth an armie.

For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be vsed in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carieng a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue fiftene yeares old, and vnder firtie, should presentlie (with their armes) repaire to Mussilborow, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordingly came to Mussilborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselves at Inuernesse ouer against their enemies.

Fr. Thin. Lesclous lib. 10. pag. 485.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes would come picking almost within their shawes length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to provoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerlet, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he took it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerlet, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The goodnes of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishmen. The lord Greie desireth to incounter the Scottish horsemen.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a solitte of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and seemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Marwike assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Hereupon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the ninth of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted manner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horsemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsemen, diuided them in tropes, appointing the Spanish and Italian hagbutters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost trope of the English horsemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie trope, that to which soeuer the enimie should once offer, in anie wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plaie and proffer of charge, that trope that it was offered vnto, presentlie upon the enimies wheeling about should thoroughlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next trope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those tropes wholie together to helpe other without breakeing. The Scots comming forward, picking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen for bare a great while, till at the last, foure or five hundred

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

ded of them came scattered vpon the spurre, with a maruellous shout within a stones length of the for- most troope.

Nicholas
Gainefford.

The Scots
hoisemen put
to flight.

Fr. Thin.

English cap-
tains taken.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

These thinking them to haue wheeled about, mas- ter Nicholas Gainefford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greles band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried; A charge, which as spee- dily on the English part as vnlooked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were diuened to gallop awaie so fast as their hoisemen might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as faith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edinburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the English- men aduentured to farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colver, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of feue- rall bands of light hoisemen. ¶ Thus much for this ffridaies skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scottish hoisemen was defeated, to the great discour- agement of the rest.

¶ The English armie remaining still at Pee- thon, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane tunc to consult of the estate of their affaires. And therevpon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtaine anie thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with couenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatlie intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whome (vnlesse they vtterlie forget their pro- fession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vntrist force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmly established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a fellowship and liberall imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that marriage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of iniuries should be greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chieflie consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their quene was of necessitie to be giuen in ma- rriage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be auoided; and the moderation therein verie hard: that the onelic power to chose hir a husband was left vnto the publike councill or parlement. And if they would chose (to their quene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take choise, than of a king their neigh- bor, bozne in the same land, nere of blood, instruc- ted in the same lawes, brought vp in the same ma- ners and language; not their superiour onelic in ri- ches, but almost also in all commodities and orna- ments of externall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the for- getting of all old iniuries: But if they call to them anie other (differing from them in language, ma- ners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie dis- commodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, be- ing farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to feele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by law they might chalenge) and be contented that the maiden quene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chose hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should ab- steine from warre: and that also the quene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or couenant with the French, or anie other for- reine prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most holliely and handfastlie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had commit- ted anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the coun- trie) they would recompense the same by the iudge- ment of god men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his bro- ther bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the slaine cardinal.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, bicause they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumour to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the quene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernor being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose com- mand & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his thre kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Rigs, a lawier, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie know- ledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so passed by the gouernor (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumour) that he would with stopped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends ha- uing spread a feigned tale (through the Scottish host) by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate proceedings, as after shall appeare.)

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Eng- lishmen should come forthward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the mor- row after this great skirmish, raised their field be- rie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to shoot into the Scottish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduan- tage. The gouernor and the Scottish lords, beholding their enemies thus marching forthward, thought best to

The Scots
meant not to
haue giuen
battell.

The purpose
of the Eng-
lishmen.

The ordering
of the Scottish
battels.

to staie their enterpryse, and therefore suddenlie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enimies.

They were divided into three battels; Archemald Dowglas earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forward with great hast, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and ha-
stie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so by towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

The English
hopsmen
beaten backe.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the English hopsmen, and so rigorously reincountred them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and horses, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the wanted valure of his often approved prowesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and relie themselves againe.

The valiant-
nesse of the
earle of War-
wike.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots advanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pinellesses of the English fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie sore galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And here with the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Marwick, and other the captains, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen followed a maine, slaieng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Many were also drowned in the water of Andereske, through the which they toke their flight.

The gallie
and two pin-
ellesses.

The earle of
Huntleie ta-
ken prisoner.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chafe was past by them: but at length were diuinen to make a waie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Ogilvie, the maister of Hestine, the maister of Ogilvie, the maister of Leuingston, the maister of Kofse [the maister of Argendale and Hestane] the lord of Lochinwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zellrie, the earle of Huntleie chancelor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

Men of name
of Scots
slaine.
Fr. Thin.

The next day, the English armie remoued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being sore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ransomes, agreed upon be-
twixt them and their takers, or else to come and pre-
sent themselves prisoners in England by a certeine
day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie
of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did
impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they
did arrogantly reiect such honorable and beneficiall
peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to
haue used more crueltie to their owne people than
vnto the English, either because they would (as I
my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarrels, or else haue
used extremitie against such as secretlie disliked
this conflict with the English.)

The gouernor escaping from the battell, came to
Striueling, where the quene regent was, together
with hir daughter the yong quene. Here, by the
counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argile,
Kotelen, and Castles] and diuerse other lords that
were also with him, thither after the battell, they
were conueied to the countrie of Penteth, where
they remained in the abbey of Inch Mahome [deli-
uering the yong quene to hir mother, Erskine and
Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie
was departed out of the realme, and then they re-
moued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that
the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at
Edenburgh] the English naue wan the Isle of saint
Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie o-
ther exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may
appeere.

Moreover, the earle of Bothwell, whome the go-
uernor had before kept in prison, and was the night
after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of
Summerfet, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen
of Northian, whilst he laie at Leith, offering them-
selves to be at the king of Englands commande-
ment, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or da-
mage by the English powder. The duke of Summer-
fet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a
peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edinburgh,
but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eight-
teenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer
the mountains of Soutreie, comming the third day
before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by
countenancing to win that fortreffe, that within
three or foure daies after their comming thither, it
was surrendered.

This castell being woone, & a garrison left there,
in to keepe it, they remoued to Rockesburgh, where
within the compasse of the ruinous walls of an old
castell, they built a fort; & after returning into Eng-
land, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got
also about the same time a strong fortreffe, called
Fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed
a garrison within it. And moreover, in this meane
time, their fleet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie
crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to
keepe the same (as in the English historie it may fur-
ther appeere) and in what fort also all the chiefest lords
and gentlemen of the Shers and Luidale came in,
and submitted themselves to the duke of Summer-
fet, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerfet
with his armie did thus invade Scotland on the east
part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of
the counsell to the king of England, that Matthew
earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then
warden of the west marches of England, should
with a power invade Scotland on the west side, to
the end that there should not anie of the west borders
nor countries come to assist the gouernor against
the duke of Summerfets armie, but be diuinc to re-
maine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here-
vpon, there was an armie leuied, to the number of
five

The earle of
Huntleie en-
tereth bond
for his coun-
triemen.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 15.

The quene
remoued from
Striueling.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Isle of
saint Colmes
Inch wonn by
Englishmen.

The earle of
Bothwell.

1547.

The English
armie retur-
neth home-
wards.

Hume castell
rendred to the
Englishmen.

Fast castell
woone by
them.
Broughtie
crag woone.

The earle of
Argyll was
sent to
the king
of France
to
the
king
of
France
to
the
king
of
France

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horsemen, with which power the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, encamped the first night upon the water of Elke, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Widdie, a fortress of good strength, the walls being fourscore foot thick.

Captaine of this castell was one John Serward, brother to the lady thereof, who upon the approach of the earle of Lennox, yielded the house to him, without any show of resistance. Whereupon, Isergule Graham, brother to Ritchie Graham of Elke, was appointed with a garrison of hundred men to keepe that castell to the use of the young king of England, and was afterwards confined captive there with five or eight hundred men, by appointment of the duke of Summerlee, & the council: so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoyance of the Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the countie thereabouts to the king of England's use.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, encamped nere to the countie of Annandale, and on the morrow after approaching nere to the same, gave summons unto the countie thereof, called Lion, of the house of Clams, who with an hundred Scots, whereof Sparwell and Dunblane, and Colpaill, as Keith Laileus lib. 1. cap. 1. & 2. being named kept the church and kirk of Annandale, being walled with themselves verie strong and mightie, surrounded with earth: they within themselves walled to yield, and valiantlie defended themselves. The greatest pieces of artillery, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certaine double and single salicots, wherewith they beat one, as the otherments, till they might with certaine engines approach unto the walls, and undermine the same, as the side of the church was shaken doونه, and a great number of them within the church staine and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the kirkie.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slain: but at length, the captaine moved by persuasion of the earle of Lennox, to whom he was bound to be of kin, considered the kirkie to him, with himselfe, and 20 Scots hundred men, with condition to have their lives made sure, and the captaine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Intemperate upon their coming forth of the kirkie, the was full of powder in the mines, and as both the church & kirkie were blown up into the air, & cast downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne after they had sacked it, and left no stone standing upon an other, for that the same towne had ever bene a verie noisome neighbour to England.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this towne, that if they had but a piece of timber remaining unburnt, they would cut the same in pieces with their bills. The countie herewith was streken in twofore, that the next day all the Kilpar, Kilgarr, Clonburne, Galloway, Pubie, and the Greydings, the Seis, the Kigs, the Purrieis, and all the clanes and burnames of the nether part of Annandale, came in, and received an oath of obedience, as subjects to the king of England, delivering hostages for their assured loyalty. The residue that would not come in and submit themselves, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell sacked away by the English light horsemen, that were sent abroad into the countie for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles, receiving great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the five & twentieth of September, from the duke of Summerlee, then lying at Rochesburgh, about fortifying of that place. The governor perceiving thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, having not got such fast hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monsieur Dodel, her ambassador for the French king, to persuade with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The queene and monsieur Dodel, perceiving a ready waie prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to have the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings advice) they undertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the governors desire, if he with the states of the realme would agree that the queene might be sent into France, and a contract made for his bestowing in marriage, as had with the French kings pleasure. The governor consenting hereto, assembled the states, and by their advice, passed certaine covenants to the effect aforesaid: & sent the same in writing by certaine messengers into France.

The French king gladielie accepting his overlaie, prepared a name of ships and galleys to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the governor laid siege to Wroughton crag, and the duke of Summerlee, as well for areate to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoyance of Cildesdale, appertaining to the governor, and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obedience of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennox to make a new invasion into Scotland, and to be for avall of their fidelities the helpe of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured & bound to serve the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be imployed.

The earle of Lennox desirous to advance the king of England's affaires, and having received letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lord of Dunblairig, and thow larchs and gentlemen of the countie of Aile, Cunningham, Kenzie, and Lennox, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Gentle Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and coming first to Dunblair, where the generall assembly was appointed of the two thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the matters should be taken, he found scarce three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countie of Annandale, Widdale, Cildale, and L. d. d. d. d.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in deed, but under a counterfet show of good meaning, where in truth he meant nothing but craft to discover all the earle of Lennox his purposes: who perceiving his double dealing, and finding no such forces ready to assist him, as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting the loyalty of the master of Sparwell, & the gentlemen of Cildesdale, meaning (as he took it) to betray him, and deliver him to the queene Dowager, and the lord governor, fled in some perplexitie way, say should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without acquiring some interpose.

The earle of Glencarne had written to him two letters written by the lord of Dunblairig, signifying, that if the earle of Lennox came, accompanied with

The governor
was here in
the queene
Dowager,
and to the
French
ambassadors.

The queene
Dowager
promised
him in France
with
himself.

The governor
entered into
France
on
the
fourth
day
of
the
month
of
the
year.

The earle of
Lennox
with
his
armie
into
Scotland.

The earle of
Glencarne
was
waiting.

The earle of
Lennox
was
waiting.

The earle of
Lennox
was
waiting.

The earle of
Dunblairig.

onelic with Scottishmen, he would both serue him and honor him in the best wise he might: but if he brought those Englishmen in his companie, he would not onelic refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwise, to resist him, and proffer him a repulse. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betrayed among them, and that there were all the deuises practised that might be to staie those that should come to the deuotion of the king of England, 10 men of Annandale, Pidedale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid pri- or, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennor) with- in two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countrie in god quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Pidedale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The earle of Lennor discombleth with dissemblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meane time he got togither the Eng- lish captiues that were appointed to attend him, and also such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust. And meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him short, for that he was the chiefe instrument to staie all the Scottishmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen: he gaue secret warning to all the captiues & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they should be readie with their men to mount on horsebacke at the sound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glen- carne, the maister of Harwell, the lords of Clof- burne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Pi- dedale and Annandale.

houssemen sent forth to scourge Drumlanrig.

They harrie the countrie about Drumlanrig.

He sent forth six hundred chosen houssemen vpon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and o- ther the captiues of the garrisons, who in the daw- ning of the next morrow, arrived nere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their houssemen to passe to the forraie, who raised fire, and burnt two miles in length, both towne and vil- lages on each side, euen hard to the gates of Drum- lanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thousand marks, got three thou- sand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, be- side nine score horses and mares.

Drumlanrig pursueth the Englishmen.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lord of Drumlanrig, li- eng all this while in ambush with seuen hundred men, forbore to breake out to giue anie charge vpon his enemies, doubting least the earle of Lennor had kept a skale behind: but now after he perceiued that the most part of the enemies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & captiues of the Eng- lish houssemen were withdraving towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercelie followed after them with his power, in hope not onelic to ouerthrow and distress them, but also to take the earle of Lennor at Dunfreis.

He is put to flight.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horse- men, retiring beyond the water of Pith, and percei- uing that Drumlanrig and his men entered the wa- ter rashlie to pursue them, returned, and gaue such a desperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were scattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken vpon him, through the goodnesse of his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terroꝝ of this overthrow, and the byute of the earle of Lennor his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the gouernor to leue his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to come from thence, the better to defend his countries of Clidedale, and Dowglasdale. Sir Andzew Dud- leie, capitaine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie valiantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

so that the Scots certes lost diuerse hardie persona- ges: and among other, Caluen Hamilton, the go- uernor's kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

Howeouer, the prioz of Whiterne by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to obcie the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and haueu townes of Wigton and Kirkcubright, the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, the lord and tu- tor of Bombie, the lord of Cardines, & all the gentle- men of Annandale, Pidedale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid pri- or, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennor) with- in two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countrie in god quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Pidedale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The prioz of Whiterne.

And after that the foresnamed persons had remai- ned for a space at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but especiallie for John Harwell, & returned home to their countrie, as assured men & subiects to the k. of England. In this meane while, the gouernor ha- ving held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principall lords about him, he caused maister James Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise cer- teine companies of houssemen, and appointed him with captaine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dun- dee with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie a- gainst the Englishmen, if they issued forth of Broughtie crag, to atchieue anie enterprisse anie where nere thereabouts.

The Scots deliuer pled- ges.

James Holt- burton. Capitaine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summerset by aduise of the residue of the councell in England, minding to bide the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves to the king of England, toke order with the lord of Wiltton, who (as saith Lelless. lib. 10. pag. 491.) re- mained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, untill the tenth kalends of June for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Haddington, as in the English historie it may appeare. And further it was appointed also, that about the end of Febru- arie, the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton, with seuen hundred English houssemen, beside the as- sured Scots houssemen, and about foure or five thou- sand English footmen, should by the west borders in- uade Scotland: they according to their commission set forthward, and the first night came to Louchma- ben, and there lodged.

1547. Lelless.

Fr. Thin. Forts built.

1548.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whildest they remained there, the earle of Angus be- ing come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Len- nor. But sith it was perceiued that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennor, or rather at the least to bide time, vpon consultation had with the maister of Harwell, the lord of Clofborne, and others the gentlemen assured of Pidedale and An- nandale, it was concluded, that the townes of Spar- ton, Dufdere, and others, nere adioining togither in those parts, should be burnt; so the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawen to the field, and caught by some one meane or other.

The earle of Lennor and the L. whar- ton invade Scotland.

The dissu- lation of the earle of An- gus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being set forth, vnder the leading of maister Henrie Whar- ton, to the number of twelue hundred light horse- men, the maister of Harwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongst them kept forthward, and in the morning the earle of Lennor,

Maister Hen- ric wharton.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dundere set on fire.

The resol-
ting of the as-
sured Scots.

A false ru-
mor spread.

The Scots
put to flight.

Dunfreis
spoiled.

Lennox, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Drumlanrig, under pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennox (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so environed by the English footmen per he could have sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onelie with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dundere, eight & 10 foztie miles within the realme of Scotland, having passed sundrie great rivers, they set that towne on fire.

But the maister of Sparwell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye have heard) had continued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye have heard) the earle of Angus to come unto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also upon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancehaues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was advanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dundere.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be surerlie enough conueid for their contrived purpose, openlie upon the field nere to Dundere, holing up a blacke pennill upon a speares point for a token, resolued wholie, and ioined themselves to the lord of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Daulwinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they bruted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The earle of Lennox, beholding the maner of his aduerfaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dundere, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell; and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were ready to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceiving how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge upon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and ready to take the advantage, if they might haue dyuen them through thinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shooke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (undoubtedlie) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Sparwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chase as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Tyne. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbeie, Christie Brethling of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hempsfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rilled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennox and the Englishmen returned thither,

and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counells pleasure might be knowen in that behalf.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this toynie, how the earle of Lennox and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enemies: but upon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Here with were letters directed downe from the counsell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certeine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Sparwells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlawerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Lawder and Haddington built, the castels of Pesser and Dalwick towne, all the mills burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edinburgh, and other exploits atchieued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expelld.

But now the French king, having prepared an armie ready to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to West in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made ready to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chiefe to command in the same: monsieur de Delle lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue coronell of the Almans, monsieur de Galleraie, monsieur Dossell, Pietro Strozze coronell of the Italians, monsieur Etanges capteine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Willegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthy personages, and men of approved valiancie. These capteins with their powers being imbarcked at West, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middell of June came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arrivall into France (as saith Lescles, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Bironne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue god counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie hostile come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Haddington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streidlie besieged on each hand, vsing all the waies they could deuise to constrain the Englishmen to yield. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue bene slaine and maintained thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

Pledges executed.

1548. Buch.
1547. Lelle.
A newie prepared at West in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Haddington besieged.

why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an assault.

Chapelle Bironne

Chapelle Bironne

Chapelle Bironne

Chapelle Bironne

Haddington besieged.

why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an assault.

sonable, that with small paine they might haue entered by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wilis in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in trial: yet during this siege, they with in stood in great necessitie of things becouesfull for the defense of the towne. Whereupon sir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other necessities, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conducti-
on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

The English
horsemen o-
uerthwone.

But after this, there came a powder of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousand demitances, light horsemen, & harquebussiers on horsebacke, under the leading of sir Robert Bowes, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henrie Wharton, capteine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer rashlie within danger of the whole French powder, were ouerthwone and chased: sir Robert Bowes, & sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capteins, gentlemen and souldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this ouerthrow of those horsemen, the French remoued their siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie sent forth of England under the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were constrained to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find more largelie exprest, to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

The erle of
Shrewsburie
remoueth the
siege from
Haddington.

But this is to be remembred, that whilst the siege remained at Haddington, by a conuention or assembly of the lords it was decreed, that the quene should be sent into France. And thereupon monsieur de Willagaingnon, with foure gallees departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would haue sailed into France: but hauing passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, he might passe about by the Isles of Orkenie, and so by the west Isles, till he came to Dunbretton where the young quene laie. This iournie he fortunatelie achieved, the same neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with gallees.

Sir Nicholas
de Wille-
gaingnon.

At his arrivall & convenient landing at Dunbretton, he found all things readie provided, necessarie for the imbarcking of the quene, that he might conuey hir into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iournie in hand. Whereupon the being brought aboard into the kings owne gallie, where in monsieur de Breze was also appointed to be aboard with hir, as he that had bene sent with expresse commandement to see hir conueied into France; [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Arskine, and Leuingston, the ladie Flemming, with certeine noble maidens named after the young quene, as Marie Leuingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who together with Willagaingnon shewed such diligence in achieving that enterprise, that finally they arrived with prosperous wind and weather in the haven of Brest in Britaine with that young quene, being as then betwixt five and six yeeres of age.

The French
gallees com-
passe about the
realme of
Scotland by
Dungeois
head.
1547. Lesle.

Monsieur de
Breze.

Fr. Thin.

The young
quene of
Scots con-
ueied into
France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 494.

* From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, she kept hir right course to the kings palace of St. Germins in the towne of Lal-

on, where she was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the comming thither of the king, at that time pacifying the seditious and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hee gladded all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the young quene, which he still increased (as the quene grew more in yeeres) untill such time as she might be married.)

But now to returne to the dwings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen thereupon retired themselves vnto Hushelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themselves within the same. And herewith there came to them sixtine thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwards to assaile them, they found them so strongly imbatelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbore to set vpon them in that ground of so great disaduantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington, and after homewards, hauing furnished the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

The French
men in campe
at Hushels
burgh.

See more
hereof in
England.

Here is to be noted, that the English fleet entering into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occasions might haue bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, toke vpon him to achieve some other enterprises, and first comming to Bzent Island, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the river; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countie of Fife. But John Erskine lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and returned home from the campe, caused such daylie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterprise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Englishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so prevented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and hapie was he that might first get againe to shipboard.

The lord ad-
merall of
England.

The lord of
Dun.

The English
men repelled
at saint Ag-
nets.

* For James Stewart, brother to the quene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whom the neighbors about did also ioine themselves, understanding the cause of that assembly. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they discharged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flie ahaie. But this James Stewart (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush vpon his enemies, that forthwith he ouerthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides three hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

The erle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Delle, remaining in campe at Hushelburgh, hearing that the English armie was remoued homewards, & how diuerse new bands of horsemen and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enemy; he toke aduise, to trie if he might

drato

draw them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Kingraue appointed to chose forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with three hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were drawn forth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enemies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and straight had the French in chase; who retiring, maintained the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forthward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Delle saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enemies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and about an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Delle raised from Halkelburgh, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capitaines imbarcking themselves in the gallie that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and as it chanced hindermost of all the companies.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Byron remained colonell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furnitures on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approved skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arrivall of the English nanie & armie to the succors of them in Haddington, monsieur de Wallerie viceadmirall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton assisted the countries of Airdale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two of these Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to de-part the fraite, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Haulton lord of Stan-houffe, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Steward one of the quens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capitaines that shewed their diligent endeouors therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Delle, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the bryte thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

creased ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterpryse in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a camifado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capitaines and souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seven scoze (some say three hundred) slaine in the bace court.

But now, so much as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, since the lord gouernour raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortly after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme 20 of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Delle with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they abandoned the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Kingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Etanges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who comming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staid till monsieur de Delle was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught yet they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lance-knights that were there with them (part of Conrad Hennings bands) issued forth, and drew them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Kingraue had not used the greater policie in retiring the troupe. So he fort, monsieur de Delle, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left seven ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

While these things were in doing, the gouernour of Scotland sent the lord Carneige knight (and senator) ambassado: to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliverie of the earle of Huntlee being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request his libertie, that his wife and children might come into him into England. Whereunto the protector answered, that he would not let the earle free, untill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Kate Lane (corruptly by Lesleus called Mlane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassado: was returned into Scotland, Huntlee was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Morphet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle both there looke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he

The Frenchmen gaue a camifado to Haddington, & were beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vignat Fol.

The earle left his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Kingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. I 5 23. Lesleus lib. 16. pag. 498.

The Englishmen put to the sword at a skirmish nere to Haddington.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Wallerie viceadmirall of France.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edinburgh.

he had agreed with George Har, that he should one night pishie bying to him thither, two of the swiftest horses that he could get to sle awaite upon them. According whereunto Har was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The earle prepareth a supper for his keepers, whereunto they were solemnelie inuited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaite the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had played inough at cards) he left off, but earnestlie desired his keepers that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle going vnto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discern anie thing, it was so extreame darke ouer all the element) easilie vnderstand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in god hope, and sometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnadvisedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burst out in these speeches; Wh¹⁰ soeuer, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpenesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnkowne way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iournie. His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guilty of his fault) answered, that those words were v³⁰sed as a prouerbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Spozton, offering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Whereupon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he sitteth downe againe to cards.

After which suddenlie he rose from them, as begg⁴⁰ed by losenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant) leapeth forth, found the horses readie furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iournie did sle to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed ouer the riuer of Tweed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iournie in the house of Har, he went the same night (being Christmas eue) to Edinb⁴⁰urgh, where he was ioustlie & honozable receiued of the queene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soon as his keepers perceiued that he was gone, they speedilie run to horse, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they seeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the earle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners, who (vpon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, ressoied vnto him the chancelorship, and the rule of manie o⁶⁰ther prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edinb⁴⁰urgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedilie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of those people.)

On saint Stephens day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and wone out of the Englishmens hands. One of the surname of the Humes, a man of threescore yers of age, was the first that entered on the wall, seieng one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that side. * Not long after, when the capteine of Falkicall had commanded the bandmen adioining, to bying thither (at a certeine day) great store of vittels, the young men there a-

bouts hauing that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and laing them on their shoulders, were receiued (after they had passed the bidge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (laing downe that which they brought) they suddenlie (by a signe giuen) set vpon the keepers of the gates, slue them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the castell for their countremen.)

About the same time, the Keinsgrau returned into France, leauing his five enignes of Almain behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Ketonze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Etanges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English history: & about the same time, there landed at Dunb²⁰erton foure bands of souldiers, Pouancois and Castoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the souldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of thre moneths. Sir James Willford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Wesse was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to preuent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, whereof she stood in some doubt.

Immediatlie vpon his comming thither, the lord of Fernihurst requested him to helpe to recouer his castell of Fernihurst out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Wesse taking with him monsieur de Wiffell, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Witon, hasted thither with the chiefest part of his armie, sending before certeine capteins with their bands to surueie the house, who at their comming thither, v⁴⁰sed such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to giue them the skirmish; and pursuing them with great rigor, wane the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capteine and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so thort therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

Herewith a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, burst in on beapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they said) had done them manie great displeasures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yeldded himselfe to monsieur de Dusfac, and la Pouthe Rouge, who minding to vse him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the prese: but suddenlie a Scot comming behind him, whose wife (as was reported) he had rauished, smote off his head so iust from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or fve yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots seemed to shew against other Englishmen, taken here at Fernihurst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Wesse returning to Jedworth, asked by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of advantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Cornetwall (an old house built after the ancient manner

1546.
The Keinsgrau returned into France.
Monsieur de Etanges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir James Willford taken

The castell of Fernihurst wone by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots,

The castell of Cornetwall wone.

Hume castell recovered by the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15. 1549. Leflie.

Captaine Cobios.

manner of fortifying) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things worth the bearing a waie. Also captaine Cobios a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horsemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horsemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and tooke more prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

Road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Birton.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Birton, was sent forth by monsieur de Desse, with the companie of horsemen that belonged to monsieur de Stauges then prisoner, and five hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprise he achieved in burning towne and villages, and returned without anie great losse sustained at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Desse dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the castell of Ffourd and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Ffourd, which was kept by Thomas Ear, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, removing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Another made by monsieur de Desse. Ffourd castell wone.

Thomas Ear

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certaine light horsemen; but neuerthelesse the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, hauing soe indamaged the English borderers by that road: insomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that time) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen soe grieved, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise addresse one enterprise after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoyance, assembled a power together at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

Monsieur de Desse fleeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Desse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Helrolie, and after further off within the countie, fearing to be constrained to giue battell. Which he could not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, hauing not past fiftene hundred footmen, and five hundred horsemen able to haue done seruice: for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie sustained through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through sicknesse and hurts received in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselves; insomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themselves hapilie escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed five and twentie saile of men of warre, the which arriving at the Bassie, nere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant words to haue persuaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yielded the place into their hands. But perceiving their persuasions would not be regarded, they tooke their course by into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized upon them as a wished preie: and the morrow next ensuing, at the verie break of day, they came before Leith, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which meane while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

place could be put in anie strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Island foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pionsers and the Island against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English naute was thus departed, monsieur de Desse, and the queene mother being at Edinburgh, determined with all diligence to imploye all such forces as they might make about the recovering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to anie perfection. Whereupon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Birton, imbarcked in the gallie of monsieur de Tillegaignon, resolved forth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectuall wise, that approaching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

La Chapelle de Birton.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arrived at Dunbretton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horsemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the queene, busie now to further this enterprise. She had got together within Leith haue all the botes that belonged to all the creekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on thursdaie after Trinitie Sunday, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the break of day the queene was come to Leith, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves abroad, & the comfortable words of the queene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuising with monsieur de Desse and the other capitaine, till they were all set forward.

The diligence of the Scottish queene.

The forwardnesse of the souldiers.

Tillegaignon with his gallies passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discouering the vessels at their setting forth, concealed straightwaies what was intended: and thereby on prepared to keepe the enemies off from landing, so that upon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and drove the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strond vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plume together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

But finally, their generall named Cotton, being slain with George Applebie esquire, a captaine of an ensigne of footmen sent forth of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Bizoni, that was captaine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or point of the Island, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slain diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Birton was stricken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conueie him into one of the gallies to be dressed of his hurts by a surgian. Also a gentleman named Desboies, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his coronell ensigne, was slain with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Captaine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slain.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

Thus

Inskith

De

net

die

die

die

Inskith recovered by the Frenchmen.

Thus was Inskith recovered out of the Englishmen's hands, after it had bene in their possession by the space of sixtēne daies, the more to the high contentation of monsieur de Wesse, for that at the same time he stood upon his discharge and returne into France, being appointed to surrender up his place to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arrived (as ye have heard) with commission to receive the same. So that monsieur de Wesse, to end his charge with the glorie of this atchieved enterprize, esteemed it much to stand with his honoz: and no doubt with the swelling humoz of the glorie thence rebounding he was blowne up; as in cases of victorie it cometh to passe in them that make a god hand: whereas the vanquished (God wot) are contrarie qualified.

Monsieur de Wesse returned into France.

Monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French armie in Scotland. Who by the advise of the gouernoz, and other of the Scottish lordz, determined with a siege volant to keepe the Englishmen in Haddington from vittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after that Wesse was departed towards France, monsieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some Scots incamped at Aberlathie, where they began the foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen from setting on land anie vittels there, to be conveyed from thence to Haddington, as before they had done.

A fort builded at Aberlathie.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increased their numbers of Almaines, and other strangers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields which lay most an end at Dungalas, and one while besieged Hume castell. But after they saw themselves disappointed of the meane, whereby they supposed to haue recovered it, they raised from thence, and spoiled the most part of Linlithgow and other the marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of the disloyaltie and breach of promise proued in the assured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised, and stated in his dealings, verie honozable and courteous in all his demeanoz.

The earle of Rutland.

He was accompanied with capitaines of good estimation and approved prowesse, as sir Richard Spaners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Sanage, sir Thomas Wolcrosse, sir Oswald Wulstrop, & others. He so behaved himselfe in that dangerous time of the byproz and rebellions of the commons, through the more part of the realme of England; that although the appointed forces against Scotland were staied, and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the encouragement (no doubt) both of Scots and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept in awe by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that they rather lost than gained in this season at the Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of the said earle, passing forth with a conueie of vittels vnto Haddington, came so suddentlie vpon the Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether through default of their scouts, or other negligence vled by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue bene utterly distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubted more, than by anie was thought needfull, they might haue overthrowen, taken, & slaine the Frenchmen handmost (as was supposed) at their pleasure. But the Englishmen euen at their first comming in sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre, sith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such cases to late repentance easilie inueth) staied, the

The Frenchmen in danger to haue bene distressed.

better to conceiue of that which they had to doe. Whereby the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies a maine pace, till they were got out of danger: for after they once beheld all the troops of the English hozemen almost at their elbows, and herewith the battell of the Almaines suddentlie appearing on the hill top readie to come downe vpon them, it was no need to bid them packe awaie.

The Frenchmen retire.

The Scottish light hozemen comming on the backe of the English armie, perceiued where the Almaines (to make them readie to giue battell) had throwen off their clokes, and left the same (with all their baggage and stufte which they had about them) in keeping of none but of their women and boies: wherevpon those Scottish hozemen, not minding to suffer such a preie to escape their hands, came galloping in, and toke all the best stufte they could lay hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie enemy could come backe to the rescue. The Almaines were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were withdrawen and got quite out of danger.

The baggage of the English Almaines spoiled by the Scottish hozemen.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington, with their cariages laden with vittels, to the great comfort of them within that fortreffe, standing in great necessitie before this conueie came. This summer also, and a little before the vittelling thas of Haddington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Romero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was capteine, seruing the king of England, was lodged in Coldingham, six miles distant from Wervike: certeine bands of Almaines and Frenchmen came thither vpon the sudden, and surpriuing the Spaniards before they were aware of their approach, set vpon them in their lodgings, toke, and slue in maner the whole number of them.

Haddington bottled.

Julian Romero distressed.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with commotions raised by the commons of that realme; but also with the warres which the French king made against them, within the countrie of Bullognois, so that they had not meanes to imploie their forces against Scotland as they had determined to haue done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the historie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof, anon after Michaelmas they gaue ouer the keeping of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there, they returned into England to the great reioicing of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occasion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the giuing ouer thus of Haddington, the gouernoz and the quene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recover againe all that the Englishmen held within the bounds of Scotland.

Haddington raised and left by the Englishmen.

But first it was thought good to assaie the winning of Broughtie crag; for it founded (as was thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estimation, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the English should keepe so far within the realme, in despite of their whole puissance. Herevpon monsieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and did so much, what with shot of canon to make batterie, and other meanes of inforcements, that giuing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen, they entred the fort the twentieth of Februarie by fine force, so that all those within were either taken or slaine. Wherevpon those English also that kept the castell, rendered up the same without further resistance, amongst other prisoners: sir John Luttrell the capteine was one.

1550.

Broughtie crag won by the Frenchmen.

Treatie for
peace.

Sir Hugh
Willoughbie.

A peace con-
cluded.

The names of
the commis-
sioners ap-
pointed to
treat of peace.

Fr. Thin.

The articles
of the peace.

Monsieur de
Pourret.

The French-
men returne
home.

The mar-
quess de
Maigne.

The death of
the first duke
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certeine commis-
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-
cause they continued long in their treatie per they
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,
so that coming before Lodowick they besieged that
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,
the French held them within so straitlie besieged,
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, sir
Hugh Willoughbie capitaine of that fort must needs
have yielded through lacke of shot, & other necessarie
things serving for defense; which were spent, so that
they were constrained to use their pewter vassel in
stead of bullets. But as it fortun'd, a peace was ac-
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time
betwixt the two kings of England and France,
through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the com-
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and lord priuie seale; William Paget lord of Beau-
desert, knight also of the garter; sir William Peter
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & sir John
Malon knight, secretarie to him for the French
tong. For the French king were appointed Fran-
cis de Montmorence, lord of Rochfort, knight of the
order of saint Michael, and lieutenant for the same
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Lan-
doline; Casper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon,
knight also of the order, and capitaine generall of the
footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andreu Guil-
lard lord Noxtier, knight also of the order, and one
of the same kings priuie counsell; and Guillaume
Bouchettell lord of Saille, knight likewise of the
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And
for the Scots (as saith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)
D. Painter bishop of Ross.]

Among other articles comprised in this peace,
it was couenanted, that all such forts, castels, and
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within
the Scottish dominions, should be deliuered and re-
stored to the Scots; and that the forts of Douglas,
Rorburgh, and Limouth, which the Englishmen had
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased
and throwen downe, to auoid all occasions of new
controuersies that might grow by reason of keeping
or defending the same: so as the peace now conclu-
ded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept
and obserued, aswell betwixt England and Scot-
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and
euerie the subjects of the same realmes, both by sea
and land. Monsieur de Pourret was sent into Scot-
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it
was proclaimed anon after Easter about the begin-
ning of Aprill, and euerie thing vsed and ordered ac-
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In Maithe the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-
barked at Leith in sirtene French ships, and cer-
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-
to France. A few there were, as Pigropeilice and
Saint Falaise, capteins of light horsemen, with o-
thers that passed through England, and so home into
their countrie. Moreover the marquess de Maigne,
after duke Daumals comming ouer into England
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his
sister quene Dowager, and shortly after returned.
They mourned both for the death of their father
Cland de Lorraine, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare
1550.

How then the French departed out of Scot-
land, there were manie Scots appointed vnto them;
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-
fer them anie iniurie in the streit of the British
sea, and partlie for honours cause to bring them on
their iournie into France. By whose departure
Scotland was free deliuered from all forren sould-
iers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained
still in the countrie; because they had the Ile of In-
keh and the castell of Dunbar committed to their
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie
discharge. Monsieur de Hermes, Chapellie, and
diuerse other capteins of France, remained also in
Scotland (after that the others were imbarcked to be
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the
countrie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and behol-
ding the cities, searching the castels, and marking
the bulwarks of defense) did constantlie affirme,
that in the whole world they neuer saw forts and
townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie
defended. In seeing whereof they consumed the
time with great pleasure, vntill the moneth of
December, in which they all went into France
with the quene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the
French) with forren nations, which continued three
yeares: so was there within the walls and king-
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;
which was most perillous and troublesome. For
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor
and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews
and others) did vse all things with extreme cruel-
tie & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen
to all libertie, followed by law his pleasures in all
things, as though it had bene permitted vnto him.
For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he
permitted the slaughter of William Chzeighton to
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in
the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight)
by Robert Sempie: next followed the death of
John Maluill an old man of fife; who next vnto
the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chie-
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whom he did
commend a capitaine his friend) intercepted. In
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie
fault, yet was the author of them punished with the
losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death
seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to
the younger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these
wicked parts did pertaine to few, the enemie there-
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For
by reason of this vnskillfull gouernement of the
kingdome, and the slooth of his life, which offended
the common people; the gouernor began to be had
in contempt almost of all men.]

In September following, the quene Dowager
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Camils,
Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the
Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sailing to France
landed at Diepe: she was couetied thither by the
pilot of Capoa, & Leon Strozze, sent and appoin-
ted with six gallies to haue the conduction of hir.
From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king
then late, of whom she was right courteouilie recei-
ued, and had such attendance and seruice done vnto
hir, during the time of hir tarlance there, as stood
with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable
to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that
behalf.

The causes of the quene Dowagers going into
France

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 507.

Buchanan
lib. 15.

The quene
Dowager sail-
eth into
France.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lefleus lib. 10
pag. 508.

France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, the might renew the old league in France, the might see his daughter and his other friends; and procure the gouernment of the realme to his selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in his mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanour would soon be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before his shipping into France, and whilst they were preparing, the earle of Huntley 10 commanded William Makintosh (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilst he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first deprived of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castles, and others that fauored the Makintosh) did so stir them against Huntley, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, vnlesse the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

1551. Lefleus.
lib. 10 pag. 508

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the gods of Makintosh (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Makintosh) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betwene Huntley and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreueged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceit, they apprehended 30 Lanchlane Makintosh (and condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betrayer of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministred and blew the cole that fired Huntley, to make the said William Makintosh out of the waie.

Lanchlane
Makintosh
apprehended.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 509.

A little before which, the master of Cresskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glasgow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioicing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer any violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuation of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in detaining their ships and merchandise.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, whereunto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rome, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shewes, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michaell, he admitted the earle of Huntley and other chiefe lords of Scotland there to the quene and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honours and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the young quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lefleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtelie, to feed the mind and etc., the king of France, the two quenes of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntley, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesles; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time 10 and place fit for the executing of the cause of his coming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozeine (his brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iourne, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernment of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to his rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet he would wholie rest on his determination. 20 The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without any tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did perswade the king to confirm the dukedome of Chateaufault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires; & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earldome of Arraine to the earle of Huntley (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earldome of Rothlie to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earldome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the earldome of Moriston, to the sonne of George Dowglaste. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the young quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the young quene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeares, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king would then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

Buchanan.
lib. 16.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 410.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rolles (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Calvin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbeie of Kilwinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should susteine the parts and place of the quene his daughter, in the administration and gouernment of Scotland, with the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yield thereunto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chateaufault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceit might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassadour to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Rolles was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did wyng from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie, & k. ij. and

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Kelle goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbey of Labete in France.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 511.

Wlois.

Whilist these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquess of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadoys to Henrie the second, king of France, then sojourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in marriage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and won the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Aniois, Paris, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before seene since he attained the crowne. After certaine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to founteinbleu.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamellie: where remaining a certaine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchesse of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certaine griefe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable interteined, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kintred, and hauing obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots do vge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie thereunto.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and coming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and perswaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and happily landed at Portsmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arrivall coming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to intreate hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshire, Sussex, and Surreie (three provinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing
at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmond, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scottish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasurer were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the upper end thereof, and the erle of Marlike holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, kneeled downe, and he courteously toke hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and his comming both together; the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hers on the left. What plentie of all manner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she toke hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

* And here I must not forget what Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the marriage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that marriage, and the willingness of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not verie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithful seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Kelle) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leaving the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Fr. Thin.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, latest abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtellie) to obtaine the god will of the quene. For he after perswaded hir with manie speeches, that she should giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scottish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Therewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Lesleus lib. 12.
pag. 113.

Wherevnto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnadvisedlie done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the marriage bed with faire promises and flattering speeches. Wherevnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were enforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were vged to leaue the yong quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieved that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would laboer the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir trauell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

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therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of Nouember, the quene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing forth at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Denbroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Schozich church, and there took their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iavelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The erle of Denbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke iavelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iavelins in like manner, well apparelled: which thre companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as the passed that waie.

The thirffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the thiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the thiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinke, as well for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the provision for their horses, was bozne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now master of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dumbleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edinburgh, where she was honorablie receiued by the erle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The erle of Huntlie, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said erle landing at Montrose, about the latter end of December.

After that the quene was arriued in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these bzalles which were risen amongst the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntlie, Angus, and Argile, and by the quenes trauell, the controuersies moued about the archbishopricks of saint Andrews and Glascow, the bishopricks of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbies of Aberbrothie, Inchmaherie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens children, and some vpon such persons as worthilie deserued them.)

Doctor Wanthop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottishman bozne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Julius the third, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (whereunto he must needs aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite deprived of the benefit of sight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune, the quene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland; and at Inuerne, Elgin, Banf, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glascow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

After this, they returned to Edinburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Whereupon, when nothing seemed to want for the setting of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by diuining booties of cattell from the borders of England, seeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued such magistrats as had negligentlie governed their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whereupon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall counsell kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accursed; and all things decreed in the counsell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, Dauid Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, having faithfully consumed seven yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassado; legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wisely, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Kille, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knight hood certeine bozners, who had deserued well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be moze enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cessford and Fernihurst, Andrew Ear of Littleden, Conduinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenchie, with manie other ballant men.)

In this sortie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the quene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporall, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wils in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuite bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender by the gouernance into

wronges done are by iustice redressed.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 515.

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 516.

The quene mother seeketh to be gouernor

1552. Lesle; 1553. The gouernment is resigne
hir

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 513.

The archbishop of Armachane.

1551.

ned vnto the
quene.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yerres of age.

The gouernour was promysed not onelie a full discharge and a *quietus est* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateleault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of wrytings under hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for the well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yerres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of fouretene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yerres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yerres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did stoutly contend, constantlie affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yerres.

Whereupon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, doth vze the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or fouretene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high providence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Buses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime

possessed the sterne of Scotland.

But in the end, saie or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whilste the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape unpunished) did renew the memorie of old injuries. For hereupon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Burs did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse vtterlie slay Balcleuche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthven or Kethven, did publikelie thrust through and slea John Chartrusse a noble and a valiant yong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betwene those two families. Yet it was spred abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthven did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthven (being called into sute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verie day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoener with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recouer or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (euen in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Julie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to R. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and vaded. Onelie this is worthie the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not, for the vntowrhinesse of the English people, taken the yong king auaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

* About this time, Norman Leslie, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France where he then was imprisoned being now set at libertie, did priuilie conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstood of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Norman to flee to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie provinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first; of whome, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerrelie pensions out of the exchequer or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whome earnestlie byging that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine: the duke of Norfolkke did publikele say in the counsell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Norman was almost stricken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Bunsfome, whom this Leslie had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, worthelie, and honorablie behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the sixt then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe auaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he happily performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieued by his owne souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Montrulle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so louing (for the singular

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 517.
1552.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie
slaughters of
the nobilitie.

1552.

Abn. F.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1554.

singular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunkstone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and restorred to all their goods and possessions.]

The covenants and articles are perused.

1555. Buch.

1554.

A parliament. Edinburgh castle deliuered to the lord Erskin to keepe.

The quene made gouernor by parliament.

The gouernor made duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quene.

The quene giueith the gouernance of the realme vnto the quene mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 522.

Buchan. lib. 16.

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the covenants and articles of agreement betwixt the quene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thereupon a parliament appointed to be holden in Edinburgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing; and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edinburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parliament should be accomplished, according to the points of the agreement made by full content. The lords then assembling in parliament at Edinburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill; all the covenants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chatelaunt vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the three estates of Scotland, touching the premises, in which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme (& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbretton (as saith Buchanan) with other things contained in the contract: to the which there in open parliament all the estates subscribed, and put therevnto their seales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Dorsell being there present, who receiued the same in the quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission thewed, giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she toke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parliament newlie authorisied in the quenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoztie, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to all such as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minoztie of Charles James the first, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declination of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of John Arskine, which he should not deliuer to anie, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parliament.

About this time, the quene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntley to apprehend John Quodard (or Qunderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable thefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked dedes: which iourne it is supposed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, where in he should answer the cause. Whole friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spread false rumors thereof, laing all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did one lie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir iourne into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man libellie brought vp with the earle of Purreie for kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle; for none other cause but for that he would not yeld him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge worthe anie punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he perswaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yeld him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yong man did accordingly.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and gilllesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transerre all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the subtil wit of Gordon the earle of Huntley, and that his wife (a chofen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easlie perswaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Wherevpon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councill holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessive mule to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiectied by the chiefe of his enemies, Gilbert earle of Cassiles. For he, perceiving by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwixne Scotland and France; did bitterlie wish and his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtilie and vnconstantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were enmulous, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that anie domesticall euill was so much, as the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustome the French to shed the Scottish blood. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Purreie, & other things.

The quene hauing the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Cassils treasurer, & Wellmoit a French man controller; also an other Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntley, who was chancelor; and then in ward; and James Machill register, and the abbat of Couper keeper of the priuie seale, as saith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 521. Donald gouernor of the Isles. These mens counsell and mon-

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Huntie re-nounced manie things.

Fr. Thin, Lefleus, lib. 10, pag. 522.

1551.

The law for fishing.

Covenants for seamen.

Lefleus lib. 10, pag. 523.

1555.

Heur Doffels the bled principallie in all things. The earle of Huntie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Arrerrie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest unto the farmes of Wkencie and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Mar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five yeares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir five thousand pounds in monie.

* About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kinwardie, and John Bellenden of Achknowle knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallesse, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Porxon, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Porham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the mult of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Further it was agreed, that whosoever by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie presentie be staied; but he might freely by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriual; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Shiclere deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the first, aswell for the singulartie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wisdom & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, upon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orkades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of lutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence used by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministered occasion, that their lutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquess of Spaine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence thereunto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkele of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

In Iulie was a parlement held at Edinburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these same two shold to remaine chonickled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitfuntide, or anie such times, in which their hiredlings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of game, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene subjects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight halends of August, fell the marriage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their marriage. Besides which, these ambassadors did requite a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilst the quene regent did administer the affaires of South Scotland, John Stewart earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle bled such courtesie and counsell in pacifying, and such celeritie and wisdom in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Mudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quene, to whom the said Mudiard did willingly yeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of his nature) did wholely remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfully remaine prisoner in the castell of Speffens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongst vs) cannot liue without his starting holes; so this Mudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deceiuing their keepers) returne to their owne causes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things enforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of oces: in which she might bide the euils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Whereupon, in the moneth of Iulie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntie, Argile, Rothes, Cambs, and Marthall, the bishop of Aberdeen, and Koffe, D. Doffell, Rubie, and others, went to the towne of Inuernesse, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken upon the offenders. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; the commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countermen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the first; with a great paine

Lefleus, lib. 10, pag. 524.

1555. Fr. Thin, Lefleus, lib. 10, pag. 524.

Lefleus, lib. 10, pag. 525. Buchanan, lib. 16.

1555. Buch. 1556. H.B.

Lefleus, lib. 10, pag. 527. Buchan, lib. 16.

paine set vpon the chiefe of those families ; if the other did stidie resist, & would not come into iudgement.

Whereupon it followed, that sundrie of diuerse families, that were by contempt departed awaie, did come to publike iudgement. Where manie, and those not of the meanest sort, paid the punishment for troubling the peace; amongst which, one Grant a baron being commanded to bring James Grant and diuerse other wicked persons before the iudges, did prouide to bring their dead heads, when they could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cathnes also, because that being warned therunto, he did not bring his people before the iudges; was first committed to prison in Inuernesse, then at Aberdeen, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he purchased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Macchie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to iudgement (for that he had often wasted the countrie of Southerland next adioining) did contemne the precept. Whereupon the quene prouided a great armie, which vnder the erle of Southerland brake into Strathnauerne, where he possessed all the places of doubt, least anie hole might be left for the thienes to passe awaie from thence. Whereupon Macchie, when he saw himselfe so beset (as that no place of flight was left him) yelded himselfe to Hugh Kenedie, who led him to the quene, by whom he was committed to prison at Edinburgh a long time, but they of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to safe and strong prisons) were reserued to the iudgement of the quenes pleasure.

After this, the quene leauing Inuernesse, and progressing the prouince of Kossie, she came to Elgine, Bamf, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places thereabouts, diligentlie to inquire of the misdemeanors of those people. At what time she did temper the rigor of law with such courtesie, that she punished the offenders by fine, and not by death. From thence she came to Dundee, and to saint Johns towne, observing the same cause and course of hir coming. When she had thus passed ouer the summer in bringing the mountaine people to their dutie, she sent the earle of Huntlie to ioine with the bishop of Kossie and Dikeneie, and to Hugh Kenedie; to whom she did substitute a better and more commodious forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who should receiue the libels and accusations of priuate persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the townes of Inuernesse, Elgine, and other places. By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those countreies (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lesleus) now declare how honourable & sumptuouslie the quene in all hir progress was receiued (without anie charge to hir) of the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, with the Frenchmen (which were then present with hir) haue opened to other nations as well as to their own people (with singular commendations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this Scotland, being a most wondrous signe of the fauour they bare to the quene. In the meane time there were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bishop of Dunblane, the lord of Lethington, & maister James Macgill; where doctor Tunstall bishop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the quenes coming backe forth of the north in September next following.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the lords Bymiston, Dymiston, and Grange, with maister Henric Balnaues, and others, which were for

saied in the gouernors time, were restored. At the same time the quene, by the counsell of monsieur Doissell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requested that a new order might be made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a pœrelie taxation, to be put and kept in the treasure-houise till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that case to be charged to come from their owne houses, but when anie great armie came forth of England to inuade Scotland.

Diuerse of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance: but the most part of the barons hearing thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the number of two hundred & above, and sent the lords James Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and John of Wlemis in Fife, to the quene and lords, beseeching them not to set such new taxations vpon them, for they could not beare such burdens; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had done, not meaning to put their goods in inuentarie, as if they should already make their last will and testaments: and be past all hope of intefeng their temporall goods, as persons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and giue ouer all that they had by law of fatall necessitie not to be auoided. Adding further, that their elders did not onelie defend themselves, and their goods against the English, when they were of farre greater power than they now be; but did also manie times make further inuasion vpon them into their owne countrie. For which cause, they being not anie so now so degenerat from their ancestors, that they would not, when need required, bestow their substance and life in defense of their countrie.

And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scotland to men without substance, or without hope of advancement, and to such as for monie will dare to do anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their depe couetousnesse, and to minisster occasion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be looked vnto, let them more remember the deuities of their countrie, than their owne estate or condition. For will anie man beleue, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense the minds of the common people; than gods, children, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter perteineth to the highest god of the kingdom of Scotland, and that the same is of farre more importance than that it should be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our young quene. Besides which the greater part of men do suspect and feare, that the same new order for warre is vnprofitable, and such as cannot be perfozmed without some commotion of the Scottish nation, especiallie with so great sums of monie can hardlie be wozong out by tribute imposed on the same Scots; as may suffice to nourish a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, least the end of persuation grow to this point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be a barre to kepe them backe. For if the English, after this example, being a farre richer nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the comon people, susseine an armie twise as great as that of the Scots, & such as shall not onelie enter the borders, but rush euery into the very bowels of the king,

A pœrelie tax to be leuied is proposed.

This taxation is not granted. 1556.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 16.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 518.

Commissioners sent.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 517.

A parlement. Gentlemen & barons.

kingdome of Scotland.

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to suppress it in silence, or to deliver it (saith Buchanan) to common eyes & eares. For I do heare (wisteth he) manie which do murmur and aske who shall gather this monie? How much thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired soldiers, and how much to be left in the hands of the treasurer? There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no such thing shall be establisht for the especiall godnesse and temperancie of that worthy prince (in whose hand the whole government now resteth) both incourage vs, that we shall not be so taxed. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time bene done; we cannot so gouerne our selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue already felt.

But letting these things passe, which perchance we bainele feare, let vs come to those things in which our ancestors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) against the weapons of their aduersaries. Robert the first of that name (in comparison of whome none of the Scottish kings were counted more wise, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confesse) did not onelie profit his subjects whilst he liued, but also after his death: for when he laid at point to surrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we should neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For that man (by nature and by vse of long time exercised in both fortunes) did well perceiue, that such as liued in idleness and sloth, had their stomachs and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delicie of pleasures, and that couetousnesse and lecherie did spring by as it were in untilled ground, when seuer discipline and sparing was quenched, which made them also to be impatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their strength being diminished, they should easilie giue place to their enemies.

After that these two noble men had said thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections if he perseuered in this exaction, lest off anie further to pursue this tax, and is (in often acknowledging his error) said to haue vsed this speech; That some of the best of the Scots, and not the worst, were authors and workers of the same. By which words manie supposed that he ment the earle Huntley, a man of a sharpe wit, lately deliuered out of prison, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by restraint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit shewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherefore when he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and payments of monie: and fearing lest his power being ouermuch increased, that he would abate the strength of the nobilitie, diminish their authoritie, and call the whole government of Scotland into the hands of his people, it was supposed that he gaue his counsell answerable to his disposition for the gathering of monie which he had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enemy to him, because he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribute, nor be so obedient vnto him as they had bene before. There were also some that supposed this devise to grow from Dauid Painter bishop of Ross; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Hamiltons, and was not anie waie estranged from their counsels and kinreds.

In this yeere, an ambassadoe of Muscouie going into England with a great ship, & another bote, was cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast of Buchuane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who hauing lost all his goods by shipwacke,

was saued himselfe, and some of his companie, because they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might saue their liues. The inhabitants did liberallie intertaine this strange man, and brought him to Edinburgh to the quene, who would not permit this new guest to want anie thing so long as he remained with hir: and further, commanded and procured, that his goods lost by sea, and come into the hands of the people, should be faithfullie restored to him againe, appointing moreover the lord Hume for honors sake to accompanie him to Berwik.

This yeere also in the moneth of Iulie was Peter Traberne sent ambassadoe (from Anna duke of Wendenberge, and Delmensoze, and earle of Emden) out of east Frisia into Scotland, to require that the ancient covenant of an hundred yeeres made betwene the Scots and the people of Emden (which by course of some yeeres past, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & solemnlie establisht, both those nations from that day did liue togither in mutuall & perfect friendship. After this, warres arising betwene England and France, quene Marie of England, fearing lest the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the French to attempt something against England, sent ambassadoes to the regent, to require that some of the Scots might with his people meet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

Wherevpon in the moneth of Iulie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Reid bishop of Dornie, Henrie Heintclere deane of Glasgou, Robert Carnegie knight, senators, and the lord Harries, at that time president of the west borders. For the English did come Tunstall bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whom there was talke for peace, and recompense of such iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certaine Frenchman landed at the west part on Scotland, and declared to the quene the warres betwene England and France, desiring him to make warre vpon the English. Wherevpon the quene sent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where she opened to them diuerse wrongs done on the borders by Englishmen, and how no redress could be got: wherefore she required that warres might be moued against England in reuenge of those iniuries, although the bishop of Dornie was the same time at Caerleill in talke with Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham and others, commissioners for England. The principall cause that moued the quene regent to take to make war against England, was for that the Englishmen aided the Emperour in fauor of his sonne king Philip against the French king, because their quene had taken to husband the same king Philip, and sent the earle of Penbrooke ouer with an armie to ioine with king Philips power.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots invaded the English borders, it might cause them to call backe their power south of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scottish lords would not consent in anie wise to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monsieur Dossell perceiued, he speedily went to Hatmouth beside Berwik, and fortified the same with all diligence, making inuasions into England. Wherevpon the Scottishmen in their owne defense were constrained to make warre, and the earle of Huntley was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the assistance of the Frenchmen, made sundrie inuasions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and cast downe manie stone houses, piles

Lesleus, lib. 10, pag. 529.

Lesleus, lib. 10, pag. 529.

1557.
The quene regent desired to haue war.

In assemblee at Caerleill.

The occasion why the quene regent desired to haue war.

The Scottish lords refuse to take warre in hand. Hatmouth is fortified. Inuasions are made into England.

1557.
Lesleus, lib. 10, pag. 328.

piles and strengths.

An armie as-
sembled.

The lordes do
not consent
thereto.

The castell of
warke belie-
ged by the
Scots.

Captaine
Kead.

The earle of
westmerland
gathereth an
armie to resist
the Scots.

The Scots
beake by
their armie.

The Scots
discomfited by
the earle of
Northum-
berland.

Sir John
Fosser.

In this meane while were the Scottish commissio-
ners at Caerleill; and the maister of Harwell war-
den of the west borders, being there with them, with
much adoe got away and came home into Scotland.
The quene assembled a great armie out of all parts
of the realme, the which came forwarde to Kello in
the moneth of October, where the quene & French
men perswaded them to enter by invasion into Eng-
land. But they meaning to take further advise, passed
over Tweed to Harwell hugh, where they incam-
ped, and afterwarde approached the castell of Marke,
surrounding the same with a siege for the space of
two or thre daies. Capteine Kead at that present had
charge of that castell, with thre or foure hundred
sotmen, and one hundred horsemen, seeming to care
little for the Scottish mens forces.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieute-
nant of the north parts, gathered such power together
as he might make, and came to Lowike, accompa-
nied with the lord Talbot, sir James Crofts, and
others, to succor where most need should appeare. The
Scottish armie, perceiuing the Englishmen thus in
a readinesse to resist their attempts, took advise to
gether, and concluded that it was not for the weale
of the realme, at that time to hazard battell south of
the bounds of their owne land, their princeesse being
absent, and as yet in hir minority; considering also
that the war was not taken in hand for their owne
quarrell, but for the pleasure of France. These and o-
ther the like reasons, being alleged by the earles of
Arrane, Huntlie, Argile, Castils, and others, to the
quene and French capteins, they were nothing sa-
tisfied therewith; but the Scottish lordes would at-
tempt no further, but retired backe and scaled their
armie.

In removing from Marke, they were pursued
by certeine bands of the borders, and others, which
were repelled, and stood in danger to haue bene di-
stressed, if capteine Kead had not with noble corage
issued south, and in time relieved them that were re-
tiring: whereby they staid and gaue a new charge,
inasmuch as the Scots were beaten backe againe,
and chased ouer the water to their maine armie that
was alreadye passed ouer. The quene and monsieur
Doisell, perceiuing that they could not get the Sco-
tish lordes to make anie further exploit at that pre-
sent, they retired home; but Doisell with his French
men were appointed to remaine still in Walmouth,
to countergarrison the Englishmen within Ber-
wikke.

There were diuerse sot bands of Scots waged
by the French king, which were appointed to lie in
places about the borders, as at Kello, Rockesburgh,
and such like for defense of the countrie, and the an-
noyance of the Englishmen, as occasions might
serue. After this, sir Andrew Har, and diuerse other
entered England with a power of men about Spar-
tinnasse. Neuerthelesse, the earle of Northumber-
land, being then lieutenant of the north parts of
England, and lieng on the borders, assembled his
forces together, & comming to encounter the Scots
on the very borders side nere to Cheuiot, at the first
the Englishmen were put to the worse, but yet at
length the Scots were ouerthrowne and chased: sir
Andrew Har, and manie other being taken pris-
oners.

Sir John Fosser bare himselfe verie valiantlie
at this encounter, so that his seruice might not well
haue bene spared. He was thrust through the mouth
into the necke, and also through the thigh; moreover,
his horse was slaine vnder him. The conflict was
sharpe, for both the horsemen and sotmen came to
make proue of their forces. The warre thus being

begun and followed, the Scots kept their quarter,
rage, and euerie noble man (as he was appointed)
laie on the borders with a thousand horsemen, du-
ring his ordinarie tearme. And on the other side, the
English borders were furnished with new supplies
of men of warre, so that there were daillie rodes and
incursions made by the parties, to the great damage
and spoile of the towne and villages situate nere
to the confines of both the realmes.

In December the quene assembled a parlement
at Edinburgh, where shee (highlie fauouring the
French) shewed south the letters of Henrie king of
France, to be read by the whole assemblee, touching
the solemnization of the mariage betwene the yong
quene of Scots, and the French kings sonne, which
I haue here set downe.

Quarterage
kept by the
Scots for de-
fense of their
borders.

1558.
A parlement.

The substance of the letter of the French king, concerning the ma- riage of his sonne to the queene of Scots.



Entie by the grace of God, king of the
French, to his worthie cosines & princes
of Scotland, and to the rest of the orders,
being our deere friends, greeting. It is
most plainlie knowen to all nations, how fast a bond
hath alwaies hitherto remained betwene Scotland
& France. Neither can it be hidden what these signs
of amitie were, being for number manie, for great-
nesse large, and for dutie of friendship mutuell ech to
other; by which the kings our ancestors haue seemed
to confirme, and as it were to increafe this amitie, to
the end it might remaine whole and sound for euer:
yea and so farre the shew thereof hath appeared, that
all the benefites of either realme haue seemed to be
common to ech other. Which bond of friendship we
also haue (for the time in which we first receiued the
ensignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to re-
tinue, to the end the same should not anie waie be
raied or broken. The which in like sort we well under-
stand, that you haue likewise abundantly perfozmed
vnto vs.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 533.

Wherefore (more stronglie to knit the same) we
will not suffer this oportunitie (which the diuine
godnesse hath laied before vs, as we verelie suppose)
of mariage to be solemnized betwene our son the
Dolphin, and your quene our deere and sweet sister
and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be
intreated) was so bzged by all parts, as the yong
quene was vpon that condition left with vs, when
she was caried into France, by the consent of our si-
ster the Dowager, and the gouernor of Scotland, to
the great reioysing of all you that yalded therevnto;
where now she hath attained such beautie and num-
ber of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature
(which she receiued from the kinglie blood of hir pa-
rents) and partlie by the instruction of my wife, that
I can hardlie anie longer suffer (in respect of the age
of my sonne) that this mariage (which we haue so
much desired) should anie longer be deferred. And
sith at Christmasse next my son shall come to those
peeres, in which he may promise all things that shall
be necessarie for the knitting vp of the mariage; and
sith also we haue determined (if it so seme god to the
quene hir mother, and to the rest of the parlement of
Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands)
that the mariage shall publikelie at Paris (on the
day consecrated to the thre kings) with such ceremo-
nies as is requisite, be fullie consummate with
the speech of my sonne and of your quene:

We do by these letters request you, that by com-
mon consent you southwith send some of your chiefe
nobilitie,

A. I.

nobilitie, that maie honoꝝ the mariage with their presence, and that (hauing publike authoritie therefore) may frelie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such matters and affaires.

The which if you shall do, I promise that hereafter they shall liberallie vnderstand how acceptable they shall be to me: and how that you shall receiue all the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons marriage (foꝝ the performance whereof, by reason of his sufficient age, we will shortly prouide) which said commodity shall not onelie now remaine to you that be present, but also most abundantlie with great pleasure shall continue to your posteritie. Foꝝ with both our and your people of France and Scotland shall be so firmelie conioined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of marriage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, shall hang the one vpon the other, as it were by a certaine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of such as would diminish and ouerthrow our states) maie foꝝ euer enjoy such quiet as we did neuer hope to haue before this. From our castell of saint Germans, the fourth kalends of Nouember. 1557.

Subscription, By the king, Henrie:
A little below: De Laubespine.

Upon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Keab bishop of Dkeneie, George Lesle earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cassles, James Stewart prior of saint Andrewes [the queenes bastard brother] George lord Seton [capitaine of Edenburgh] James Fleming, and John Erskine lord of Dun [gouernor of Montrose] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract mariage betwixt Marie queene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same mariage. Whereupon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parlement, and they accepting the same, made preparation foꝝ that iourne, and departed in the moneth of Februarie forth of the roode of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, losing in their iourne one of their ships, with men and horses before saint Ebbes head, in the Forth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capitaine called Waterton in the roode of Bullongne.

The ambassadors themselves neuertheless escaped, and comming safe vnto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorablie receiued of the king at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and thre score thousand franks assigned in dowrie to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of pærelie pension, with manie rich iewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and great preparation made foꝝ the mariage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the church of Notre dame, the 24 of Aprill in that present yere, 1558.

After the solemnitie of this mariage, the legats of Scotland were called into the councill-house of the French king: at what time the chancellor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to the husband of the pong queene might be crowned king also of Scotland. Wherevnto the ambassadors did shortly make answer, that they had no such thing giuen in charge to them. After

which, the cardinall said: We desire nothing moꝝe at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe: which is, here now to confirme by writing that you will hereafter, foꝝward, approue & woꝝke that this honoꝝ (which now we iustlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall be talked of in the parlement of Scotland. Which request (when it seemed full of impudencie) they supposed best moꝝe constantlie and sharpelie to reiect.

Wherefoꝝ they answered, that their ambassage was restrained within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had bene sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French professed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and assured danger and infamie of treason, though danger of life were absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all honest things which might well be granted they would yield vnto the French, ioined vnto them by so manie necessarie occasions. Wherefoꝝ they requested the French that they would not in their demands exceed the limits of modestie.

Whereupon the ambassadors being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedy, George Lesle, Robert Keab, and also James Fleming, all men of singular vertue and loue to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also beleued, that James the queenes brother had receiued the same draught: foꝝ (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of moꝝe youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whilest he liued, of the death of all which shall be somewhat moꝝe said hereafter. Thus leauing the Scottish lords ambassadors there in France foꝝ a time, we will returne to shew what happened betwixt the Scots and Englishmen at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse oꝝ little gaine of both parts.

About Whitsonide, sir Henrie Perrie with diuerse bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George Bowes then marshall of Berwike, with sundrie bands of the garrison of that towne, passed forth into Scotland, they being in all about seuen oꝝ eight hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen. They burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and hauing got together a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and other places, keeping their quarterage on their borders (foꝝ the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euery part keeping their turne, as the manner is) assembled together to the number of two thousand horsemen (oꝝ few lesse) and thre bands of footmen, halting forth to defend the countrie. And perceiving where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with their bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and skirmished with them sharplie as they were passing through the towne.

The Scottish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmen shot into their battell, and pressed beie foꝝward in hope to be assisted by their horsemen, the which (as ye haue heard) ouermatched greatlie the English horsemen in number: but the fight grew somewhat hot, and the moꝝe vnto the disadvantage of the Englishmen, foꝝ so much as their shot & powder began to faile them, by reason the mistie morning had made much of their powder dankish, so that they could haue no vse thereof. But herewith sir Henrie Le, capitaine Keab, and others, being in the battell, behaued themselves verie stoutlie, causing the

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 533.
Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors
sent into
France to
consummate
the mariage
betwixt the
queene of
Scotland and
the Dolphin
of France.
1558.

Two ships
lost.

The assigne-
ment of the
Scots queens
dowrie.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 16.

A rode into
Scotland.

Duns and
Langton
burnt.

The Scots
assailed the
Englishmen
at Swinton.

the footmen to state, and boldlie to abide the enimie : & herewith procured the horsemen to give a charge in such convenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might have turned verie euill to the English side.

The Scots horsemen flew.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen playing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding with out the towne in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfullie : so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to have gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entring the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen : for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned, and coming behind their enimies, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

The Scots footmen slaine.

The lord of Keith with others taken prisoners.

Amongest others, capteine Cullane, and capteine Bencadie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken : diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whome William lord Keith, sonne to the earle Marhall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not atchieued without losse of diuerse Englishmen. Amongest other one Bell, ensigne-bearer to sir John Parkhams band of footmen was slaine. Also master Edgington a capteine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Edmonstoun, at the first charge giuen vpon the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English capteins before mentioned, the forward valiancie shewed that day of sir William Bereton, and Thomas Parkham, that led his father sir John Parkhams band of footmen, also of Rafe Ellerhar a capteine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other capteins & souldiers behaued themselves in such wise at that present scruiue, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Mr. Edgington taken.

Sir William Bereton.

Moreover, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entring into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Persie meeting with them at Grendon, set vpon the Scots and chased them ouer the water of Twissell, vnto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Tweed, passed ouer the same at Chapell Foured, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwike, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the riuer before they could get ouer.

into it.

and

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the capteins and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them ouer the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could doe them no harue, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Wherevpon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the ouerthrow and chase of

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Ednam burnt.

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Grete, and others.

The lord Grete of Scotland taken prisoner. Cammils sworne by the Englishmen.

And after this, the Englishmen won the strong pile of Catwills, wherein were sixtene Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the liues of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortly after, there was a fore skirmish at Halidon hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie baie certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enimies, vied out of their armor to shoot, bowle, quail, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Alimouth in so secret wise, that they were drawn verie nere to the Englishmen, yet they had anie warning of their approach.

10

20

This approach as it was private, so was likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbowes; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Bereton, sir John Parkham, master William Dzelozie, Cutbert Waughan, and other the capteins of the Englishmen did behaue themselves right manfullie, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and doing what appertained vnto hardie and skillfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the high of the hill, till at length sir James Cross coming from Berwike, vied such diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Alimouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

A fore skirmish vpon Halidon hill.

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After this, the earle of Northwell, lieng on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and sent his forraie to burne Jfenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Halthwell Sweire. Sir Henrie Persie aduertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set vpon the earle at the aforesaid place of Halthwell Sweire; but some feare entring into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboute six score Englishmen, amongst whom capteine Crington, and capteine Kar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: beside diuerse other men of good account in seruice, as one Waughan a gentleman and such like.

The earle of Northwell.

Halthwell Sweire.

50

The Englishmen put to flight.

About this time, whilst the lord Cure commonlie called Cuers, remained capteine of Berwike, one Kirkhandie couline to sir William Kirkhandie lord of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwike; and after wards being ransomed, at his coming home to Alimouth, he made report that he had bene twofold vied, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason whereof, vpon challenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Rafe Cure brother to the lord Cure undertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Grange vpon the side of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to see the trial of this challenge performed.

The lord of Grange challenged the lord Cure.

At it.

But

The lord of
Orange and
maister John
Clerke came
against and
fought.

See John
Clerke's name
in the list of
Englishmen.

The journey
of the earle of
Suffolke into
the west parts
of Scotland.

Barre.

James Ma-
conell.

The earle of
Suffolke burnt
the yle of Ar-
rane.

But when they came to haue their armor & weapons vinted, the truth is so, that Orange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it: wherewith some fault was found, because maister Curre was clad onlie in a single cote of plate, without any other peeces of armor for defense of his body. But yet such was the great courage of the said maister Curre, that he would not refuse the challenge, notwithstanding his aduersaries advantage of armor. Where vpon they ran together, and brake both their speares, and as it fortuned maister Curre was hurt in the shenke. The warre being thus pursued betwixt England and Scotland, beside the encounters and roads which are before mentioned, there were three great roads made into Scotland: the one by the earle of Northumberland, and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & having the leading of certaine demulances.

Wherevnto, it was thought good by the Englishmen, not onlie to annoy the Scots by land, but also by sea. Wherevpon sir John Clerke with certaine ships of warre sailed south alongest the coast, till at length he arrived at the Isles of Orkney; where going on land about an enterpryse, & staying longer than was requisite, he was encountred by his aduersaries, and slaine with manie of his people, which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good successe in that part, they sustained great damage on the west side of the realme, by a iourne which the earle of Suffolke then lord deputie of Irel and attempted against them. For the better understanding whereof ye shall note, that after the lord Clinton high admerall of England had burnt the towne of Carquhar in Britaine, there were seven ships of warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie Walsingham, the Stern barke, the Sacret, the Gerfalcon, and three other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serue the quene of England in her warres.

There were also beside these seven ships of warre, two hirtellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was admerall of their admerall, and one Southwicks of Douer was assigned to be their viceadmerall. Soe vpon their arrival in Ireland, the earle of Suffolke having also prepared three other ships, with sufficient and necessarie provision for his iourne, imbarked with so manie souldiers as conueniently might be bestowed aboard in that fleet, containing twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Bente, with as manie souldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leaving them furnished with competent numbers for their safeguard; and being got to land, he passed south into the countrie, & burnt five houses that belonged to James Maconell chiefe gouernour of those parts, & a great crueltie to the Englishmen.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the said Maconell, with great store of corne and other things which came in their way. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioin with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Suffolke his pollicie and valiant conduction. There were a fox of Scots gotten into a boate meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finally, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countrie for the space of three daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe with his men; and making saile to the yle of Arrane, entered the haven called Amalaide, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after

went to Cumber, where he likewise burnt and harried that yle.

This done, he meant to haue gone into two other Ilands, Fla and Iurrie: but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazard of being cast afloat also. There were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiving the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saved, as maister Francis Kandoll, and others. By reason therefore of such foule weather, the earle of Suffolke was constrained to returne into Ireland, arriving in Cragfergus, where he landed with his souldiers: and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land into Dublin, spoiling the enemies countrie by the way, and taking from them a great peece and boate of cattell, notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make through the cumbersome wayes, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a iourne.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the beere of Marie quene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: whereof sith I haue found none that hath written any thing at all, I haue yet set downe these old notes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being witnesses themselves of such enterprises and exploits as chanced in the same warres: namelie captaine Kesh, captaine Wood, captaine Crington, captaine Currier, and captaine Sparkham, with others, which of their countrie haue willingly imparted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I might be resolved in. Which accordingly so far as my remembrance hath serued, I haue here delivered, to the end the same may giue occasion to others (that may haply light vpon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peraduenture whole passe in forgetfulness.

And now to returne vnto the Scottish ambassadors that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the marriage betwixt their quene & the Dolphin. After that the same marriage was consummat, and euery thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission: in the moneth of August they took their leaue of the French king, the quene, and nobilitie there, to returne homewards into Scotland: albeit few of them came home, for the bishop of Orkney departed this transitorie life in Diepe, the fifteenth of September; the earle of Rosse deceased there the ninth of November; the earle of Cassils lord treasurer departed in the same place the fourteenth of November; and the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eighteenth of December. And so onlie the archbishop of Glasgow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lord of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose coming, there was a parliament summoned by the quene, to be holden in December next.

In August Archibald Campbelle erle of Argyle, whose wife was singular in dispatch of the affaires almost of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland; and in France was announced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michael. Few daies betwixt these things departed this life the bishop of Exeter, and Andrew Durie bishop of Whithchurch. To the one did succeed the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the quenes benefit. David Panter & Panter bishop of Ross, & James Stewart, whom James the sixt being illegitimate father

Foote
then.

Let
pag

The earle of
Suffolke returne
into Ireland.

The annual
labours did
almost all
Labourers
pag. 364.

Time came
home againe.

Lord of Dun
3 parliament.

For the
Labourers
pag. 364.

Continued.

father vnto him) had made abbat of Melrosse and Kello died also this yeare. Whose monasteries the quene did forthwith giue vnto the cardinall Guise; long after which followed also the death of the abbat of Wamtozinoch. At this verie time manie prodigious sights (which I will not here recite, being touched by Lelcus) did appeare by a marker of such ominous things, whereof these verses were made:

*Fortentum est miscra gentis, quæ numine lesa
Diuisis sacris diuidet imperium.*

Lelcus lib. 10.
pag. 542.

In September there was a parlement holden at Edinburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in France (about the mariage of the quene of Scots to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the Dolphin of France by his ambassadoys did vehementlie request, that the crowne (which they terme matrimoniall) should be giuen vnto him by the decree of the states, whereby he might be called king of Scotland as long as the quene liued. The quene also iudging it a point of honoꝝ, to heape all title of glorie which she could vpon hir husband, as one that by a certeine inclination of mind did veriuoullie fauor him; gaue in charge also to the ambassadoys, that they should earnestlie followe the same cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to draw them the moze easilie into hir opinion; she drew the matter into certeine articles, deliuered to the ambassadoys with moze ample instructions touching the same: the summe of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in that account as he did his owne people, and so alwaies would haue them: which good mind of the French towards the Scots to be plaine without any dissimulation, it maie well appeere as well by the couenants establisshed for the mariage, as also by the benefites which he hath not onelie bestowd vpon the Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in particularitie vpon certeine especiall Scots, of his owne free will, almost without the request of anie bodie. And that they should also further laie abroad, what helpe the quene and Scots haue had of the two; the cardinall of Lozaine, & the duke of Guise the quenes vnckle. All which the ambassadoys themselves (as they haue fullie pꝛoued) did well understand.

Secondlie, where the quene doth thinke that she is greatlie benefitted with manie honoꝝ by so great a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a prince hath taken hir into the fellowship of the holie bed, by which there can not anie other commoditie grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome which he hath purchased with his great charge and labor: and that the quene considering all this (with great griefe of mind) doth seeke by what meanes she might at least expresse some small token of a thankfull mind for so manie benefites (because if she should not do some thing, no small blot would seeme to be imputed to the quene and the Scots) it came into hir mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite some part thereof, which she could do (as she thought) if at the least she did but honoꝝ hir husband with the kinglie title, & giue vnto him the mariage crowne of Scotland.

This thing therefore the quene hir selfe doth earnestlie desire, and doth courtoullie request all the estates of Scotland, that the same maie be establisshed by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will command some three or foure of the chiefe nobilitie honoꝝable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king & the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king

hir husband.

And to the end that this request of the quene, for the rarenesse of the example, should not breed any doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them as it were in suspense, it was giuen in charge also to the ambassadoys, that they should in manner point with their finger, that manie ages past, the quene of Naples did not onelie for loue she did beate vnto him, adorne the duke of Anjou hir husband, with the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement ouer the same kingdome. The like thereof was also done in our memoꝝie by the quene of Spaine to hir husband the archduke of Austrich, & by the quene of Nauarre to the duke of Wandosme.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example of the English, who haue excluded Philip king of Spaine, that then the ambassadoys should easilie wipe awaie that doubt, if they admonish the Scots that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with that firme and needfull band as the Scots are to the French, both which nations haue one pꝛiuelege, magistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and participation of the administration of all the things in either kingdome. Wherevnto they must further adde that it was so far off, that the English should reape anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) buying from the English all the commoditie he could, to performe his affaires out of the realme. And further, that the English being out of all hope for their quene to haue anie issue by the same mariage, they would not grant vnto it, when there is a certeine and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots, what great benefit maie rebound vnto them by this signe of a thankfull mind. For it maie so happen, that if the king Dolphin shall seile himselfe increased with this title of honoꝝ by the Scots, as a note of their good fauour to him, that he maie raise by his father the king of France, that he will not by anie meanes permit the quene of Scots his wife to be excluded from the kingdome of England, after the death of quene Marie, who was not like to liue long being soe troubled with the dropsie.

These things and manie others were giuen in charge to the ambassadoys (comen out of France) to declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being thus declared to the states and the quene regent, with might and maine seeking the furthering thereof; at length it was granted that he should be king during the life of the quene. For which cause William Campbell earle of Argile, and James Stewart, bassard brother to the yong quene, being pꝛiue of S. Andrews, were named to execute their consent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging, and farther to shew the readie minds of the Scots toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things: by which anie honoꝝ or profit might anie waie rise vnto him.

But whilst these men doe prepare all things for such a iournie, certeine factious persons did beat into their eares, how heauie a iournie that would be vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they were busie in pꝛouiding for small things abroad, they should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouerturne matters of greater importance at home. For they did know how the subtil wit of James, and the great power and strength of the earle of Argile would be missing in those new things which were in hand amongst these of the religion: for which they neuer left off intreating and persuading, untill they had

Al. 11.

well fished to catch a frog.

Not so likelie as that lies drop out of your pen.

165:
ed
ib. 10.
539.

the
time.
Dun.
ment.

ib. 10.

46.

Buch, lib. 10.

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthy ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie whereupon, the yong quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and o- ther household stuffe to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserable afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Flilane, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would needes heape euill vpon euill, and adde therevnto the title of England, as being vnto them a verie scoone and mocherie (as Buchanan termeth it.) Neither did the wiser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Couises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular hono: in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtlesie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appeale all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obtained the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parliament appointed at Striueling in the first Iores of Maie.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernment to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but would restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cuningame earle of Glenearne, and Hugh Campbell thiriffe of Aine, a worthy knight, before whom the regent could not refraine hirselfe, but burst forth into these wordes.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it serueth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forwarne hir of the great mischiefs that would flow out of this fountaine: with which answer she being stroken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In assemble
of the cleargie.
Fr. Thin.

Common prai-
ers to be had
in the bulgar
tong.

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelates and cleargie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edenburgh were accused of heresie, and abjured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [wherevpon (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edenburgh, for the appeasing wherof, the lord Seiton was made gouernor there.] In this assemble it was required, that the common prayers might be read in the Scottish tong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, wherof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall councill was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall councill of all the prelates and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proponed by the temporaltie; as to haue the prayers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lordes & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other re- formations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortly after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be giuen to John Inor, John Mullocke, John Dowglas, and Daule Spessane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Wherevpon the said John Inor being in Perth, persuaded the master of Lindseie, the lords of Tulibardin, Dun, Pettarrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgesles of the towne of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppress the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbey of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Carmelite friers, called the Collesum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, bea- king downe the images and altars in Jfife, Angus, Sperris, and other parts there next adioining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argyle, Sparshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwile called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glascow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coloper and Dunfermeling, with manie o- ther chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Stewart, and capteine Cullane, with the ir bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, ioi- ning themselves with the other, and made refo: mation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Coloper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balneate, & Coloper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth six hundred men vnder the charge of James Stewart cardinall, & James Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Coloper more in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Sparshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assiders came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntley was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the towne of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbey of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most

Provinciall
council.

Requests
made by the
laie.

1559.
John Inor
with other are
summoned.

Images and
friarhouses
pulled downe.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
regent came
to Perth.

Fr. Thin.

S. Andrews.

Coloper.

Fr. Thin.

Two armies
were pacified.

Saint Johns
towne be-
besieged.

Scone abbey
burnt.

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The friers in
Striueling
destroyed.

The quene
departed from
Edenburgh.

The frierhou-
ses ouer-
thowne.

Fr.Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10,
pag. 551.

Two armies
pacified.


Leith fortified

most part of the house, the earle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrewes being with them in companie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Lithquo, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and graie friers to be thowne downe. From thence they passed to Edenburgh, where the quene hearing of their coming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntleie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edenburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and graie friers were suddenly ouerthowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richarson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernor of the publicke treasure, take the keys by force from him, entered the abbey] the coining house, take the coining irons, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilist these things were thus done at Edenburgh, Maxwell lord Harries gouernor of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edenburgh castell, did priuile get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing speedie horses, departed to his owne companie, shortly after joining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Wolfell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Bothwell, Pourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them. But the erle of Huntleie trauelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agreed vpon certeine articles, and so the quene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

I  First, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats whole and true all such sums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatie taken, or by open force spoliied from the magistrats.

3 Thirdlie, that the quenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to such as should be appointed therfore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Bettarroto (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quenes part.

5 Fifthlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quene to be lawfull, which before they had gainesaid by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfully obeye the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6 Sixtly, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall per-

sons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioyng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthly, that they should not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.


8 Eighthly, that euerie man might at Edenburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9 Ninthly, that the quene regent should faithfully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernours. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Shortly after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partlie through persuation of the earle of Argile his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partlie because he understood that his son the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion, he took part with the lords from that time forth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrewes, and diuerse other his friends. This yere in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the marriages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sauoye and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reimes in September following.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albese or Elbuse (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some troopes of men should shortly be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would shortly send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quene, to the prior of saint Andrewes, in which they rather sought to incline his mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would enforce him thereto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

 After that I understood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my cosine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was affonied thereof. But when I heard that you (to whome my dead father, my deere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefits) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and byalles, I could not be perswaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering words of others had inticed you to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succeeded his father.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10,
pag. 554.

Lesleus lib. 11,
pag. 554.

those cause (when they had discharged themselves thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as sofull to me, as that which should be most sofull: for by this meanes I wish that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are worthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the god hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more deere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuerfies appeased) all things without anie tumult maie be knit together by the law of god order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) maie best be done by your trauell, I do admonish you by these letters, and (for the god will I beare you) do earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your foolish doings, the which shall then fullie appere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the common wealths ancient, sound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwise I would haue you be perswaded that I will shortly subdue you, and all those which shall cleaue or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration wherof, and the further large expressing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praye God (cosine) to keepe you in health. Paris the sixteenth kalends of August.

Subscription, Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubespine.

With which letters also the quene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of France, to James the prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

I can not see why Lesleus should call hie Dowager, sith by hie letter it appeareth hie husband was yet liuing, in that he talketh of hirs and hie husbands displeasure.



I Can not (cosine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie nereest to vs by blood, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing worthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chateleault, and of manie others, which seemed to you to diminish my authoritie, should now being absent (as a leader and head of all other seditious persons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greatest weight, in which the honor of God is lessened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I should more easilie haue beleued of anie other my subjects, than of you.

Trulie most grieuousslie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falsified that faith to me, which had a speciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can scarce be perswaded to thinke you to be so farre from truth and reason, that you would be caried awaie in

to such blind errors. All which I desire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requesting also of God so to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie shew your selfe a god man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue already performed. Wherefore, by these letters I admonish, and with intreatie as earnestlie as I can, desire you to recompense your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my husband haue bitterlie conceiued against you) maie by that meanes be pacified. Otherwise trulie I would haue you vnderstand, we will execute such punishment vpon you, that you shall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtlesse if you compell vs by your deedes to performe, it shall be to you a most grieuous thing. I praye God keepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of August.

Subscription: Your good cosine Marie.

James Steward the prior of saint Andrewes (whome prosperous successes had before advanced) did in reading these letters of the king and quene so frie in anger and hatred, that he could not forbear but must needs returne answer, expressing the same (after confirmed by his deedes) though now somewhat smoothed with good words. The effect of which letters were in this sort: That he was grieved in his mind as much as he might, because he was so farre fallen into the mislike and displeasure of those princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they should bitterlie obiect vnto him in their letters that he was a seditious person, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with heresie.

Touching which notes of these wickednes, sith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning such as stood against the reformed religion) he with faire speeches requested the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enemies in accusing him, than to his vprightnes in purging himselfe: and that they should not thinke anie thing to be spoken by his enemies, but that which fauoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, especiallie sith they did not onelie go about to diminish his fame abroad amongst the princes, but also at home did openlie late wait for his life and liuing.

But he would so labor, that all men should well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of dissimulation, whereby his aduersaries should be ashamed to haue laied such open reproch against him, and the king & quene should mislike that they had so easilie credited his enemies. Wherefore he desired that hereafter they should rather beleue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankfull man, as they had obiected vnto him. From the detestable spot wherof (being of all the verie worst, sith nature abhorreth the same) he would keepe himselfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to suffer the least spot of such a vice to dwell in his name, especiallie in the affaires of that king and quene, wherof he had found the first most courteous, and the second most bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto prosecuted their fauour, so he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, should neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, so that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cause of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counsels of his striding aduersaries, neither the bitter words of the sharpe threats of the king or quene, should make him leaue off, or repress the

cc their towne's force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

cc Therefore he would not haue the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull awaie the deuiles of the papists. From which onelie thing (sith he supposed the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be contained therein) he will not be withdraue by the force of anie man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quene, vntill he haue wholie cut awaie the branches of superfluous, and vtterlie pulled by the roots thereof.

Crookes had scarce performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you haue heard) in deliuering these letters: but forthwith almed at Leith a Dauiian a Frenchman, with foure troops of souldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to requite of the king, that foure other companies of souldiers might be sent ouer, which might with those (alreadie now in Scotland) supplie the number of twentie ensignes: to whome also it were expedient to soine a hundred horsemen, which number he affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the haue of Leith, to watch the port. Of all which if the Scots were provided (by the benefit of the king) and that the comming of his brother the marquess of Albus were hastened, he promised then to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, she did also signifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did daillie send letters and messengers to the Scots, to incourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder (by all the meanes they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreouer, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religious cause, to requite aid from thence, but their chieffest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lelcus) in England.]

1559.

Leith besieged

The Scottish men are banquished.

During these things, the duke of Chateaufault and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene (whereof we will speake more hereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of foits within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edinburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfries, the lord of Seton, and diuerse other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holie rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edinburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edinburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the arillerie at them, to stae the slaughter and pursute.

The quene came to Edinburgh.

New men sent into Scotland.

In the time of this siege, the pong lard of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edinburgh, which was peaceable rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctoz of obtuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Partigues coronell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie five hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthonie Kenedie, and James Steward of Cardonald.

* The Frenchmen being thus entered France, twelve of the chieffest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edinburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that they did not seeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for otherwile to what end were it to bring armed souldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongst weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also promise, that they would not rather seeme to be drawne therevnto by compulsion, than quietlie led by reason. For if they did trulie & from their heart require that in deed which they seeme in words, they would discharge those strange souldiers, and met (as they haue often done in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be decided, and not by sword the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edinburgh; touching which, because it is omitted before in the reciting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of course) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the speeches vsed to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edinburgh) did write to the quene much after this maner; That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent pponoked with no iniuries, did so some depart from the former covenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to prae in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edinburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That ouerthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buying & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all that soeuer remedie that they could. Within three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forzman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be anie other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, lib. 16.

Buchan, lib. 16.

"tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
other superiouritie; and that their demands (or rather
threatnings) with what shew of words soever they be
cloaked, are sufficientlie enough knowen unto vs, as
no new things. Again, you shall requite of the duke
of Chastelerault, that he call to mind what he hath
promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
joine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
the things which he now doth, are the performance
of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we
have openlie shewed our indeuor to bring things to
quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
with their dutie towards their king and quene, and
that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouer-
throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so
much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke
the kingdome, when my daughter doth already
possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifying of
Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie
shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
the whole publike state (vniknowledge to vs, who
held the place and authoritie of the chiefeest gouernor)
strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
made league and couenants with our ancient eni-
mies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
retaine an armie at Edinburgh, to invade the go-
uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
haue anie other gard about vs? Cruelle they seeke
this therein, that we should labor to shun their furie
(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and daile
change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
ring of concord? Do they shew anie token that
they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
they would all things should be reduced to their for-
mer state?

"Let them cloke this with what colour they will of
publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed
them a waie therevnto. Neither are they ignorant
that these French had (by the commandement of
their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-
land, unless their dowings had bene the cause of
their state. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies
saued sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
and obedientlie obeye their superiours: we will re-
fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst
them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto
them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop
shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
with letters and commandements touching the
same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
would not boughfate them answer, no not so much

as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and
command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
what condition soever, that they depart in sunder;
or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,
vnesse it be by strength of armes. To all this the
next day, which was the three and twentieth of Oc-
tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

"We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie
you be enillie minded against pietie towards God,
the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must &
do defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by
what other name or title you do blurpe the publike
administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
teinlie knowing, that those things which are now
done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
against the publike safetie of this realme.

"And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subiects of
those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
senate or councell: so we do not acknowledge you
for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie
with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-
tie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
the same princes, whose counsellors we are bound to
be, chiefele in matters which pertaine to the safetie
of all the people. And although we haue determi-
ned not to see anie danger, in deliuering of that
towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we
earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,
that you depart from thence; whiesle the cause of
publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recouer that
towne by weapons

"Besides which, we further request, that you will
leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
and twentie houres; if there be anie which do chal-
lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadoys,
either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
faires. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those
hired souldiers, as well for the ancient amitie which
hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as
for the mariage of our quene with their king:
which friendship we would rather should be increa-
sed than diminished. The same day also, the said
herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
day before it was perswaded in an assembled coun-
cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
deeds and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to
verie tyrannie.

"Herevpon, there was a decre made to take the
gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-
panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
ment, vntill the generall assemble of a parlement
to be appointed by them in such place as they should
thinke conuenient. The five and twentieth daie, the
lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
all the Scots to depart the towne within foure
and twentie houres, and to separat themselves from the
subverters of publike libertie. Thus much Bucha-
nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the
nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
And so againe to the order of the historie.]

"The lords of Scotland, percelting the French
men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie
were not able to resist them, sent William Spetel-
lan
The lords did
for aid vnto
the quene of
England.

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lan to Elizabeth the queene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Which the queene of England granted, not onelie for to serue the Scottishmens turne; but speciallie for the libertie of hir owne realme and state, which as then was thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his counsell in some points already shewed. The queene of England therefore sent the duke of Norfolk to Berwik, whither came to him the earle of Argyle, the prior of saint Andrews, Harris the maister of Parwell, Robert Carnegie, and the young lord of Lethington, secretarie, & made agrément to haue aid of England, to the effect aforesaid.

They had their request granted them. 1560. Buch. 1559. Lelle.

Pledges sent into England

Lord Hamilton taketh part with the erle of Argyle.

The towne of Glasco is taken.

Certaine Frenchmen slaine.

1560. Lelle.

The towne of Burnt Island is fortified.

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yere after his decesse. The pledges were these: David Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chatelerauld; another called Colme Campbell, coufine to the earle of Argyle; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of S. Andrews; and the lord of Lochleuin, and a sonne of the lord Ruthuen. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chatelerauld, and capteine of the Scottish companie of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoye of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his coming into Scotland he performed, and joined himselfe with the earle of Argyle, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

The duke of Chatelerauld, the earles of Argyle, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasco, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops living into their hands, and toke the castell of Glasco pertaining to the bishop, and put certaine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forward to Glasco, to the number of fife thousand men: the bishop of Glasco, the lords Sempill, Seiton, Ros, and diuerse others with them, toke the castell againe, and staing one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lithgow and Edinburgh.

After their returne from Glasco, a certaine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcorme, there assembled together in fife the earles of Arrane, and Rothes, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthuen, the maister of Lindie, and diuerse other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they daillie skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his souldiers, and few Scottishmen, or in maner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the picking, was fore hurt and maimed in the arme with the brydge of a calauer shot.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arrived in their sight a nauie of ships: which at the first knowing they toke to be French ships, but shortly after perceiving them to be the English nauie, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Island, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcorme in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouses for their defence, as preventing such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and

using remedies in due time, by warlike pollicie of present deuise, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ships came to the rode of Leith, where they cast anchors, the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

In English nauie.

Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thin.

* In the meane time, whilst those of the religion had almost destroyed all monasteries, certaine barons of Speme, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleargie tearmeth it) and partlie blinded with desire of prerie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Spinors, were hindered thereof by the lord Lelle, and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntlee. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberdeen (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Lelle (the official of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntlee) did their indeuor, at what time the Lelles put them besides their purpose.]

This Lelle is now called bishop of Ros and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The queene regent hearing of the arrivall of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said viceadmirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was inioined. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirats, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arrived there in the forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case anie came forth of France, and also to keepe them that late in Insulith from vitels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

* Whereupon the queene regent did send prouoalle the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lelleus neuer tearmeth by anie other name than sectaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But because that she certainlie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daillie land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauiens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vnlesse that they were prouoked therevnto by iniuries offered them.]

Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

About the same time, the queene regent, hearing that the duke of Norfolk was come to Newcastell as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chesser herald, and now prorete king of armes, was

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Norfolk.

was sent unto the quene, who comming to Holie rood house nere to Edinburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after he had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their peeces that discharged and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the quene, he with dutifull obeisance deliuered his letters, and after the same had bene read, he was demanded what credit he had to utter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norfolk, being the quenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, marvelled greatlie that she would send an herald with letters, and write therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to utter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The quene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherewith the quene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that she marvelled greatlie that the quene of England should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared to send a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verie deed sent certeine of hir ships, with vittels for provision to be laid within hir towne and castels on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might hapilie be giuen into the riuer there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had bene verie discourteouslie vsed: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had bene bent against them. Herewithall the count Martignes standing by, began to speake verie stout words vnto Chester, alleging that where it was perceiued well inough, that the quene of England ment to make war against his maister the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herewith answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: whereupon Martignes was commanded to silence.

All this while the quene had talked with Chester in the Scottish tong. And because he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the quene seemed greatlie to reioice, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Brosse to passe through England into France, if he would see him safelie conueied to Berwik, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the quene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Brosse, that was his cousin. And now when Chester shuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers shuld come into the quene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they shuld tast of the like intertainment. But the quene seemed not to vnderstand that he had bin

in anie wise so hardlie dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith; and so Chester toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie rewarde for his paines taken in that iourne, at the hands of the Scottish quene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of Aprill. Before they pitcht downe their field on the said linkes, monsieur Martignes, colonell of the French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Halkie hill, where a fore, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts, caluvers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued fure or six houres, in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Martignes was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Dunkelburgh, sent to the quene regent, that laie as then in the castell at Edinburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stand the shedding of blood. The quene granted herewith, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but yer he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough of both sides.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of Edinburgh, to speake with the quene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blocke house at the viter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the quene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whereupon the quene toke time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpet, or herald (as saith Lelieus) with a letter to monsieur de la Brosse, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edinburgh to the quene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parole ceasing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the south, east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which they called mount Bellam after the capitaine's name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but because it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much scath thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege)

1560,
An English
armie.
Lelieus lib. 10,
pag. 565.

They were
backed with
500 pikers
which kept
aloofe.

The lord
Greie sent
vnto the
quene.

When are sent
to speake with
the quene
mother.

The French-
men to depart
the realme.

The English
are desirous
to reuenge the
injuries done
vnto them.

A trench cast
to little pur-
pose.

Martignes a
forward cap-
taine, but an
vntrue pro-
phet.

siege) within the towne of Lestralike, in the deames house, and the most part of their demilances and other hostliment laie in the same towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in haies, tents, and pavilions, upon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argile, Arrane, Forston, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltrie, and the prior of saint Andrews, the maister of Partwell, and others. The duke of Chateleraul, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rod house: and with the quene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Marthall, the lord Erskin capteine of the castell, maister James Macgill cleirke of the register, the prouost of Dunglas, called maister Abraham Chrichton, and diuerse others.

On Easter euen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe by the river to Blackenelle, who with their bands going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselves before the castell, it was yelded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, issuing forth of Leith, set upon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harime: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afoze Leith, the quene regent was sore vexed with sicknesse, but neuertheless, she continued to labor for agrément, not ceasing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntley to come forth of the north, who toke by his lodging in Edinburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the quene and lords for some agrément: but when he perceiued his trauell to be in vaine, he returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as he found it.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Pellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies chapele, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches upon the south and south-west side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerlet, & placed thereon certeine peces in batterie, and so beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable: so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great slaughter and bloudshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiuing that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, deuised other shifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Alost on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne, soe annoieng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go by nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth towards the sands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie soe skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capteine Kenebie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lord of Cleish.

The English armie was thoroughlie furnished with vittels forth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had provided before the comming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delicious, than before that time anie manner of venison. Those within Insketh also were in great necessitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. * Whilist these things were done in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadors John Baborie a Burdseie knight, and that eloquent man Anthonte Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the quene regent, perceiuing hir sicknesse so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chateleraul, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogether into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, perswading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more stedfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the marriage of the quene their good soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certeine words, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreover, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the honor to be quene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable quene of the same.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to pass rather for lacke of wisdom and iudgement, than for want of anie good will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praised them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the quene their soueraigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For she feared greatlie (as she said) leass if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly

The towne of Leith vnprovided of vittels.

Fr. Thin. Lefleus lib. 10, pag. 568.

The quene sent for the lords.

The quenes exhortation vnto the nobles.

A mistrustful mind.

The castell of Blackenelle towne.

Soe more hereof in England.

Lefleus lib. 10. The quene laboured for an agrément.

Saint Anthonies chapele beaten downe.

Mount Summerlet.

They are beaten backe.

Mount Falcon.

The queene
taketli hir
leane.

The earle of
Huntleie and
Atholl are at
variance.

The matter
is pacified.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 571.

The castell of
Kosse taken.

The castell is
besieged.

The castell
was restored
again.

Ambassadors
sent.
Monsieur
Monsieur bi-
shop of Glas-
gow.

An ambassage
sent by the
queene of
England.

The Scottish
queene mother
departed.
Fr. Thin.

seemed to doo: and on the other part, the forgaue them
with all hir hart (as it appeared) all offenses which
they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of
them weeping, the took euerie of them by the hand,
and so they taking leaue of hir, departed, and return-
ed into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilste the
siege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerse
great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme,
and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the
earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of pris-
oners, and ouerthrowing of houses on either part, and
great preparation made, and armies put in a readi-
nesse to invade either others countries.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and
good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then
posulat of Galloway, maister John Lelle officiall
of Aberdeen, and William Lelle the yong lord of
Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in con-
troversie, & caused them to go to either others house.

[During which siege of Leith also, the earle Both-
well, and Sarlalouse, then capteine of the soldiers,
and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dun-
bar with manie light excursions intercept manie of
the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they
ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Fraser,
archdeacon of Kosse, took the bishops castell of the
canonie of Kosse, and kept the same against mai-
ster Henrie Sinclair, then bishop there, and the chie-
fest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Spachenze,

Walnagoun, Foulis, and the shiriffe Tramerchie, who
assembled about the same, and besieged the castell,
where great force was used, both by them without to
win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop be-
ing then resident in Cromerchie castell, hearing that
the house would not be gotten without great slaugh-
ter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and
honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sen-
ding for maister John Lelle, officiall of Aberdeen,
and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Pur-
reie, by their labour and diligent treating in the mat-
ter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered
his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse
his men remained that were besieged within Leith,
and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to
succour them within the time that their necessitie re-
quired, thought good to trie if the matter might be
taken vp: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the
earle of Harbord, and monsieur Monluc bishop of
Valence, who declared to the queenes maiestie of
England, the cause of their coming; which was, to
desire hir to retire hir armie south of Scotland, vpon
some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed
vpon. And herewith they declared that they were
sent to the queene, and not vnto the subjects of Scot-
land: for it was not meet that the king should send
to his owne subjects (as they were by the marriage
of their queene) to require peace, or to condition with
them for agreement.

The queenes maiestie of England therefore sent
sir William Cecil knight, hir principall secretarie,
and doctor Motton deane of Canturburie and of
Dorke, one of the priuie counsell, with the French
ambassadors into Scotland. Whilste they were yet
vpon their iournie, the queene regent (whome they
thought to haue found aliuie, and to haue used hir
helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie
to some good end) consumed partlie through melan-
cholie, thought, and grievous displeasure, and partlie
with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life
in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the
yere of our Lord 1560. Her bodie was first con-
ueied into France, to the monastirie of Feschampe,

which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried
to the abbeie of S. Peter at Rhemes in Champaig-
nie (whereof hir sister was then abbesse) in which it
was after most honorablie buried. She was a wise
and vertie prudent princeesse, and in hir time had lear-
ned good experience of the nature and inclination of
the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept
good iustice, and was well obeyed in all parts of the
realme in Brekenie, and the westerne Isles. And if
she had to hir owne experience iointed the counsell of
the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland,
without following the aduise of strangers, there had
bene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the
nobilitie, as some daigned. But because that others,
and namelie, monsieur Doffell, and Kube, were ad-
ioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who daillie
pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, im-
positions, taxations, and such things as were not in
use in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of
the land did grudge, although not for anie misliking
they had of hir, who suerlie decessed, to the great
griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the
estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French
men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more dis-
couraged than otherwise they would haue bene.
But neuerthelesse these foure ambassadors of Eng-
land and France coming to Edenburgh, entered
in conference among themselves, vpon articles pro-
posed as well for reliefe of the Scottishmen, as for
the weale and suertie of the queene of England and
hir subjects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland
were admitted to talke with them also: and after
long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Ju-
lie, in the yere of God 1560, with certeine articles
touching as well Scots and French, as English-
men. The effect whereof here insueth.

Articles of the peace.

Item, it was agreed, that all the French-
men should depart south of the realme of
Scotland by sea into France, & to that
effect should imbarke and make saile
within the space of twentie daies next following:
and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Eng-
lishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the
Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the
same ships were returned.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of
Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition,
bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at
their pleasure, and that the walls of the towne should
be thowne downe and demolished.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois
capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and raze the fort
which they had built before the castell there.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their
siege and depart south of Scotland: after the depar-
ture from thence of the Frenchmen, and razing of
the walls of Leith and Dunbar.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of obli-
uion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent
of the French king hir husband, should forget and
burie in obliuion all attempts made by the lords of
Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth
day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the
yere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a
parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the
moneth of August next insuing, in which parlement
the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise
of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

6 Item, it was agreed, that there should be a com-
mission

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 569.
1560.
The praise of
the queene
Dowager.

The ambassa-
dors came to
Edenburgh.

They haue
conference.
Peace is con-
cluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of
the peace.

French sol-
diers depart
the realme.

Leith they
should render
it.

The fort be-
fore Dunbar
to be razed.
The English-
men should
depart also.

An act of ob-
liuion to be
made.

A parlement
to be kept.

To
the
claim
of
the
crown

Pol
be
is
soul

Thi
me
of
S

Spe

So
offa
shed

Lea
calle

Di

Fr. T

Lefle
pag.

Lin
Row

The
quar
into

Fr. Th

Buch

Lib. 10.
9.
60.
raife of
ane
iger.

To put a waie
the armes and
claime of
England.

Poffeffion to
be kept with
fouldiers.

The French-
me depart out
of Scotland.

Parlement.

A confeffion
of faith publi-
shed.

Learned men
called.

A difputation.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 574.

ambaffa-
dome to
burgh.

haue
rence.
eis con-
d. Buch.

les of
acc.

ch fould-
depart
aine.

they
dreadet

foit be-
Dunbar
raced.
English
honid
t alfo.

it of ob-
to be

riement
kept.

million sent from the French king and the quene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

7 Item, that the quene of Scotland and king of France should cause to blot out and put a waie the bearing of the armes of England out of their fcutchens.

8 Item, it was agreed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inskith thre scoze Frenchmen, and as manie in the caftell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) poffeffion to the quenes vfe.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Julie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasgow and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be rased, as by the agreement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of obliuion ratified by the states, & a confeffion of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambaffadors into England, which was done. And shortly after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme forth of the vniuersities of saint Andzeus, Aberdeen, Glasgou, and other parts, to giue a reason of their faith.

And amongst other of Aberdeen that toke vpon them to dispute with John Anor, John Wullocke, and master Goodman [were John Lesle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberdeen called officiall; who shortly after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Roſſe) Patrike Spirtoun the treasurer, James Straquhine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue doctine. At that time these Roman prelates behaued themselves so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gaue faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put forth the prelates, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argyle disposed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The earle of Arcan had the ordering of the bishopricks of saint Andzeus, also of the abbasies of Dunfermling, and Spelroſſe, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortly after, Francis the French king, husband to the quene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from France (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reims in Champagne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of Aprill following.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she toke hir iourne towards Januille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasgou, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scotchmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourne. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Cisse, the duke Daumale, and the marquesse Dalben hir vnclies. Amongst whom there had bene great difputation touching the quene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, whereunto hir vnclies were verie willing; although some did ſeeme to ſtate the iourne, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

That the iourne was dangerous, especiallie because the quene of England did not greatlie fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie obey the

gouernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eyes, of hir father, and of hir mother, whom (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppresse) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuices, with they daily liued by them in danger of honor, or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skilfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditions were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subiects; whilst they strived to reduce that kingdom (which from the beginning had alwaies bene free) to infinit bondage, and to the free power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enemie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible ouer their enemies, and famous amongst strange nations.

And that the chiefeſt meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein euen now it standeth. Whereupon she resolved to come speedilie into Scotland, whereof more shall be ſaid hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quene of Scots hauing hir mind still ſetled vpon hir returne into Scotland; Poalius a ſenator of Burdeaur landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publike parlement, for which cause he was ſtaied and turned ouer to the next aſſembly of parlement, which was appointed the twelſe kalends of June.

But when at that time also the nobilitie aſſembled did not ſit in counsell, becauſe they were yet vncertaine of the quenes mind; in the meane time James Steward returned out of France, and brought with him a commiſſion, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambaffador, the effect of whose legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vndo the league with England, and that priests should be restored to their liuings, out of which they had bene thrust by violence.

To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late, in seeking the authoritie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gittles of anie euill) vnto miserable ſeruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes diſſolue that, except they should be counted most vnthankfull, recompense so great a benefit with great wickednes, & conspire against the defendours of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called priests, they did acknowledge that they had not anie office, vſe, or authoritie in the church.

In this counsell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of monks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion whereof, the quene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but diſſembled the same: although Dureus abbat of Ferline, and John Sinciere lateſt appointed bishop of Brechine, did vehementlie persuaade and labor hir to the contrarie.

¶ In.

Fr. Thin.

I 560.
Abbzodged
out of the
printed booke
thereof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principally the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondly the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret counsell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Luthithgus, Strivelling, Treuenent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obey him as Christs minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuely, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessel) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an expectall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onlie here in hand the politickall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Dorset and Clerborne, and the young lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Burreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the quene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntley, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the rode of Aberdeen, and landing at Bzule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence unto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the quene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously received of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the quene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or decciued with the flattering words of James the prioz of Saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the quene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vze the quene not to yeild to his cloaked words. For the obtaining of which demand from the quene, he did sitlie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fired his mind and eye vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, vntill she were arrived in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir nauie should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen: for by that meanes she might prouide, that the settled lords of the religion might sone be pacified, and the rest which were yet waivering, might more easilie and willingly be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilist they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the quene.

But now, sith that the Scots doe vnderstand, that their quene (contrarie to their hope) will returne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vantly out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the quene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decre, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obey their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vlturpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuaide the quene in the name of the earle of Huntley, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the earle of Huntley, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capteine of that iourne) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will sone be ready with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, decreits, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the quene commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation
is to haue his
peculiar go-
uernement in
religion, as
is best liking
to the godlie
disposers of
the religi-
on of that
countrie, sith
vulgus monstrat
multorum capi-
tulum.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

I 561.

farther gaue in charge, that letters should be writ-
ten to the pères and nobilitie of Scotland, to let
them vnderstand of hir comming into Scotland, &
to be a witnesse of hir good will vnto them. The next
day after came to the quene at Ustrie, in Cham-
paigne, James Stewart (which is toucht a little be-
fore) the prioz of S. Andzeus. Who after he had in re-
uerence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all fi-
delitie, trauell, and diligence, most religiouslie vnto
to hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would
prouide that the Scots should willingly obeie hir,
without anie fozren powers to be brought by hir in-
to Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for
that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should
not bring any power of the French with hir. But in
the end, bitering his mind more fullie, and putting
alwaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more fami-
liaritie request the quene to honor him with the erl-
dome of Murreie. Wherevnto the quene did cour-
teouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request
when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this
James perceived that the quene was somewhat
well bent towards him, and that she credited his
words, he attended on hir vnto Jancuile, and there
remaining with hir a certaine space, did after go in-
to Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds
of the people, that they might receive the quene
comming into the realme, with good consent and du-
tiful honor; who passing through England, came in-
to Scotland in the halends of Maie.]

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Hunt-
leie, Atholl, Marthall, and all other the noble men
of the realme, aduertised of the quens comming,
assembled at Edenburgh with all possible diligence.
In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing
to take hir iourne, and to come into Scotland, the
quene of England set forth some of hir great ships
to the seas, to watch & guard the coasts of hir realme.
Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the
abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of Eng-
land, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind
or tempest she chanced to land in England. But be-
fore he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was
appointed; the quene and hir retinue were safelie
landed in Scotland; neuertheless, the English ships
toke some of the Scottish lords, as the earle of E-
glington his ship, and others, which were brought in-
to England, and staied for a time; but were after re-
leased, and sent home into Scotland.

The quene also, by the aduise of the K. of France,
sent monsieur Doissell into England, to passe
through the same into Scotland before hir coming,
there to haue receiued the forts of Dunbar and In-
keith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the
same till hir comming. But he was staied, and pas-
sed no further than to London: for it was thought
that his going into Scotland would turne to no
great benefit of that realme: because that he & mon-
sieur Kindele were the principall authors of all the
troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and
the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Pa-
ris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir
six vnckles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the
cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prioz,
and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de pe-
meurs, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

There were two gallies prepared, and certaine
other ships to go with hir into Scotland, and there
went with hir three of hir said vnckles, the duke Dan-
mall, the grand prioz, and the marquesse Dalbeuf;
also monsieur Danville the constables sonne, and
diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day
of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argyle, the
lord Erskine, the prioz of saint Andzeus, and of the
burgesses of Edenburgh, and conueied to the ab-
bie of Holie rood house. For (as faith Buchanan) Fr.Thin.
when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scot-
land, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all
parts of the realme, as it were to a common spec-
tacle.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne,
& partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare
vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks
therefore, or to preuent the standers of their enemies;
whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne
did gesse what would follow; although in those so va-
riable motions of the minds of the people, euerie
one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vnto
them (vnto her) after so manie haps of both
fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was
but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell
tempests of battell, and was by great diligence
brought vp by hir mother (being a chafden and wor-
thy person) but yet lest as a preie to others, by rea-
son of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward
warres with other nations, being further laid abroad
to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she
could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nour-
shed as a banished person, and hardlie preferred in
life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of
the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in
that she honored hir with a worthy marriage, which
in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye,
than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same,
all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir
new yong husband, and of hir old and greued mo-
ther; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubt-
full possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as
for these things she was both pitied and praised; so
was she also for gifts of nature as much loved and
fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good
God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well
composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature,
and good behauior; which she had artificiallie furthe-
red by courtlie education and affable demeanour.
Whereby at the first sight, she won vnto hir the
hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir
faithfull subiects.]

Being thus come out of France, she brought in-
to Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold
worke, pretious stones, orient pearls, & suchlike, as
excellent and faire as were to be found within Eu-
rope, with rich furniture of houshold, as hangings,
carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for
the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefe-
st part of the hangings and other furniture of house-
hold, was shipped at Rone, and arrived at Leith in
the moneth of October next following. After the
quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or
fue daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chatel-
rault, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse other of the no-
bilitie being present, there was an act made by the
lords of the counsell (in which none of the cleargie (as
faith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were present) with con-
sent of the quene, that to remoue all causes of
trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it
was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of re-
ligion publicklie standing within the realme, at hir
actiual in the same, should be made; & that nothing
should be attempted, either publicklie or priuatlie to
the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth
and published through all parts of the realme with
great diligence.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and
one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell,
99 m. 119. by counsell.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 77.

Costlie iewels

Hir houshold
stuffe.

An act made
concerning
religion.

Fr.Thin.

Some appoint-
ted to be of the
quenes
counsell.

is he
before
led the
of Hur-
per went
France
or right-
the was
rie bry-
ag after
time.

The nobles
assemble at
Edenburgh.

Ships wait
in the narrow
seas.

A safe conduct
required.

Certaine
ships taken.

Monsieur
Doissell,

The quene
was conueied
into Calis.

She taketh
hir iourne in-
to Scotland.

The quene
arrived at
Leith.

Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the
prime counsell.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.
lib.16.

by whose aduise the should rule and gouerne things; six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in some of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the priuate counsell were these, the duke of Chatelerauld, the earle of Huntlie chancellor, the earle of Argile, the earle of Atholl, the earle Sparthall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Forth, the earle of Montrose, the earle of Erroll, master Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskin, with the prior of S. Andrew. * But among these reioysings of the quenes interteinment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepe enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (for soth) and of the reformed religion.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuile to be used. For the preparation wherof whilist the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chapel, one of the companie snatched awaie the war candels and brake them: by occasion wherof (if some of the household had not come betwene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene thowne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most saucie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the berie beginning was appeased by James the quenes bassard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Surreie. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as more plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieued, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vncles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Callidon vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes wherof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene: yet the whole daid of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bassard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, vsing the quenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his fellows. Which the nobles so much disliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be more touched.]

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quene a certeine time, toke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prior and monsieur Danuile taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquisse Daulbeuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edinburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

she passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to Saint Andrews, into which townes she was received with great honor and triumph. From Saint Andrews she returned vnto Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemble of all the principall lords, spiritual and tempozall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The prelats agreed for the quenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelats to paie the third part, the lords of the priuate counsell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yereleie to the quenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to do with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

* Whilist these things were in doing, William Pettellan the yonger was sent ambassadoz into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the manner is) & to declare the good mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Corregis infructibile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and eares) this ambassadoz deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dallie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all god will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassadoz the quene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect wherof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tongue, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat: and therefore I do purposely omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan peneth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Baeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiency therefore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof; so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the tale

The quene
visited the
townes.

An assemble
of the lords.

The third
part of the spir-
ituall liuings
demanded.

An act for the
cleargie.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.17.

Lesleus lib.10.
pag.587.

Daumall went
with the two
gallies into
France.
The rest went
through Eng-
land into
France.

A preparation
of triumphs.

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tale of such a worthy prince, consumes my credit, in misordering or defacing the maiestie, grauntie, wife, dome, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, we do in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so seuerie in mind as was James the other brother. This John easilie persuading himselfe to obey the quene in all things, was the more dære vnto hir, and most fit for hir, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) she did consult to hir a companie of souldiers to be about hir, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretlie set vpon the quene, and by strength haue labored to carie hir to his castell, which was fouretene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat loue which he bare vnto hir: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scowred the fields, riding vp and downe hither & thither, they thewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iell of others.]

The Sunday before Shrouetuesdaie, being the eighth day of February (as some write) James Steward then pzo of saint Andzews, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quene, was made earle of Murray, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earledome of Mar, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day vnto Agnes Keith, daughter to the erle Marshall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting thre daies. * In which marriage he did so much exceed, that he greatly offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaved himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quene of England desirous to haue a meeting betwixt hir and the quene of Scots hir cousine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring hir most instantlie to come to Forke, where she would meet hir, to talke with hir of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwene them, by coniunction and affinitie of blood. And after consultation had with hir counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Forke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iournie, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting, desiring hir to haue hir excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iournie staid.

* Much about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerault, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he vnto hir to saint Andzews, and with manie praers requested hir that she would vpon sufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Gawen Hamilton, but he could not obtaine anie thing therein at hir hands. At what time also the quene went to Dunbryton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into hir hands, which was accordingly deliuered vnto hir. Shortly after, the quene of Scots

toke hir iournie towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striueling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finntater, sonne to the earle of Huntley, met on the callesie of Edenburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbooth of Edenburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie northward: whereupon followed great trouble shortly after to the house of Huntley. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argyle, Murray, and Morton, the lord Erskin, and others, passed forwards in hir iournie towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finntater to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene comming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorablie receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schole and college.

* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was intreated by John Leslie a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to vouchsafe his house in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie conuenient for the execution of the earle of Murray, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Whereupon Leslie, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betrayed the chiefeest brother of the quene, no euill man, and one that was not his enemy, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Whereupon it then ceased, and the next night was also quietlie passed ouer at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Whereupon the earle of Huntley, hauing before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appearence, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said John Gordon should returne to prison againe in Striueling castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he toke it) vpon the earle of Murray, whom he put most in blame for the rigor thewed against him, but his enterprise toke not effect. Now the quene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for hir in that place, for the receituing of hir and hir traine: but she went vnto Balluanie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinloss, to Carnelwaie, and so came to Inuerness, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntley, purposing to attend on the quene at Inuerness, caused pzoission to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done vpon some policie, commanded the keepers of the castell to render the same to one of hir heralds: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the captaine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne

The quene made hir progresse into the north parts of Scotland. Lord Ogilvie and John Gordon fight together.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great companie.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

Gordon is commanded to Striueling castell.

He disobeyed.

The quene suspected the earle of Huntley.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

Buchan. li. 17.

i 562.
James Steward made earle of Murray.
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

The quene of England desirous to speake with the quene of Scotland.

The meeting time was disappointed.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, li. 17.

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lib. 17.

to the bidge. The lord Gordon & his brother John Gordon of Finnter came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inverness, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inverness was commanded to be given up into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliuer it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quene remained in Inverness the space of foure or five daies, where the principall capitaine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great compaignie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraisers and Spurreles, valiant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaie. Whereupon, they toke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finnter, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refused to do. From Bamf the quene rode to the lord of Weichtis place, called Weicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the prouosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

After this, the lord John pryor of Colbingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley receiued them verie courteously, and gaue them good entertainment, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Jife, Angus, Stratherne, the Sperris, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterlie, euerie countrie to remaine there sixtene daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who (upon displeasure conceiued against him about a quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had bene committed to prison in Caster twelke last before past) escaped out of Davids towne in Edinburgh at a window.

* The earle of Huntley, vnderstanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flee to the mounteins: but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Spar. By reason whereof the earle of Spurrele, who at the first had scarce a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Dowglass earle of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay, to lead an armie against his enemies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adjoining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a foot paze, to meet his enimie: whose comming Huntley did a-

bide, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that compaignie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Spurrele was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marshes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armies met, at what time manie on the earle of Spurrele his side did slie awaie, hauing before giuen a signe to the enimie. But the earle Spurrele, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it valiantlie, called his men together, set vpon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie,) now to slie as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breathed by reason of his grossenes, was slaine betwene the hands of such as toke him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed sorie for the earles death. But in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leauing foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Macgill, maister John Spens of Cundie, and the lord of Westarrow, to compound for the escheats of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leui'd of them for that trespass. * The earle Bothwell was commanded the first kalends of December by an herald to yeeld himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publicke enimie.]

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateaurault his father in law, at Cumbernoll, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie couid, forsailed, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yere of God, 1565. * At this time was a monie milt set vpon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publicke commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of saint Andrews, because (after an edict made therefore at the quenes comming into Scotland) he did not abstaine from hearing and saleng masse, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions were fined, with promise of a greater punishment to be laied vpon them, if they were found of sending againe in that sort.]

The quene held a parlement in Edinburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead bodie was brought present before the estates in the tolbooth, and forsailed. The earle of Sutherland George Gordon was forsailed also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of obliuion was ratified and approved, and diuerse other new acts made. This yere in August, the quene went on progresse into Argyle. This yere deceased diuerse counsellors or senators of the college of Justice, as maister John Stephanson chancelor of Glasgou, and the prouost of Coltrophine. In place of the first, maister John Leslie, officiall of Aberdeen, was promoted; and in the prouosts place maister James Baulfour succeeded. There came an ambassadoz from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The ladie Huntley is sent vnto the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

John Gordon is beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 178.

The lord Gordons taken prisoner. 1563. Buch. 1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

1562. Parliament.

The act of obliuion ratified.

The quene goeth on progresse.

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden

quene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Julie, Henrie Sinclair bishop of Kossle shipped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some helpe of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Januarie next after. There succeeded to that bishop, like of Kossle, maister John Lelle, parson of Quen, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Wadzenocht, to Inverness, and to the canonrie of Kossle, and returned through Purreie to Gartleie, Aberdeen, Dunnoter, and so to Edinburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his cause there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honours, and dignities, within that realme. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succeeded maister William Chesholme his brothers son.

In Januarie, the quene took hir iourneie through Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banqueted. In which time, Henrie Steward, lord Darneleie, a goodlie man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the quenes presence in the Meames, the ninth day of Februarie. The quene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords together at Striueling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obtained of them their consents, that he might marrie the said lord Darneleie. After this, he was made earle of Kossle.

In the meane time, the quene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to understand the proceedings in the quenes marriage with the lord Darneleie, and for other affaires, who came to the assemblee at Striueling to that effect. The quene of Scots sent maister John Haie abbat of Balmerinoch into England to the quene, to mitigate hir displeasure towards the lord Darneleie, and to obtaine hir consent to the marriage; who answered, that she ment to send an ambassadoe of hir owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to hir promise) she sent one. Shortly after, certeine captains & men of warre in saint Andriewes, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, received monie about the same time of the earle of Purreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemblee at Striueling, the quene seemed not to like of the earle of Purreie so well as she had done before: whereupon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andriewes, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the marriage.

The quene neuertheless sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darneleie, being hir cosine in the second degree of consanguinitie, which he obtained, & sent it home shortly after. The quene was then principallie counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Purreie perswaded the duke of Chateaufault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to meet at Striueling, where they made a bond to stop the marriage, alleging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The quene advertised thereof, released the lord Gordon forth of prison, wherein he had bene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntlye. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.]

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darneleie earle of Kossle was made duke of Albanie. And on saturdaye at euen, the eight and twentieth daie of the same moneth, before the marriage, he was proclaimed king by the quenes commandement at the market crosse of Edinburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, he was married to the quene in the chappell of Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning. Shortly after, the duke of Chateaufault, the earles of Argile, Purreie, and their companions, were summoned to appeare before the quene and hir counsell within six daies; & because they refused to do so, they were put to the horne.

The king and quene thereupon assembled their power, and by a herald demand the deliuerie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselves to warre. At that time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongst themselves, as severed into diuerse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that they should haue no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quene were made awaie: for so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceits, and dissembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the intories of priuat persons maie be laied downe by trauell and persuation, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appease the displeasure of kings, but by taking them awaie.

Upon which bad speech, the earles of Purreie and of Glencarne (which well understood that the Hamiltons did not like the publike commoditie, but their owne priuat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the quens death) did abhor the slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and contentious: and did therefore giue more mild and sound counsell, saicing that this dissention being still, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onelie contended with words & not with swordes, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

To the persuation whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which graedilie desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend themselves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which did perchance foresee that the king and quene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatly, as that it turned to the better ouerthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne priuat reproch than otherwise, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easier remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies bene obserued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies couer their secret vices, we should mildlie interpret their doubtful fautes, and we should with patience beare their knowne evils: so that they did not by them bring better destruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sixtene horses remained with the lords. Who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor safely passe to their owne; did giue place to the tunc, and went that night to Hamilton. The quene assembled an armie, and went to Glasgowe to pursue them [at that time (as sayth Buchanan) the earle of Lennor was made warden of the east marches, and the duke and earles with other of their companions

The bishop of
Kossle went
into France.

The quenes
progresse.

The earle of
Lennor came
into Scot-
land.

In progresse.

Lord Darne-
leie came into
Scotland.

1562.
A parlement.

Lord Darne-
leie made
lord of Kossle.

The quene of
England dis-
suaded that
marriage.

Ambassage
sent into
Scotland.

The earle of
Purreie a su-
itor vnto the
quene.

Dispensation
had from
Rome for to
marrie.

Consultation
to stop the ma-
riage.

Gordon is
created earle
of Huntlye.
Bothwell is
sent for.
Fr. Thin.

Lord Darne-

1 Gordon
headed.

17.
an.
78.

Lord
Donts fa-
prisoner.
3. Buch.
562.

hin.
ian. lib. 17.

562.
arlement.

cast of obs-
in ratified.

e quene
th on ppe-
le.

to officers.

1564.
balladoys
in Sweden

leie is made
duke of Alba-
nie.
Lord Darne-
leie is procla-
med king.
(The quene)
is married.

Certain lords
refuse to ap-
peare before
the quene.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 17.

Wicked coun-
sell alwaies
swait to the
guier.

An armie gathered against them.
The lords went unto Dunfreis.

Certeine townes are punished.

A great armie

The lords fled into England.

Their controuersers got their pardon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh.
The quene sent into France for aid.

The lords sent to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir counsell assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Begggar, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hir selfe, and toke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practice. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailzeis of saint Andrews: also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Walward, were sent to Aberdeen, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene toke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Hoxton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Begggar, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Roth, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Orange, Cuninghame, Herdie, Bettarroto, maister James Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Sparwell conueyed them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinvar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of good order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancelor of Rolse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Paluolier into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Paluolier honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle vpon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of five yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striuelingshire, & Loudham; spending his time in hawking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, vntill this time, the kings name was set before the quens: now quite contrarie, the name of the quene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of his and his; and David the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stamp of the kings name, to vse when need required.]

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, being then in his countrie of Argile to heare them so called. The French king sent monsieur Kambouillet into Scotland, as ambassado; from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaele. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of February, being sunday: after the which, the said Kambouillet returned into France, being highe rewarded.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murreies friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seeke all the waies and means they could deuise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Hoxton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretly persuaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king of Scotland absolutelie, and the quene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agreed to the m.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the senenth day of March, they perceiuing the faulture like to proceed, and indgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Hoxton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entred into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arrived in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared vnto the quene, that they would not suffer hir anie longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crieng pittoulie, *Iustitia, Iustitia*: and in hir vster chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntlie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, whereof the king and his companie were right sorie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morowe being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parlement

The king went a hawking.

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 17

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled were summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaele.

1566.

The king persuaded with the king.

The king came perswaded.

The king is entred into the quens priue chamber.

David Richeo is slain.

The earle of Huntlie is fled and the residue also.

The exiled
lords come in
to Scotland.

ment, shuld depart out of the towne of Edinburgh: and after none the same day, the earles of Murreie and Mothes, with other of their companies that came forth from Newcastell the saturday before, came to the abbey of Holie rood house about six of the clocke in the after none, where they were thankfullie receiued by the king and his companie. They spake also with the quene, who had no great comfort of their comming.

They made
their procla-
mation.

The morrow following, being monday, the earle of Murreie, and the other that were summoned, passed to the tolbuith of Edinburgh, & made their protestation there, that they were readie to answer in parlement, and none appeared to accuse them. After this, it was concluded to keepe the quene in strict ward. But by hir politike demeanour, their purpose in that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference with the king, she perswaded him to thinke, that he had ioined himselfe with those that would be his destruction, if it happened with hir otherwile than well; as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high displeasure that she had taken being quicke with child: through the which persuation, and other misliking of things, he departed secretly with hir in the night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and first came vnto Seiton, and after ward from thence to Dunbar.

The quene
had conference
with the king.

The king
was some
persuaded.

Huntleie and
Bothwell.

Proclama-
tion made.

Pardon is
craved and
obtained.

The murthe-
rs are ex-
cepted.

Janie par-
doned.

The quene
commeth to
Edinburgh.

Whither the earles of Huntleie and Bothwell hastily repaired, by whose counsell and others then with hir, she caused proclamation to be made in diuerse parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in seats of warre, to come vnto hir to Dunbar, & to passe from thence vnto Edinburgh within six daies after. She also sent letters to the same effect vnto diuerse noble men of the realme, who prepared themselves with great diligence to meet hir. The earle of Murreie and the rest of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made against them, and perceiuing themselves not able to resist, thought good euerie of them to seeke some particular meane to obtaine remission at the quens hands. Which they obtained all of them, except the earle of Moxton, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, and such other as were with them at the murder of David Richeo. Whereupon they desparing of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at Newcastle shortly after, as in place ye shall heare.

The earle of Lennor, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glen-carne and the lard of Cunningham head came thither also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of Mothes purchased his pardon at the same time. The earles of Argile and Murreie, and the lord Bothwell, being at Lithquo, sent to the quene for their pardon, and obtained it, being commanded neuertheless to passe into Argile, and to remaine there during hir graces pleasure, which commandement they obeyed. The eighteenth of March, the quene well accompanied came to Haddington towards night: and on the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and the Hamiltons met hir at Musselburgh, and so likewise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Hume, Bothwell, and manie other noble men, and conueied hir vnto Edinburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunkelds lodging, and taried there a certeine space, hauing with hir the earls of Huntleie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Marshall, Southerland, Cathnes, the bishops of saint Andrews and Ross; the lords Levingston, Fleming, and diuerse other noble men, by whose counsell order was taken for redressing of the state of the realme, whereby the same was shortly brought to great quietnesse. After this, the quene perceiuing herselfe to draw nere the time of hir deliuerance, went to

the castell of Edinburgh, there to remaine till she were deliuered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie, Thomas Scot thirifte, deputie of Perth, & a priest called sir Henrie Pair, seruant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being dowers in the slaughter of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the abbey, and the other on the nether bow.

Execution
done vpon the
murderers.

In the moneth of Aprill this yere, the bishop of Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his roome succeeded to that bishoprike, a friend and counsine to the earle of Argile, called Campbell. In the end of Aprill, the quene, willing to haue the earles of Argile and Murreie ioined with the rest of the counsell, sent for them to come to the castell of Edinburgh, where all griefs and controuersies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were referred to the quene, who agreed them, and they all remained with hir the residue of the summer. The quene hearing that the earle of Moxton, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their assistants were receiued in England, and remained at Newcastle; she sent maister James Thorton chantor of Murreie, with letters to the quene of England, and also to the king of France, and other hir friends there; declaring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subiects against hir, desiring them not to receiue them within their realmes or dominions.

The quene
agreed all the
lords.

The quene
made sure to
the quene of
England.

Shortly after, the quene of England sent a gentleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and message to the quene, promising to cause them to depart forth of hir realme of England: and withall sent vnto them warning to depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer then next ensuing. But in the meane time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastle, with great repentance of his former life: giuing God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Moxton, and the maister of Ruthwen, remained secretly nere to Antwoke, and other places of the borders, till they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this time there came from the king of France a wife & aged gentleman, named monsieur la Croke, as his ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

The quene of
England hir
answer.

The lord
Ruthwen
repented.

An ambassage
from the king
of France.

In the moneth of June, the quene perceiuing the time of hir deliuerance to approach, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edinburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they assembled: and the king hir husband, with the earles of Argile, Murreie, Atholl, and Par, remained with hir in the castell; and the earle of Huntleie, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And vpon the nineteenth day of the same moneth of June, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, hir grace was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great comfort of hir highnesse, and all hir subiects, whereof the nobilitie did greatlie reioice. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all the lords and people came together in the church of saint Giles, to giue thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in giuing to them a prince, and withall made their humble prayers vnto his diuine maiestie, to indue him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and subiects thereof, when so euer the same should fall into his hands.

A prince
borne.

The same night at euen, there were great fires for ioy made in the towne of Edinburgh, and in all the

the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by advertisements were certified therof. The quene remained still in the castell of Edinburgh all the moneth of Julie following, till she had recovered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed by the water of Forth to Allotwaie, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Spurreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Maluolir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quene, who was conueied by the bishop of Ross to Allotwaie, where he was iustlicie receiued, courteouslie intertained, and highly rewarded. The quene of England sent maister Henrie Killegrew to the quene with the like message, reioysing for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankfull manner, and well rewarded.

The princes
godfathers &
godmothers.

Here is to be noted, that shortly after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarinoich, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Sauoie: desiring them to send ambassadoz, which in their name (as godfathers) might receiue hir son at the baptisme. Moreover, she sent James Peluine to the quene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother [who by hir ambassadoz Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiously wrought & enamelled, weighing 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.] These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadoz to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quene accompanied with the king hir husband, the earles of Huntley, Spurreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Meggat land, there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edinburgh, caused the prince to be conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quene went on progresse into Glen Arkenie.

Fr.Thin.
I.Stow pa.1131
in quart.

* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the quene determineth to go to Jedburgh to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a iourne into Lidisdale, where he was hurt with a calener by a base theefe. Whereupon with vncertaine life he was carried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwike, and from thence hauing saene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwike, whither she caused Bothwell to be brought: after whose coming thither, the quene fell to grievouslie sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither vnto hir.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.li. 17.

1567.

In Januarie the king came to Glasgowe, where he fell sicke, and remouing from thence went to Edinburgh, and the quene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but hee was lodged at a house within the towne, nere to the kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murdered, together with one William Barre. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne by with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the manner thereof, onelie saying that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a heauie breakfast) by his owne (but unnatural and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God; who in iustice will (when he seeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agreeable to their merits.

The king
murdered.
1566.Stow.

The earle of Bothwell was euen at the first beheimlie suspected to be the principall offendor in this most heinous and detestable murder. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assise, as they call it; but also shortly after married the quene. By reason wherof, the suspition that men had already conceived, that she should be also partie to the murder, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottish nobilitie, soze repining and maligning at such the speedie advancement of Bothwell, who (as euerie man perswaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murder) got them to armes on the sudden, before the quene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Bothwike castell, eight miles distant from Edinburgh.

The earle of
Bothwell
murdered
the king.

The lords
get them to
armes.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

* Thus leauing the lords awhile at Edinburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the quene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried not farre from David Ritchie hir secretarie, Raine (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots: the quene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murder of hir husband, was forceably taken (as she was on hir iourne) by the earle Bothwell, and carried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorablie intertained. Which fact of his bred great dislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the quene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

This done, there was a consultation had for a marriage to be solemnized betwene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a diuorle had betwene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & tempozall; and after the solemn bands asked betwene the said earle James Hepburne, and the quene Marie Steward) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their bands in writing consenting thereto) consummat at Edinburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Orkney was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassadoz then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edinburghers to dislike of the quene.

Which marriage breeding some euill opinion of the said quene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, she wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and prouide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassadoz into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our marriage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by any messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chiefe to the offices and duties of the duke or capteine of the ward, capes towards vs, euen vnto that day in which it seemed good to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the hisorie wherof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yeres of discretion, as we terme it) in this sort.

That when he first began to manage his stowe as
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n. li. 17.

“ faires (being from the death of his father one of the
“ chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe
“ to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of
“ Scotland, as one bozne of a famous familie for his
“ ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this king-
“ dome which he possesseth by right of inheritance. At
“ that time also he did especiallie and altogether con-
“ secrate himselfe to our mother, whilst she had the
“ gouernement of the realme.

“ In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie
“ perseuere, that although the greater part of the no-
“ bilitie, and almost all the towne were fallen from
“ his obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet he
“ would neuer decline from his authoritie, as a per-
“ son that could not be twone by anie promises or be-
“ nefits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his li-
“ uings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but
“ that he wold rather suffer his principall house, which
“ was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull
“ and pretious store of furniture thereof to be taken
“ from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile
“ to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother.
“ Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs
“ and our people (when the English host was brought
“ by our domestick enimies into the bowels of our
“ kingdome, which directed their weapons to none o-
“ ther marke, than that our now husband at that time
“ earle Bothwell, should by force be enforced to flee) he
“ fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where
“ he honozed me with all dutie and seruice (that he
“ might) vntill my returne into Scotland.

“ Neither are those exploits to be omitted, which
“ were done by him in the warres against the Eng-
“ lish before my returne into mine owne countrie,
“ where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and
“ graue wisdom, that he was iudged (being then ve-
“ rie young) met to haue the gouernment of ancient
“ persons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of
“ the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute depu-
“ tie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which of-
“ fice he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which
“ men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires ballan-
“ tie atchieued) he left a singular praise and fame of
“ him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst
“ the enimies.

“ After our returne into Scotland, he employed
“ all his indenor to the enlarging of our authoritie, and
“ spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing
“ those rebels which dwell about the borders of Eng-
“ land. The dispatch wherof being thorowlie performed,
“ and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to
“ doe the like in all the other parts of the kingdome.
“ But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, so
“ the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of inno-
“ uation, did laboz to diminish our fauour towards him
“ (for his great labozs imployed in our behalfe) in mis-
“ construing his good deeds.

“ By which in the end they wrought so much with
“ me, that we committed him to prison; partlie to sa-
“ tisfie the minds of such as were emulous against
“ him, and could not bryoke the increase of his follow-
“ ing honoz and greatnesse; and partlie to appease such
“ seditions as were likelie then to bryeake forth to the
“ destruction of the whole kingdome. But he (escaping
“ out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to
“ the power of his enimies, where he remained almost
“ two yeres next following. At what time the authors
“ of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie to-
“ wards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise
“ warre, and toke weapons against their queene.

“ From thence was he called backe into Scotland,
“ & being restored to his former honoz & possessions,
“ he was againe made generall of all the armie: by
“ whose helpe our authoritie began afresh to flourish,

“ that all the rebels (suddenlie forsaking their coun-
“ trie) were enforced to flee into England, vntill part
“ of them vpon humble submission were receiued a-
“ new into our fauour. But how traitorouslie I was
“ handled by the rest that were restored (and especiallie
“ such, whose ancestors I had with benefits most pro-
“ moted) our vncke is not ignorant, and therefore we
“ will touch that no more.

“ Neither is it to be ouerpasse in silence, with what
“ diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as
“ deteined me prisoner, and with what speed (and singu-
“ lar prouidence of his) I did both escape from prison,
“ and recovered my former authoritie: after that I
“ had dispersed the factions of the conspirators and se-
“ ditionous persons. In which trulie I am enforced to
“ confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time
“ shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me,
“ that I could neuer after forget it. These things al-
“ though they be great of themselves, yet he hath his
“ thereto increased them with such diligence and careful-
“ nesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or with
“ more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found
“ in him; vntill these last times which followed the de-
“ cease of our husband.

“ But from that time, as his thoughts did seme to
“ tend higher, so his actions did after a sort seme to be
“ more insolent. And although the matter went so far,
“ that we were to take all things in the best part: yet
“ these things did then most greuouslie offend me; but
“ especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that
“ there were not other sufficient abilities in vs, to re-
“ compensate his desertings, vnlesse we gaue our selue
“ to him in marriage. Touching which, at the first he v-
“ sed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when
“ he saw them not to succed after his mind, at length,
“ shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled
“ to the benefit of violence, and used force (to the end
“ his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me
“ vnder his gouernement.

“ Therefore all this course of his life maie be an
“ example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue
“ their dyffs (in attempting great things) vntill they
“ haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that
“ all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spe-
“ die obteng of my commandements, had not issued
“ from anie other founteine, than of a vehement desire
“ to shew his obedience and good will towards me:
“ neither did I hope that a litle more fauourable coun-
“ tenance (which we are accustomed to be to the more
“ worthy persons, to the end to win their minds to be
“ more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised
“ his stomack (more than anie others) that he wold
“ promise to himselfe anie larger good will to proceed
“ from me towards him, than he had before.

“ But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing
“ all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his
“ purpose, and keeping all his counsels secret from me,
“ did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old
“ fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by
“ the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe
“ with such speedie diligence, that (vnknown to me)
“ he obtained of the peres of the realme (in the assen-
“ blie of the parlement here) a writing with all their
“ hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same.
“ In which writing was contained, that they did not
“ onlie assent vnto the marriage; but that they also fur-
“ ther promised to spend their life and goods (offered to
“ all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they
“ wold be vtter enimies to all such as should laboz to
“ hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose con-
“ sents in this sort, he had perswaded the said nobilitie,
“ that the same was not done against my mind and
“ consent. At length, when he had purchased this writ-
“ ting from them, he began by litle and litle (with ear-
“ nest

¶ n. j.

neest intreaties & flatteries) to obtaine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

First, the outward tokens of our good fauour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enemies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being objected or willinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he soute daies after hauing conuenient time and place therefore in the high waie, set vpon me with a strong band, as I was comming from seeing of my deere sonne, and with great speed caried me to Dunbar.

Which euill deed how greuouslie we take (especially done by him, from whome all our subjects neuer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him and of his conditions in my speech vsed to others, and of his vnthankfulnesse to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers thereunto were moze mild, and tempered with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still vse all honoz and dutie towards vs, and laboz by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our owne castles, he humbly craued pardon therefore (in that he was enforced thereunto) although in the same he had forgotten that renuerence and dutie, which euerie subject owght vnto vs. Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so greuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpassed anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

But especiallie in this, that their great enue had burdened him with the murder of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enemies, whome he could not know; because they did in shew and speeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not lue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the queenes vnchangeable fauour towards him. Which certaintie of his fauour could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuaide hir selfe to receiue him into the marriage bed. At what time he did most holliie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obeie hir as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Whereunto he added the delights of such speeches as that matter required.

But in the end, when he saw that we could not be moued thereunto, either with praiers or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leane to the consideration of the king, the queene, our vnckles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisdome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had sene all these to haue bowed themselves to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a preie for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatlie did still vize the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawn to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a litle pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

And further, how greuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnacquainted, and not indred with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to lue vnmarried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and practised by a man which could equall them in bearing laboz, and were able to bryde the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our comming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were enforced to appoint foure or moze deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which afterward also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) enforce our owne subjects to take armes against vs.

For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserve the dignitie of kingly maiestie, that they would enforce me to marriage, that our people could not abide a foreyn prince, and that amongest our owne subjects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did wizing from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of marriage.

Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuaasion obtaine of him (fearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and queene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby attained the first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to ioine importunat praiers to his persuaasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence enforce vs to set end to the waie he began, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination

« nation. In which matter I cannot dissemble, but
« that I was otherwise intreated by him, than either
« I would or had deserved.

« For he was more carefull to satisfie them, by
« whose consent (shewed at the beginning) he thought
« himselfe to haue obtained his purpose (though he did
« both deceiue them and me) than to gratifie me, or
« to weie how méet it were for me, being brought vp
« in the pzecepts and rites of our religion; from which,
« neither he nor anie man liuing, whilst I did liue,
« could draw me awaie (aliue) by anie action. In which
« thing trulie, though we do acknowledge our error,
« yet we willingly desire, that the king and quene
« his mother, our vncke, or anie friend of ours, do not
« expostulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault on
« to his charge.

« For sith things be now so ended, as that they
« cannot be againe vndone, we take all things in the
« best part: & as he is in ded, so he is to be accounted
« our husband, whome from hencefoorthwards we haue
« determined both to loue & reuerence. Wherefore all
« they which professe themselves to be our friends,
« must also shew the like to him which is ioined vnto
« vs with an indissoluble knot. And although he hath
« in manie things behaued himselfe lesse diligentlie, &
« almost ouer-rashlie, which we willingly impute to
« his immoderat affection towards vs; yet we desire
« the king, the quene, our vncke, and the rest of our
« friends, no lesse to loue and fauor him, than if all
« things had till this day bene done after their aduise
« and determination; in the behalfe of which our hus-
« band, we promise that he shall in all things (which
« shall be required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
« fie them in what he maie.

These remedies being found to defend the quens
credit amongst forren princes, other remedies were
to be sought for defense of hir owne person against
hir owne subiects. Wherefore (after that the earle of
Murreie was appointed to remaine as banished be-
yond the seas in France, whither he toke his jour-
nie through England) the quene deliuered of such a
feare as he was to hir, & therfore better able to rule,
or at least to make better shift, with such other as
were confuted, to vse Buchanans word, against hir
vied what diligence she might to gather forces, espe-
ciallie in the Herts and east Lothian.]

And thinking that the enterpryse of the lords had
bene broken and disappointed, they marched from
Dunbar on saturday the fourth of June, first to
Wahington, & there resting till the euen, set forthward
to Gladismore, and taking there deliberation in the
matter, they lodged that night at Seilton, and in
the morning marched in order of battell towards
Carbarrie hill, and there chose forth a plot of ground
of great aduantage, appointing to fight on foot, be-
cause the power of the lords in number of horse-
men, was stronger than the quens, and of greater
experience. There were with the quene and Both-
well, the lords Seilton, Pesser, and Bothwellke; al-
so the lords of Wauhton, Was, Dymisson, Wlea-
derburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with
them also two hundred harquebussiers waged, and
of great artillerie some field peeces. Their whole
number was esteemed to be about 2000: but the
more part of them were commons & countienmen.

The earles of Hoxton, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne,
the lords of Huntie, Lindesse, Ruthuen, Sempill,
Sanguhar; the lords of Dymlangrid, Culibar-
den, Grange, and young Sessord, were assembled
together at Edinburgh with a power like in num-
ber to the quens, but for the more part consisting
of gentlemen, although not furnished with anie num-
ber of harquebussiers, except a few of the townsmen
of Edinburgh, that willingly ioined with them in

that quarrell. Upon the sixteenth of June, they came
forth of the towne, and approached their aduersaries.
But there was monsieur la Croque, the French
kings ambassadour, who toke great paine, in tra-
uelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some a-
greement. * Who by his interpreto: laid before them
how carefulle he had studied for the commoditie &
tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before
this; and that now also he caried the same mind with
him. Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it
were possible) that the matter might be so taken vp,
for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be
ended without force or bloodshed. For the compas-
sing whereof, he would impleie all his trauell, sith
the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell &
persuasion of peace. For the more certaintie whereof,
he did at that time promise them pardon and vtter
forgetfulness of all things passed before time; & did
with great holinesse there pledge him selfe, that no
hurt should fall vnto anie man there, for taking
weapen against the highest gouernor.

After that the interpreto: had deliuered these
things, the earle of Hoxton answered, that he did
not take armoz against the quene; but against him
that had killed the king. Whome if the quene would
deliuer to punishment, or separat him from hir, the
should well vnderstand, that they & the rest of hir sub-
iects held nothing more deere vnto them, than to con-
tinue in their dutifull obedience: without which gran-
ted to them, there could be no agreement made; be-
cause they came not thither to craue pardon for anie
offense which they had committed (wherevnto the
earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon
to such as had offended.]

Wherefore the ambassado: Croque returned backe
to Edinburgh, and the quens part began to de-
crease, diuerse thinking awaie from hir; so that af-
ter it began to grow towards the euening, Both-
well fled to the castell of Dunbar. But the quene
desirous to talke with William Kirkcaldie the lord of
Grange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one
capteine, and after some talke with him, she passed
to the lords, who toke hir with them to Edinburgh,
[she being in a short garment, base, & twyne, com-
ming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan)
of which lords she requested that they would suffer
hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that sort.] The Ha-
miltons were on the waie coming to assist
the quene, with seven or eight hundred horsemen; but
before they could reach to the place, the quene was
in the hands of the lords, and so they returned.

The lord of Cragmiller [then prouost of Eden-
burgh] and sir James Balfure also the capteine of
the castell, were ioined in this confederacie with the
lords, as shortly after it appeared. The quene after
this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to
Lochleuin, where she was appointed to remaine in
ward vnder the safe keeping of William Drogglas
lord of that place. The earle Bothwell, escaping to
Dunbar, found meanes to flee into Denmarke,
where he was staied and committed to prison, where-
in at length he died. Diuerse persons afterwards
were apprehended as parties to the murder of the
king, and thereupon condemned, were executed,
confessing the said earle to be the principall executo:
of the same murder. * Leauing the quene therefore
in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget (for
the honor the once had) to set downe certaine verses
made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commen-
dation of hir ancessors, and of hir; who in the first
peeres of hir gouernement vied hir selfe to the god
liking of all hir subiects. In which verses Seton
doth further meane, that Lelle should hereafter set
forth hir gouernement, as he hath done that of the

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 18.

The quene
cometh to
the lords.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
is sent to
Lochleuin.

Fr. Thin.

An. y.

other

The quene
gathereth for-
ces.Carbarrie
hill.The number
of the quens
power.The power of
the lords.

Leticus be-
fore the pre-
face of his
eight booke.

other king before hir. The verses be as followeth.

*Clara atavis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Maiorum hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Dimisit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut dives gaude, sanctorum virum:
Sed pietatis honos, fidei constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Quem tua maiores superet quum viuuda virtus:
Qua tamen meritum laus fuit aqua tuis?
Vnum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortis facta
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verba saltem tua facta canenda:
A proavis ne sim degener ipse meis.]*

James the
sixt.

The nineteenth of Julie, Charles James the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Janor, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certeine letters of commission and procuracion, with the queneis priuite seale at them for the establisshing of the same coronation. The first, for hir resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the young prince hir sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minority. The third, to giue authoritie and power to seuen other ioining with the said earle of Murreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chastelerault, the earls of Lennor, Argyle, Atholl, Spouton, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuracion doe here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpene printer to the king of Scots, the first of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fiftenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth
his gardians, and maketh the earle of
Murreie regent.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scottis, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effectis to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall come, greeting. For samekle as by lang irkesome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa verit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, native prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to vse the said gouernament in his alown person, during his minority, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis soirsaidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exercise the samin during our saidis derrest sonis minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsalouris,

James duke of Chastelerault, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Matho earle of Lenninar, lord Dornleie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Lozne, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Spoutoun, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refussis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular person, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordaine, our traist consingis and counsalouris soirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fine of thame consuntlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentressis, releuis, mariages, beneficis, elchettis, officis, and utheris casualiteis and priuilegis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatouris thair vpon to make, subscribe, and cause be past throug the seillis. And to vse and exercise the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, siclike as it shal be and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouerno: to vs or our predecessouris vsit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuer thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premillis.

Charging heitfore to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis soirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis soirsaidis in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minority, and ay and quhill be be of the age of seuentene zeiris compleit. As ye and ilke ane of you will declair you lussing subiectis to our said maist deir son, your native prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ye and ilke ane of you maie commit and intrin agains his maiestie in that part. Subscribe with our hand, and giuen vnder our priuite seill, at Lochlenin, the four and twentieth day of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth zeir.

The commission, authorising certeine
noble men in the queens name, to re-
nounce the kingdome to hir sonne,
and authorising others to receiue
the same in hir sons name.



Marie be the grace of God queene of Scottis, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiectis, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greeting. For samekle as sen our arriual, and returning within our realme, we twilling the common commoditie, welth, proffit, and quietnes thair of, liegis, and subiectis of the samin, haue emplotit our bodie, spirit, haill sensis, and forcis, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honozabill estate might stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our lussing and kind liegis might inioie the quietnes of true subiectis. In trauellling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa verit, brokin, and biquietit, that langer we are not of habillite be onie mane to indure sa greit and intollerabill panis and auellis, quhair with we ar altogeddir iuerit, bot als greit commotiounis and troubles be sundrie occasiounis in the meantime hes ensuit thairin, to our greit greit.

And seing it hes bene the plesour of the eternall
God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be veseit, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succede to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabil decret of the eternall, ains to rander and gif by this life tempo:all (the hour and time quhair of is maist vncertane) and in cais be deccis we be takin fra this life, during the time of his minozitie, it maie be dowit greittie, that resistance and troubill maie be maid to our said son, now natue prince of this our realme, in his tender zeres (being swa destitute of vs) to succede to that rowme and kingdome, quhilk maist iustlie of all lawis apperteneis to him. Quhill inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud providence we mene to preuent, in sick maner, that it fall not lie in the power of onie vnaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinance in that behalf. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdlie is mair iolous, and happie to vs, nor to see our said derrest sone, in our awin life time peccable placit in that rowme, and honorabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht and man succede to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris frelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all in-
 30 tromission and dispositioun of onie casualteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis appertaining, or heir tosoir is knawin, or heirefter fall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said derrest sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possesit thairin, vse & exerce all thingis belang- and thairto, as natue king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecesouris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypass.

Atfour, that this our dimission maie tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignozance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commission full, fre, and plane power, generall, & spectall command, to our traist coungis, Patrike lord Lindesait of the Biris, and William lord Ruth-
 40 uen, and to ilk ane of thame consuntlie and seuerallie, to compeir before sa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vther pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assemblit to that effect in our burgh of Strivelling, or anie vther place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie daie or daies, and thair publiklie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all in-
 50 tromission with the proprietie, casualtie, or vtheris thingis appertaining to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecesouris hes bene in times bypass.

And in liketwise be thir presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traist coungis, James earle of Moray, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Penteth, John maister of Graham, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bishop of Dun-
 60 neie, the prouostis of Dundie, Montrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiation, and dimission in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressauiing thair of, to plant, place, and inaugu-

rat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requist to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid, in signe and takin of the establisment of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the saidis nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vtheris our liegis, his prince, lie and kinglie aith defullie, & lauchfullie as effectis: and to ressaue thair aithis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cuming, as becumis subiects to thair natue king and prince. And generallie all and sundrie vther thingis to do, exerce, and vse, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof maie, or can be done, firme and stable halband, and for to hald all and quhatsum-
 10 ever thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull points of ane prince. And ordanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publiit at all places neshull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our prelie seill, at Lochleuin the four and twentieth daie of Julij, and of our reigne the six and twentieth zier, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yoong king, and of his kingdome.



Arie be the grace of God, quene of Scots, to all & sundrie our iudgis, and minnistris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greting. For samelike as
 30 efter lang, greit, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be vs sen our arriual within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelie bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at lenythar altogitder sa verit thair of, that our habilitie, and strenght of bodie is not habil langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because nathing eird-
 40 lie can be mair confortabill and happie to vs in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the natue prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne roiall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heirefter, he maie
 50 peccable, and quietlie entoe the samin, without troubill, an be obett as natue king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habilitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kinglie rowme and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter be cum to the zeres of discretioun; and als knawing the proximite of blude standand betuirt vs, our said sone, and our derrest brother James erle of Murray, lord Abirneithie, &c: and hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he bes in all times bozne, and presentlie beires towardis vs, the honour & estate of our said sone; of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, for, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, seirit, reuerencit, and obett be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the cer-
 60 tanetie, and notozitie, of the honestie, habilitie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said derrest brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis for saidis, during our said sonis minozitie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, constitu-

pute,

tute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, ap-
pointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said der-
rest brother James erle of Murray, regent to our
said derrest sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, dur-
ing his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he
be of the age of seintene zeiris compleit. And that
our said brother be callit, during the said space, re-
gent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

Suma that our said sone efter the completing of the
zeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak vpon
him the said gouernement, and vse, and exerce all
and sindowie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immu-
nitis that appertenis to the office of ane king, als
weill in gouerning his realme and pepill, according
to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as
wald inuaid, or iniustlie resist him or thame, or his
authoritie roiall. With power to our said derrest bro-
ther James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and
behalf of our said maist deir sone, to ressaue resigna-
tionis of quhatsumeuir landis halbin of him, or zit
of offices, castells, towris, fortallicis, milnis, fishingis
wooddis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatsumeuir; the
samit againe in our said sonis name to gif, and de-
liuer signaturis thairvpon: and vpon the giftis of
twairdis, nonentressis, and releuis of landis, and ma-
riageis of airis falland, or that fall happin to fall in
our said sonis handis as superiour thair of.

And als vpon presentatioun of landis, beneficis,
eschetis of guidis mouabill and vnmouabill, dettis
and takkis, respittis, remissionis, supersedereis,
and vpon the dispositioun of officis vacand, or quhen
they fall happin to vask, to subscribe, and cause be
past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to vse and
exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis,
sicklike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony
regent, or gouernour to vse, or our predecesouris
vrit in ony times bigane, and sicklike as gif euerie
heid, priuilege and article concerning the said office
wer at lenth exprest and amplifit in thir our let-
teris. Promisand to halo firme and stabill in the
word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuir
thingis our said derrest brother in the premittis hap-
pinnis to do. Chargeing heir foir zow all, and sindowie
our iudgis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiec-
tis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest
brother, in all and sindowie thingis concerning the
said office of regentrie, as ze and ilke ane of zow
will declair zow lusing subiectis, to our said maist
deir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense
that ze and ilke ane of zow may commit, and incur
againis his maistrie in that part. Subscriuit with
our hand, and geuin vnder our ppetie seill, at Loch-
leuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the
twentie five zeir.

The kings
oth.

Fr. Thin.

These commissions being read, the bishop of Ar-
gile, with two superintendents, proceeded to the co-
ronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume
toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the
faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the
religion then preached and exercised in Scotland,
and to perfecte all aduersaries to the same. The
whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English
tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at
that time prisoner in Lochleuin. * But before we
enter into the augmentation of the historie of this
kings time, I thinke it not vnmet to deliuer one
thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in
all the kings of Scotland descended of the Ste-
wards: that neuer anie one of them except the first
& second king of that name was of the age of man,
or of one and twentie yeres when they put on the
kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnmet to
be considered of, although we can not enter into the

secret iudgements of God. The profe of which mat-
ter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a ca-
talog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the
computation of the yeres of whose age and first
comming to the crowne I haue followed Lesleus.

Robert Stewart the first king of that surname,
was 57 yeres old when he began his reigne, in the
yere of our redemption 1370. John Stewart son
of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two
alone were of full age, when the title of the king-
dome descended vnto them. James Stewart, the
first of the name of James, & the third of the name
of Stewards, was within age at the death of his
father, when the title and crowne descended vnto
him: who although he receiued not the crowne at
Scone (because he was about eightene yeres ho-
norable kept as a prisoner in England) vntill he
was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the
crowne inuested in him when he was within age,
I doubt not to make him king from the death of his
father, and so within age to haue obtained the king-
dome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, begin-
ning his reigne in the yere of our redemption
1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Ste-
wards, was six yeres old when he was crowned, in
the yere of Christ 1436. James the third, and first
of the Stewards, being seuen yeres old, was crow-
ned king of Scotland in the yere that the word be-
came flesh 1460. James the fourth, and first of the
Stewards, being siriene yeres of age, was ado-
ned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yere
of our saluation 1488. James the fifth, and the se-
uenth of the Stewards, being one yere, five mo-
neths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scot-
land, in the yere from the birch of Christ 1513. Ma-
rie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but
seuen daies old, was crowned quene of Scots, in
the yere of Christ 1542. Henrie Stewart, sonne
to Matthe wearle of Lennor, and husband to the said
Marie Stewart, was not one and twentie yeres
old, when he came to be king in the right of his wiife
Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he
was laine, as before in the yere 1567. Charles
James Stewart, the first of the name of James, and
the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the
said Henrie Stewart and Marie Stewart, being
about a yere old, began his reigne in the yere that
God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Mel-
uine (this yere 1585 in England) did whilist he
was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer, patribus das iura vocatis,
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,
Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Qua recti è puris fontibus hauria dedit,
Nobilium regum exemplis obsignat auitis,
Hic, ubi quid fugias, quidue sequaris habes.
Felix, si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!
Felix cum populo tuq, patre, q, tuo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of
the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose,
touching the discipline of excommunication, and the
excommunication, diuided into these heads: that is
to say, what crimes be worthe of that seuerer cen-
sure of the church by excommunication: how the
minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience
of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the
offenses which merit publike repentance: of the or-
der to proceed therein: the forme and the order of
publike repentance: an admonition to the church:
a thanksgiving for the conuersion and repentance
of the censured: the forme of the excommunication:
the prayer for the obstinate that will not repent af-
ter that censure: the prayer before the excommuni-
cation:

Out of the
booke printed
thereof.

cation: the manner to innocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Hanor minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblie, in the yere of Christ 1569, beinge saene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblie: whose names were John Willike, maister John Crage, Robert Pont, John Row, David Lindsie, William Christison, James Greg, &c.

A parlement
holden at E.
denburgh.

On the fifteenth of December a parlement begun, beinge holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Murreie lord regent, in the which diuers acts and statutes were deuised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignation thereof made to hir sonne king James the first. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murreie in the regencie of the realme, which he took upon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and procuracion aboue specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his blaspheious authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine receiued by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorized in the same parlement. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had leuied warre, and apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of Iulie last past, and concerning the detaining of hir in Lochleuin.

The castell of
Dunbar and
the fortrese of
Insketh to be
rased.

Moreover it was ordeined by an act passed in this parlement, that the castell of Dunbar, and the fortrese of Insketh, should be demolished and rased downe to the earth. To be brieue, there were one and forty acts or statutes made and stablished in this parlement, as by the register thereof it maie appere. * In the first beginning of the tyding, the gouernour determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to aduinsister law: which he ment to doe, to the end that he might amend and establishe such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter working diuerse opinions in those of the quenes faction, did cause that Metellane and John Balfurie sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison. Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who (beinge next to the crowne, if the young king were gone, and the quene made atwaite, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did some with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whose part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntley refused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murreie of Tillibartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, beinge estranged and grieved from and with the gouernour, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he shewed great diligence in taking the quene) but did also drawe with him a great companie of his friends intified thereunto with no small hope of benefit to rise vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessitie, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of aduancement, and necessitie of alliance to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time, whilste the regent was at Glasco to minister law to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) this determination of setting the quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleuin, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troupe of women: but none were admitted to see the quene, save such as were well knowen or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household companie, there was none that seemed to meet to the quene to execute anie matter, as was George Doolglas the youngest brother of the regent, beinge a man of a pleasant wit, and easlie to be ouertaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quene to plaie at cards, and to vse hir with other courtlie pastimes: who determininge to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fauour him and his enterprises. Whereupon this Doolglas (not unwitting as was thought to his mother) omitteth nothing that might seme to serue for the quenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & took not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Island. This said George, when he passed into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the quene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) beinge drawn into that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had bene regent not manie yeres before) and James archbishop of Glasco solicited thereunto, the Scots promised their hoblie force, and the French promised their helping purse. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were denied, he made shew that he would presentlie depart. Whereunto the gouernour answered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without their knowledge which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by decree confirmed that deed: but he would not cease in pleasuring his sister, and such a friend as the king (his maister) was, to doe all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an assemblie of the nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill which time the ambassador seemed somewhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.]

On sundae the second of Maie, in the yere 1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Doolglas brother to the lord of Lochleuin. The lord Seton, the lord of Riccarton, and James Hamilton of Dalbrieston, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir oner the quenes ferrie, first to Prudrie the lord Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirteenth daie of Maie beinge thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Murreie lord regent was in Glasco, at what time she thus escaped out of Lochleuin; and upon knowledge had thereof, ment at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to Sterling: but suddenly changing his purpose in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glasco,

The quene
gathereth
power,

The regents
determination
to state at
Glasgow.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 19.

coto, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if he should thinke backe neuer so little, he should encourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (vnto the quenes part) hauing vntill that time wone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was notv in the decate of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that folloved the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kinred did) was notv content to seke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follovv the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernment was posseed ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Boid firmelie continued vntill the quenes retorne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conspired or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argyle (which haing vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene euerie thing that was done in the same assemble, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Arrerrie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such pzoofe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priuie counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after hir escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede toward Dunbarton; and out of Glasgou on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glasgou.

The armies
met at Lang-
side.

Lords on the
quenes part.

Lords on the
regents part.

They tooke
in battell.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argyle, Castles, Eglington, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chateaufault, the lords Seton, Summeruill, Pester, Borthwicke, Leningston, Herries, Marwell, Sauquhar, Boid and Koke, lards and knights, Lochinuar, Bas, Mauchton, Dalhousie, Roden the shiriffe of Ait, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindie, Ruthuen, Semplill, Ogiltree and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Bargaray, Blacquhan, Dumlanrig, Selford, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Orange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and sir James Walsour. At the first joining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after the quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were foureteene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about thre hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Koke, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindie, and the lards of Dumlanrig, and of Orange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, falling not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capteins. The quenes part was thought to be nere at the point of six thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

The earle of Huntley was comming forwarde to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was stricken, and hir people discomfited (as ye haue heard) yer he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the baliance of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great stead. For in the hottest hunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countriemen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Arrerrie) he recompensed that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as faith Buchanan) fought the thir daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.]

The earle of
Huntley com-
ming forward
to aid the
quene.

Fr. Thin.

The quene perceiving the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and so by the Sauquhar to Dundrenan in Callotwaie: and after she had taried there two or thre daies, she tooke ship and passed to Worthington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewsburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceiued of his former hope, changed his copie, and with hosse and gubdes hastid all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iournie he was robbed by thieves: but James Dowglass, capteine of the marches of Dumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

The quene of
Scots fleth
into England.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 19.

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasgou, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Massan was also yelded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Ayr, Angus, Fife, Perth, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittels for sixtene daies, and to meet him at Beggart the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south-west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine thieves, and other disobedient persons. Here vpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched south of Edinburgh, and came that night to Beggart. The armie being assembled, contained foure or fife thousand

The regents
iournie into
the south-west
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regents
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The castell of
Boghall.
Shirling ca-
stell.
Crawford.

Saucher.

Barbacaft.

Saint John
Schlaghan.

Benmore.

The water of
Ar.
Dunfreis.

Hoddum pre-
bith to the re-
gent.

The lard of
Drumlanrig.

Imand deli-
nered to the
gouvernor.
Lochmaben.

Two houses
ollard John-
ston taken by
the regent.

land hoysmen berie well appointed, beside a thou-
sand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of hoies and
yong men that went with the cariage, there were a-
bout foure thousand.

The castell of Boghall, pertaining to the lord Fle-
ming, was surrendred to them. The twelfth of June
Shirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end
that other understanding therof, might be put in gre-
ter feare. That night they came to Crawford, where
the castell was to them surrendred; it belonged unto
sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands.
The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a
castell, the which being rendred they spared, because
the lord Cheichton the owner thereof, promised at a
certeine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh.
The fourteenth of June they came to Barbacaft,
where they laie that night, and the lard Medborne
was sent to speake with the lard of Louchinware,
Medborne daie the fifteenth of June, they marched to a
place called saint John Schlaghan, stateng there in
trust of the lard of Louchinwares comming unto
them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie be-
ing the sixteenth of June, they rased the house of
Benmore, and an other house also, for that the ow-
ners were frends to the said Louchinware.

The seventeenth of June they came to a gentle-
mans house, standing by the water of Ar, where di-
uerse gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The
eighteenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and
remained there all the next daie. A strong house stan-
ding in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Spar-
well, was offered unto them. Diuerse of the Spar-
wells, Johnstons, Bretwines, Crahams, and Wels,
came vnto the regent, and offering themselves to be
obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the
lord Sparwell, the lards of Johnston, Cotobill, and
Louchinpar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand
men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that
the lord Sparwell would haue come in, if the other
had not counsellid him to the contrarie. The twen-
tith of June they marched to Hoddum, a place belong-
ing to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken
men were assembled and offered skirmish; two of
thre were taken, they laie within a mile of the re-
gent that night.

The one and twentieth the house was yeilded, and
the custodie thereof committed to the lard of Drum-
lanrig that was appointed warden of those marches.
It was thought berie strong, so that the defendants
might haue kept it longer if they had bene disposed.
Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of
wine was sold at seven shillings Scotish, and no
bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent forth
the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thou-
sand men, to trie if they might haue draywen the bo-
ken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they
went their waies, and would not farrie it. The two
and twentieth of June the campe laie still, but the re-
gent with a thousand men went to Annand, and had
it deliuered unto him. There he met with the lord
Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The thre
and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben, and
receiued the castell, the which the regent deliuered to
Drumlanrig: but some of the Sparwells being close-
lie hid within an od corner of the house, after the re-
gent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe
into their hands.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lard
of Johnston, the one named Lochwood, and the other
Lowhouse, were taken, but not burnt: because the
lard Johnston had put in sueitie to come in by a day
vnto the regent. The same daie they toke great store
of cattell; and that night with a shot of the great ar-
tillerie, they slue two threues among thre scoze o-

thers that came and approached verte mers to the ar-
mie, as the maner of the pickers is. The armie laie
that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentieth
of June they came to Papples, and the next day to
Edinburgh, so ending that iourne; in the which they
had passed through the countries of Clideldale, Gal-
lowaie, Jiddeldale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Much
a do and great trouble arose within Scotland, by
reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents
made parts against the regent, and those other lords
that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no
certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

* Whilist these things were thus indowing, let-
ters came to the regent from the queene of Eng-
land: for she was perswaded by such as were fled with
the queene of Scots into England, that there was
great iniurie done vnto the queene of Scots, being
burdened with high matters, through the enuie of
hir euill subiects, in which chieftie the kinglie authori-
tie was reuiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie
defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the
prinat person of the queene of Scots, but to the ex-
ample of all other princes. Which euill of expelling
kings, was speditie and soundlie to be prevented,
least it might crepe anie further. By which and other
persuasions, the queene of England required of the
regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to
hir the order of all things as they were done, and
that should answer all such reproches as were laied
against him.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grie-
uous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question
which before were by parlement established; and to
bzing in vze a new kind of iudgement of their cau-
ses before forein iudges and kings who were their e-
nemies, and first perswaded against the regent by
such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a
sort the same seemed dangerous and full of shame:
yet on the other side there were manie things that in-
forced him to accept that request of the queene of
England, although it were vnjust. Wherefore when
he had determined to send ambassadoys, and that
they could not agree who they should be, sith the chie-
fest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the
regent professed that he would take that iourne by
on him. For the performance whereof he chose cer-
teine persons to accompanie him into England,
contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which
onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he car-
ied the said Metellan with him (sauozing the queene)
not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to
win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were
James Dowglas, Patrike Lindseie, being of the
nobilitie; the bishop of Dunelm, & the abbat of Fermo-
lindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie
Balnaue, lawiers of the college of iudges. To
whome as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan
author of the Scotish historie: with whome the re-
gent accompanied to the number of 100 hoyses,
toke his iourne into England, and came the fourth
mones of October to Porke, to the assemblee appoin-
ted there by the queene of England. On which day,
and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard
duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke
were associat in commission, to heare the controuer-
sie of the Scots, the earle of Suffler, and sir Rafe
Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such
as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did com-
plaine of hir unkind subiects, and required helpe
to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard
(sundered from the regent and the earls) did (after
they had protested that they came not vnto them
as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to
bind

Great trouble
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 19.

bind them) with manie words open the injuries which the Scottish subjects had done unto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either she would perswade hir unkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbiters) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, by the determination of the assemble of parliament, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vndo the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them so seuerellie to pronounce against their quene, the regent answered that he did chiefe lie that matter, least he should be driuen to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to late abroad to foren nations his wicked deeds, as Buchanan fearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be enforced, vnlesse the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie proue, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots hir husband. Whereunto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request vnto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Surreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged vnto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Surreie sent Metellan (a man before suspected, and that did after soine in conference with John Lesle bishop of Roke) to the court of England, associated with James Macgill. Now after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most conuenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated vpon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Poike: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Wallace moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hers and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vying him to tell the cause (which being vnfold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued them to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how vnwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would vse their witness in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England required, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to shew cause whye the re-

uengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene; although the earle of Surreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answer all such euils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusors might be brought out. Whereupon the accusors being present, and saing that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake vp without anie final sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernor) being grieued with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie vnto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man or two) he did secretlie liue to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not obey the earle of Surreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Surreie, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he comming out of his den abroad into the world, intriched by the French with a few golden crownes, and ouercharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Surreie to deliuer vp his regentship of Scotland vnto him; sith that place was of right due vnto him (by the manners and lawes of all nations, but chiefe lie by the custome of his countrie) as next rest in blood, and next in succession.

For the proue thereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memorie of histories from the first times, considering it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue bene giuen to those of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene nearest of blood. For so, after the death of James the third, Robert his uncle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Murdac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albany did gouerne the yong yeares of James the first; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome, did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with force and violence, and that (which is worse) a bastard is aduanced thereto in contempt of lawfull blood. Which honor, if it were restored vnto him, he would shortly appease all those ciuill battles, and restore the quene of Scots vnto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes.

Whereunto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old customes of Scotland; but also a thing most vniust, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as nearest of blood; but as persons most worthy to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kindreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be aduanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefeest magistrat must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnist for gouernement, they did ordaine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealsh; which did excell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Arrere, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Arrere, John Randolph, & Robert Steward. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors together; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Levingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the yong king.

Which may not be excused, in saying that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: James Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt; and Dowglas also, earle of Angus, with Archibald earle of Dowglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whom, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed thereunto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeares of James the fifth, and confirmed in the same by publike decrees of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearnesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted thereunto for nearnesse of blood? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end furnished David the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the yonger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what soeuer was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinal Beton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empty place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeares after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how vnust it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weake, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which doth daile either looke or wish for the death of the pupill? Whose whole familie hath alwaies bene at daile and deadlie warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by nearnesse of blood against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? And the queene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeeres of discretion, and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spared not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enmities do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which deserreth effect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seme ouer old or obscure to ante man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some neuer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this late lie done, that he knoweth not that Calcas Sforzia (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnkowne, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to utter destruction: the familie of the Sforties, the mother of manie a balliant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous peoples (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, sith these did not feare to do such evils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie enforcing desire to governe, being otherwise worthe persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe knowe? Whose unskillfull government they have tried with manie slaughters: And (which is more) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilest he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold his kingdome (when they could not intioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage she (by the providence of God) being delivred, they have shrowne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie understand, what the judgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be delivred out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their government to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councill of England, the queene thereof by his said councill declared to Hamilton, that he required an untrist thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from him; and that she hath promised the kings ambassadoe, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassadoe had leave likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferently dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leave to depart, and was honorable conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especially the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, with it was great honor for his maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (upon his letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hee was there received with great

Buchanan,
lib. 19.

A few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striveling, where the regent declared unto them that he had done in England; which being well liked; was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authoised with a new and arrogant letter: in that she called him his father, and made him his vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obeye anie other than such as were substituted by him. Whereupon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie upon soldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the bittermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemble of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefest governor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in vaine: all which he promised to do, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subjects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else give pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if anie of the said part would so do, they should also be received on the same covenants, whereunto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntley refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, denysing manie delaies; untill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their consents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might understand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied unto him. Whereupon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) hee would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Spawell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntley was more hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the governor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Cratford and Edgillie.

Whereupon there was day given unto them both to meet at the assemble at saint Andrews, whither the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the governor, and they two were of great friendship together even from their young yers. But when the cause of Huntley (long before his comming) was well debated, the governor pronounced, that he would pardon all private faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon anie injuries done to any other. And if Huntley, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischief, whether all they which took part with Huntley should also be pardoned; but in the end, upon deliberation, all things seemed indifferently well pacified.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene, either that she might wholie be restored, or jointlie rule with his sonne; or admitted to live privatlie in his owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisdom and fidelitie, to deliver their answer unto the queene of England. Whilest these things were in doing, the governor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Spettellan before him, from Perth to Striveling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the courtcell, was accused by Thomas Cratford of the kings death, whereupon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfurie.

Buchanan,
lib. 19.

But in the end, the governors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall upon them; for Balfurie by his friends soon obtained pardon; and Spettellan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whose certaine householders were appointed keepers, under the charge of Alexander Hume a noble young man, appointed chiefe over them. But William Bircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Spurrelle, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliver William Spettellan, which he did accordingly. Whereupon Spettellan was caried by Bircadie into the castell, to the great dislike of the nobilitie, being almost uncerteine whether they should impute the deed to Bircadie, or to the governor, not being unacquainted with the boldnesse of Bircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie

of

1569.
Rebellion in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland.

of the gouernour had not bene sufficientlie knowne.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised a rebellion against the queenes maiestie of England; but by the good diligence and prouident circumspection of the earle of Souther, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by such direction as was giuen by his maiestie and his counsell, for the leuieng of an armie vnder the leading of the earle of Marlowe, and the lord admerall Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare, that they durst not aduance farre forward in their wicked begun enterprise, but were constrained to retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle of Souther, supposing that their meaning was for their last refuge and safegard to take the castles of Alnewike and Markeworth, he wrote vnto sir John Foster lord warden of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his hands the possession of those two castles, and the same to fortifie with such number and garisons of men, as to his discretion should be thought conuenient, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Foster, being at his house nere to Alnewike, when he receiued these letters, accompanied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some souldiers that were come to him from Berwicke, marched by to the castell on foot, where finding the house garbed with a great number of the earle of Northumberlands seruants, retiniers, and tenants, he made proclamation before the castell gate, that euerie of them within the castell should come forth, and withdraw to their owne houses, vpon paine to be reputed rebels to the queenes maiestie: and that which of them sooner did refuse to obeie this proclamation, taking either in the castell or elsewhere in a nie vnlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for euerie man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he made resistance.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they within the castell, at the first refused to yeld it vp. And thereupon sir John Foster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for their repairing home to their houses. And comming herewith backe towards the castell, they within perceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John Foster to increase in power, did vpon better aduise yeld themselves vnto him, who saued all their liues. After the same maner he got also the castell of Markeworth, and fortified them both with sufficient number of men. This done, he assembled such forces as he was able to make, so that he got together to the number of eleven hundred horsemen, and toke order to forlaie and stop the passages, so as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland should not go vnto him.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Diggle, and Thomas Foster his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Bewcastle, where, with Thomas Coluer esquire, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he toke order for the defense of that towne against the rebels. Thither came to him sir Henrie Perrie, offering his seruice against his brother, and other the rebels, to the vttermost of his power. Whereupon diuerse excursions were made south of Bewcastle into the bishoprike, where the two earles were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The earles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Bewcastle. Sir John Foster, and sir Henrie Perrie, having intelligence thereof, issued south of Bewcastle with

all their forces, and certeine peces of great ordinance. They had also with them certeine bands of the souldiers of Berwicke, meaning verelie to haue ioined battell with the earles: sir Henrie Perrie shewing himselfe as willing and forward thereto as anie other in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Bewcastle, the armies approached the one nere to the other, a small brooke running in a hollow diuiding them asunder, so that there was no passage for them to conueie their ordinance ouer, the banks on either side being so steepe and cumbersome. Whereupon the earles, perceiving that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the horsemen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Berham, and after being in vtter despair, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those that shifted him auaie so from place to place, that he escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in suertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie that was betwixt the two princes, the queenes maiestie of England, and the king of Scots.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithquo) was wickedlie shot in with an harquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which wiers clothes hanged as it were to an other use.] * But the night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Ear also of Fernihirst entered into England to spoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gain of anie booties. Besides which, the capitaine of the castell where Westellian was prisoner, was now commanded to set the same Westellian at libertie: who vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of the king, and of the cruell warres moued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the same at anie time when day should be appointed to him therfore. After which, there was an assemblie made for the election of a new gouernour.

At that time Thomas Randolph, being sent thither ambassador for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose message was to demand, the deliuerie of such rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambassador the deceased gouernour had before refused to heare at Strueling. Whereupon, sith all things were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parlement for the choosing of a new regent, Randolph which had bene in Scotland some yeres before, because he seemed best to know the men and their conditions of Scotland, and because he had before dispatched some other ambassages for the benefit of the realme, was held deere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therfore was brought into the counsell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that he would not now abbate the same vnto them in these troublesome times, no more than he had before done. After which he remembred the inuasions made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and burnings committed a litle before: all which he well knew was not done by the counsell or labor of the publike state: and therfore his queenes fauor was not diminished to them, but that the same god will

Chesser deane,

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland.

1571. Buch.
1570.
The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland, regent Daine, Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 20.

Proclamation made at Alnewike by sir Jo. Foster.

The castell of Alnewike and Markeworth fortified by sir Jo. Foster.

Sir John Foster kept Bewcastle against the rebels.

Sir Henrie Perrie against his brother the earle of Northumberland.

did remaine to them now, as ample as ever it was. And where she was grievously offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right she iustlie might) to demand publicke restitution and recompense for such evils: nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the misdoing of a felo.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. Notwithstanding this cruell, she did not yet a nie whif doubt of the fauor of the god and vertuous men vnto hir; and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publicke consent: but also (if they themselves for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then doe by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without a nie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equall & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chieslie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with faile and oyes, that peace and quiet maie be holitie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernement ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeye their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enemies, and is the preferuer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisteth in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with a nie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie soener they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both goodlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be given therevnto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Aprill. At last, William and James Douglasse, brothers of the same regent by one mother, were heard in this parliament, who required that the vniuersitie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Upon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murder: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the

same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assemble of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and sordidors did some agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Forston did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarrye, vntill there were a greater assemble of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murder. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed vntill the kalends of Aprill, on which there was an assemble of parliament appointed.

Upon which perswasion the companie was dissolved, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemn this delaye, as moued therunto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little banish in the meane time, and the aduerser faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which folloved. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fully spread abroad) James Hamilton (mortgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Caninsthame) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fanozers (to hire souldiours) being warned before, that they should alwaies be ready at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enemy, the earle of Arrerie: neither after that time did the quenes factions cease from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme those that took the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argyle, and the lord Bold did write vnto earle Forston, that they would willingly (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting therevnto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so perswaded, they would willingly come to Lithgow, to Falkirk, or to Strueling, there to meet with them. Whereupon, the earle of Forston, consulting with Metellan about the same (so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Bar wrote to Linnych (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the quene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if she did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the god subiects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned quene, & would ioine themselves together, because aid would shortly come out of France vnto them.

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argyle, and Woid came to Litchquo; but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their de-
 uise by a sudden tumult that was raised thereupon. Therefore the next day after the archbishop of saint
 Andrews did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Hunt-
 leie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume, Seton, and Spetellan, met at Edinburgh: in which
 the earle Morton was accompanied with a small
 traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Mar were
 come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March
 the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of
 the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie
 slowly, by reason of the absence of the earle of Ar-
 gyle, whose power and authoritie was then verie
 great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to persuade to ioine
 with the rest of the faction, but he returned without
 doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men)
 through the subtiltie of Spetellan, which would haue
 things long deferred, that more conuenient meane
 might be had in that troublesome state of the king-
 dome, for the innoation of things. The grea-
 test thing done in this assembling, was the argu-
 ment for the choise of a new gouernor, which (as it se-
 meth) came to no effect. Now when all these assem-
 blies tended to little purpose, those of the quenes fa-
 ction returned to solve sedition by procuring Eng-
 lish warres, thereby to draw the common-people to
 assist their part. Therefore they send the capteine
 (that before had done the like) afresh at this time to
 execute the same, who left nothing undone that
 might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction doe reproch
 the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of
 Scotland, as though they were the clients and fol-
 lowers of the English; further threatening abroad in
 euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the
 French and Spanish, if the lord of the congregation
 praised in aid of the English. About that time,
 (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at
 Dunbarton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the
 French king, which aduanced the mindes of the
 quenes faction, with manie large promises: by
 meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assem-
 blic of their people at Litchquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemble was made
 of the quenes faction, they began there openlie to
 treat of those things which before were whispered
 in secret: which was, that the death of the king and
 regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold
 in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making
 warre vpon the English. After which consultation,
 they determined to go to Edinburgh the third ides
 of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities
 which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vnto
 them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe
 of god successe to be receiued. Which they thought
 they might easilie bring about, by reason that Wil-
 liam Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and
 towne, against which deuise the citizens did pet con-
 tend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the
 quenes part was admitted into the towne. After
 which, not thus contented, they perswaded the citizens
 to deliuer vp the keies of their towne, which they
 most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Spetel-
 lan then licng of the golw, for which cause his house
 was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselte
 the scholemaster. In which meane time, the earle of
 Atholl did not spare to trauell hither and thither, to
 draw those of the other faction to that assemble at
 Edinburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appoint-
 ed for the parlement) unlesse they knewe some iust
 necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if
 there happened anie thing of moment, which might
 not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the
 same to the earle Morton, whose house was but foure
 mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledge
 thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle
 of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet
 at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalkeith,
 which place did not like the quenes faction, whose
 strength was much holpen by such prisoners as Kirk-
 caldie had set at libertie out of the castell of Edin-
 burgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction
 were quailed, by the rumor of the English armie
 coming to Berwike. Whereupon, Alexander
 Hume, and John Partwell latelie deliuered out of
 prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to
 set them free, went home to defend their owne pos-
 sessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had
 gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord
 Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas
 Har, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue
 made some roads into England by the persuation of
 the bishop of saint Andrews, whereby wars should
 rise in England) being forsaken of those which inha-
 bited neere these places, & fearing their owne estate,
 sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe
 of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they
 should come to Lother the next towne; and from
 thence shew or make warre vpon England. Which
 when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the publike
 monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands
 in great anger.

After this, whilest manie other things passed, as
 that the quenes faction sent an ambassadoe to the
 earle of Sussex, to staie his iourne into Scotland;
 that they also sent letters to the quene of England
 concerning their cause; and that a seruant of mon-
 sieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the
 quens factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) di-
 rected also vnto other that were indiffernt, to ioine
 with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised
 them aid out of France; and that the quens people
 were assured, that the kings part would come to
 Edinburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these
 things (I say) they of the quens side departed to Lit-
 cho, supposing that place most commodious to as-
 semble their confederats. Whither when the Hamil-
 tons and their clients were come, they beset all the
 way to Edinburgh: for when they vnderstood that
 John Areskin earle of Mar was coming thither,
 they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap
 him.

But he knowing the iniurie of the place, passed
 the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edinburgh
 the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after,
 the kings part remaining at Edinburgh, and the
 quens at Litchquo, the thre earls, Arran, Argyle,
 and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Litchquo, the
 thre nones of August. The other faction sent Ro-
 bert Petcarne ambassadoe to the quene of Eng-
 land, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the
 common enemie; and further to let hir vnderstand,
 that such were the god minds of the Scots vnto hir,
 that they would chose a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with
 generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Len-
 nor, then remaining in England, to repaire home
 with all conuenient speed into Scotland, & he maie
 read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle
 of Sussex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring
 into Linddale the seuen & twentieth of Aprill, burnt
 Do. 15. the

The earle of Lennor sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chateleraut gathereth a power.

The duke retireth to Glasgowe.

Captains and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

the Holve towne, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernherst, the towne of Houtwike, and the castell of Baurton, that belonged to the laird of Bucleugh, with diuerse other castels, piles, towne, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernherst, Bucleugh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Sussex won the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe ouer, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwikke towards the latter end of Aprill, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourtene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and hundrie others of that faction, seeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was aaine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of thre thousand men, and came downe to Edinburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was comming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safeguard of the yong king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselves from Edinburgh to Glasgowe, where they besieged the castell by the space of five or six daies, vntill the earle of Lennor approached thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Durié; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne god wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Aulsell capteine of fiftie lances, William Curleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horsemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred; sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Paners, capteine Birkwell, capteine Carnill, capteine Came, capteine Lambard, capteine Crington, John Constable, and Humfreie Berwikke leaders of the footmen. Capteins Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne god wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Jerome Wolues, maister William Inolles, maister Robert Inolles, maister Michaele Carie, maister Catodie, maister William Durié of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grenill, brother to sir Fulke Grenill, maister Contweie, brother to sir John Contweie, maister Edmund Arneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Durié and the horsemen ouertooke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came thorough to Edinburgh, where they found the earles of Morison, Durreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthuen, Lindesie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who received the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edinburgh they passed to Lithgow, as in the English historie it maie appeare; and from thence the footmen passed to Faulkirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Durié and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glasgowe, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spintock and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, stateng (as hath bene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the more speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the comming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glasgowe, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kintred and friends, which ought him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennor and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Durié, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Androze Hamilton of Perinton was capteine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiuing themselves in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme within a certeine terme, and herevnto they were sworn. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Hoplocke, the abbat of Kiltwinings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clid-desdale.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus towne and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morning, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may read more at large. The erle of Morison went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies toke their way towards Glasgowe, and from thence euerie of

Faulkirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Durié ride to Sterling.

The castell of Glasgowe besieged by the duke of Chateleraut.

The breaketh vp his siege.

A mustier of foure thousand Scots.

Shē more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blowne vp and rased.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortly after, there was a convention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennor was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was another convention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

A convention of the lords. The earle of Lennor made regent.

The earle of Huntlie.

A parliament proclaimed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntlie committed no more than Brechin.

The earle of Huntlie escaped.

The castell of Downe yielded.

Commissioners sent into England.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie took upon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the queene of Scots that remained still in England, and thereupon in his name summoned a parliament to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentieth of September then next following. Unto the which parliament, aswell the earle of Lennor then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused a parliament to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithquho, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntlie comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no nearer than Brechin.

Whereupon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Douglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horsemen to haue taken him upon the sudden in the towne of Brechin, before he should haue any warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie having warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his followers were so put to their shifts, that they were driven for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechin: the earle of Huntlie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being straitlie besieged, and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yielded themselves and the castell unto the regents mercie.

Execution.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chieffest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had bene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthe to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the castell of Downe, and besieged it; being kept by the servants of the lord of Saint Colmes Inch, who yielded it to the regent after three daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his servants called John Spone, with letters into England, directed to the queene of Englands council: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enemies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiving of their letters to be conveyed also, and hereby discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed unto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretly received being found upon him, and the matters aforesaid proved against him, he was by law executed.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, cleark of the register, were sent into England commissioners upon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Leningston, appointed for the queene then being in England. In January following, the regent then being at Edinburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

teleraunts sonnes, entered the house of Dalsie, then being kept by the servants of the lord Sempill: and seizing upon all things which they found as stood with his pleasure, he fortified the house with men, munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Dalsie, or nere thereabouts. The regent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to advise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yield the house, so manie of them as had not borne armes before that time against the king and regent, should haue their liues saved, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Whereupon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them having not served in anye sournie or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yield; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselves. Whereupon they were ready to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded themselves, upon such condition as the regent had prescribed: whereupon five of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their liues. The capitaine John Hamilton, lard of Conghnaill, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasgowe, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glasgowe, and for that Gilbert Kennedy with the erles of Cassils & Eglington refused to shew themselves obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasgowe, and with the same marched towards Arbrin and Air, and so forward to the earle of Cassils countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission. Whereupon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to answer such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglington, and Robert Boyd leued their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance given) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbretton, & the other in the castell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, untill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to give an attempt to the castell of Dunbretton, which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Arrerle late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere or more, but could not by anye meanes compasse to win it.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thither ward captain Thomas Crawford, and capitaine Hume, with an hundred souldiers, chosen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other devices, found meanes to cline by the rocke, which

Dalsie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Dalsie.

Dalsie is surrendered to the regent.

1571.

The regent goeth against the earle of Cassils.

The earles of Cassils and Eglington committed to ward.

A truce for twentie daies.

The castell of
Dunbzeton
taken by a
policie.

which is of an exceeding great heighth, and so with great paine, and moze danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heighth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared by a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Ramsie, ensigne-bearer to capteine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was streightwaies assailed by thre of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Capteine
Crawford &
capteine
Hume.

Wherevnto capteine Crawford & capteine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, strooke by the drum, & cried, A Dernelie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming capteine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argyle. The souldiers of the castell, perceiving their captein fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yielded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken with in the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Meriacke a frenchman, sent thither by the french king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lord of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Levingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The lord
Fleming es-
capeth.

John Hall.

The third of Aprill, being the moztow after that Dunbzeton was thus strangely toone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the capteins and souldiers together, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterpryse, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, with the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be toone, by reason of the great heighth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being intrenched almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was so full to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The strong
situation of
the castell of
Dunbzeton.

The ladie
Fleming ho-
nozable in-
creased.

The regent dealt verie honozable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Meriacke, to passe hometowards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouly to atchieue so high an enterpryse, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloodshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next ensuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lord of Dumfries, a man of good seruice, and servant to the regent, to be capteine of that castell, and leaving him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Arrreie the late re-

gent.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath bene said) and before the regent declared that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with thre others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the erle of Arrreie, the bishops that answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Therewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forsailed afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edinburgh the fourteenth of Maie next ensuing, and passed from Striueling to Litchquo.

The archbi-
shop of saint
Andrews
executed.

A parlement
summoned.

Here the earle of Moriton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edinburgh, where they thought to haue bene received, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lord of Orange, who after the death of the earle of Arrreie, was revolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsailed. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

The castell of
Edinburgh
kept by the
lord of Orange
against the
regent.

In the meane time the earle of Moriton, hauing certeine shuffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lord of Carmichell with his household seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalkeith, being five miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the shuffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntlie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edinburgh with their powder: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntlie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edinburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntlie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edinburgh, to Dalkeith, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

The lord of
Carmichell.

The earle of
Huntlie and
lord Hume
put to flight.

But the earle of Moriton, hauing knowledge of their intention and coming, sallied forth of Dalkeith with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Moriton was put to the worse, fourtie or moze of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the five & twentieth day of Maie following, capteine Collen issued forth of Edinburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to coine out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Moriton, who kept still at Dalkeith.

The earle of
Moriton put
to the worse.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Collens enterpryse, advertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in fife. But before his coming thither,

thither, Cullen had met with a bote upon the water, wherein were abowd five and twentie shot, whome he took prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Durié, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Durié passing forth of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captains, and other gentlemen for his conuioie thither, they within Edinburgh perceiuing them coming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and castell to encounter them.

So that being readie on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Durié, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, took in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staid in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether companie should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthrow: the abbat of Hillwinning being slaine, with diuerse other; and there were taken aboue an hundred prisoners: amongst the which the lord Hume, and capitaine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constrained for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capitaine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent immediatlie after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith; as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith [whose capitaine was Patrick Lindseie] intrenched round about; being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enemies, and so readie to annoy them, and also seruing well to prevent them of such succour as they looked for vailie out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capitaine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Whereupon, manie of them departed thence, togither with their wiues and children, and took with them all such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and coming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, seruing against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expences.

After this, the lord of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enemy to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iustifie the same. Which being aduertised to them with in Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to vnder take the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Whereupon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lord of Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought convenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Cheseholme, who was sent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his soldiers: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and

thre hundred calueners. Upon his enterling into the water of Fourth, and coming by the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Bzent Island, and after wards for feare hid himselfe betwixt two cliffs of a rocke, not farre from the quenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent laie aboue two moneths, using sundrie meanes, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentieth of August next ensuing. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prestred date did assemble the earles of Morton, Spar, Cratford, Sutherland, Spontrosse, Gglenon, Glencarne, the lords Kuthwen, Glamis, Pethwen, Sempill, Agiltre, and Cathcart, with manie lords and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he uttered a certeine speech as had bene taught him, touching the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. For neuer in this parlement, the duke of Chateaufault with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arboth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntley, the lord of Grange and sundrie others were forsailed. This parlement continued by the space of seuen daies: at the end whereof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lord of Bonclugh, the lord of Dmiffon, and diuerse others, to the number of thre hundred horsemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddenlie beset not onelie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great uprore raised within the towne [in which George Kuthwen was slaine] and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the house wherein he lodged was beset on eche side, he defended the same against the enemies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had bene vnderlaide with some barrells of powder, and that it would be blowne vp if he yelded not as some told him: and the enemy to increase that doubt, crying still; Blow vp the house, what should he stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeld to the lord of Dmiffon, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest captains had yelded themselves before his face. He yelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue coming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capitaine Cauder with a pistolet shot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Gglenon, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lord of Bonclugh, took the same lord prisoner, he yelding himselfe vnto him: and

A parlement summoned.

The duke of Chateaufault forsailed.

Fr.Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

A skirmish.

The abbat of Hillwinning slaine. The lord Hume and capitaine Cullen taken.

Fr.Thin. Leith fortified.

A proclamation.

The challenge of the lord of Grange.

The lord of Carlisch.

John Cheseholme.

and likewise the earle of Glencarne took his keeper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their takers : but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, having first gotten all the hoyses that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was coming, shifted for themselves, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enemies, rid vp to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approach, he vsed these wordes (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his wordes before his death.

My lordes, it is not vnknowne vnto you all, that my coming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chieflie moued me heereunto, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minority, the god and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruellie did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vncle the god earle of Arraire, late regent: whose mischeuous and diuelish deuises if in time you do not preuent by your wisdoms and discretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my blond, and haue plaied the last part of my tragedie; and now I seele death to draw nere at hand.

Wherefore I requite you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almighty God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeres, wholie to imploye your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who

for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine unrecompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my deare wife, now being in England: vnto whome I beseech God to be a comforter. And now sith my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, desiring you to praie to God for me. These wordes being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in praier vnto the end, with in a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Strueling.

The earle of Lennox departed this life.

Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland, not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credit of the Scottissh nation, or therwise than I haue found in authoers, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the partiall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seeme to twisse the wordes of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanour, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauour, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leaning the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whome I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and rebound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernours, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisdoms seemeth most expedient. To whome be glorie, honour, and praise for evermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshed*, and others.

The sequelle, concerning the continuation of this Scottish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.

